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Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice For the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 17

Autumn 1976

Number 1

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Published Quarterly by
Brigham Young University Press
Provo, Utah 84602

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Printed in the United States of America.

11-76 5m 22440

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The Book of Mormon and The American Revolution

Richard L. Bushman

The Book of Mormon, much like the Old Testament, was written to show Israel "what great things the Lord hath done for their fathers," and to testify of the coming Messiah.¹ Although cast as a history, it is history with a high religious purpose, not the kind we ordinarily write today. The narrative touches only incidentally on the society, economics, and politics of the Nephites and Jaredites, leaving us to rely on oblique references and occasional asides to reconstruct total cultures. Government is dealt with more expressly than other aspects, however, perhaps because the prophets were often rulers themselves and because the most significant reforms in the history of Nephite government were inspired by a prophet-king. From their comments and Mormon's editorial interjections, it is possible to get a rough idea of the theory and practice of politics in Nephite civilization.

While we value these scraps of information, the political passages, it must be recognized, expose the book to attack. The more specific the record, the more easily its verity can be tested. Details about government make it possible to ask if the political forms are genuinely ancient, or if they bear the marks of nineteenth century creation. The late Thomas O'Dea, a sympathetic but critical scholar, thought that "American sentiments permeate the work."

In it are found the democratic, the republican, the anti-monarchial, and the egalitarian doctrines that pervaded the climate of opinion in

An essay written for the Hugh Nibley festschrift, "Tinkling Cymbals," ed. John W. Welch, (unpublished), assembled on the occasion of Dr. Nibley's retirement. Copies of all festschrift essays are on file in casual publication in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Other essays from the Nibley festschrift will appear in future issues of *BYU Studies*, with Stephen E. Robinson's "The Apocalypse of Adam" scheduled for winter 1977.

Richard L. Bushman is professor of history at Boston University.

¹The quotation is from the title page of the Book of Mormon. The Lord's opening words to Moses on Sinai as recorded in Exodus were: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery" (Exodus 20:2), and the memory of that event was used ever after to recall Israel to its covenant obligations.

which it was conceived and that enter into the expressions and concerns of its Nephite kings, prophets, and priests as naturally as they later come from the mouths of Mormon leaders preaching to the people in Utah.²

That kind of indictment would be precluded were the Book of Mormon exclusively and narrowly religious. As it is, O'Dea purports to find evidence of nineteenth century American political culture in the Book of Mormon—for example, the prophecy of the American Revolution early in Nephi's narrative, and later, the switch from monarchy to government by elected judges. On first reading, both have a modern and American flavor. O'Dea, to be sure, wrote in the mode of higher criticism which assumes that an accurate prophecy of a specific event can occur only after the event. Even if one discounts for that assumption, however, the question remains whether the spirit and content of some of the political passages in the Book of Mormon do not partake more of American republicanism than of Israelite or ancient Near Eastern monarchy.³

O'Dea's observations comport with the widely accepted view of the Book of Mormon which holds that it "can best be explained, not by Joseph's ignorance nor by his delusions, but by his responsiveness to the provincial opinions of his time."⁴ One of the first critics of the Book of Mormon, Alexander Campbell, noted in 1831 that the record incorporated among other conventional American ideas, commonplace sentiments about "free masonry, republican government, and the rights of man."⁵ A comparison of the political cultures of the Nephites and of Joseph Smith's America thus bears on the larger question of the origin of the English text of the Book of Mormon.

THE POLITICAL MILIEU OF JOSEPH SMITH'S NEW YORK

There is little reason to doubt that however the book originated, Joseph Smith must have absorbed the ordinary political sentiments

²Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 32.

³O'Dea's evidence is cited at *ibid.*, p. 268, notes 19-21. Many of his references are to choices made by the "voice of the people." For a comment on the function of popular consent in monarchies as well as republics, see note 18 below. The same note also contains observations on Moroni's war for liberty which indicate it did not follow an American pattern. Alma 43:48, 49; 46:35, 36; 48:11; 51:7. The antimonarchical sentiments which O'Dea cites are shown in this essay to be strangely un-American. 2 Nephi 5:18; Mosiah 2:14-18; 6:7; 23:6-14; 29:13-18, 23, 30-31; Alma 43:45; 46:10; 51:5; 8; 3 Nephi 6:30; Ether 6:22-26. For a comment on the idea of equality see note 23 below.

⁴Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1971), p. 69.

⁵Alexander Campbell, *Delusions: An Analysis of the Book of Mormon* (Boston:

of his time. The air was thick with politics. The Revolution, by then a half century old, still loomed as the great turning point in American and world history. Americans annually celebrated the nation's birthday with oratory, editorials, and rounds of toasts. In 1824 and 1825, Lafayette, absent from the United States for thirty-eight years, toured all twenty-four states with his son George Washington Lafayette. The following year, 1826, was the jubilee anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and Fourth of July orators exerted themselves as never before. A few days after the celebration, news spread that on the very day when the nation was commemorating its fiftieth birthday, two of the most illustrious heroes of the Revolution, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, had died within six hours of one another. A new round of patriotic rhetoric poured forth to remind the nation of its history and the glories of republicanism. All this was reported in the *Wayne Sentinel*, Palmyra's weekly, along with coverage of yearly electoral campaigns and debates on current political issues. Joseph Smith could not easily have avoided a rudimentary education in the principles of American government and the meaning of the American Revolution before he began work on the Book of Mormon in 1827.⁶

Patriotic orations served various purposes for the politicians who delivered them, but certain conventional usages recur: a set of attitudes and rhetorical patterns apparently shared by Americans of all persuasions. The patterns varied little from region to region, probably because newspaper editors commonly reprinted orations and essays from other areas, but we can be assured of sampling the political atmosphere in Joseph Smith's immediate environment if we rely primarily on three sources: the *Wayne Sentinel*, upstate New York oratory, and the school books for sale in Palmyra's bookstore.⁷ Young Joseph may not have spent much time with any of them, but if any provincial sources influenced Joseph Smith, these must be the

B. H. Green, 1832), p. 13. Reprinted from the *Millennial Harbinger*, 7 February 1831.

⁶An account of Lafayette's visit is found in Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1875), 1:89-94. The *Wayne Sentinel* reported on Lafayette's progress almost weekly. (For representative accounts, see the 7 July, 1, 8, 15, 22, September, 6, 20 October, and 3, 24 November 1824 issues.) When news of the deaths of Adams and Jefferson reached Palmyra, the *Sentinel* edged all its columns in black (see 14 July 1826 issue). Political interest in New York reached a high in the election of 1828 when 70.4% of adult white males voted. See Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review* 65 (January 1960):292.

⁷The relevant schoolbooks most frequently advertised in the *Sentinel* were *American Speaker*, *American Reader*, *American Preceptor*, *Columbian Orator*, and *English Reader*. (For illustrative ads, see *Wayne Sentinel*, 30 June, 10 November 1824; 27 October, 24 November 1826; 18 May 1827; and 28 September 1828.)

ones. They shaped, or expressed, the ideas of his neighbors, local politicians, and those who gathered in taverns and stores to talk politics. Presumably, O'Dea would see such sentiments to be at the root of Book of Mormon political ideas.

My purpose is to test that conclusion by comparing some of the most obvious contemporaneous ideas about government and the American Revolution with political ideas and practices in the Book of Mormon. There are three that were prominent in the political literature of the 1820s: First, the depiction of the American Revolution as heroic resistance against tyranny; second, the belief that people overthrow their kings under the stimulus of enlightened ideas of human rights; and third, the conviction that constitutional arrangements such as frequent elections, separation of powers, and popularly elected assemblies were necessary to control power.

HEROIC RESISTANCE OR DIVINE DELIVERANCE

The most common of all conventions in orations, essays, and editorial columns was the dramatic structure of the Revolution, still familiar today. The Revolution was a struggle of heroes against oppressors, a brave people versus a tyrant king or corrupt ministry. That theme was rehearsed whenever the orators honored the Revolutionary veterans in the audience. A large portion of his hearers, one speaker said, were too young to know "the divine enthusiasm which inspired the American bosom; which prompted her voice to proclaim defiance to the thunders of Britain." It was from the soldiers themselves, the "venerable asserters of the rights of mankind, that we are to be informed, what were the feelings which swayed within your breasts, and impelled you to action; when, like the stripling of Israel, with scarcely a weapon to attack, and without a shield for your defence, you met, and undismayed, engaged with the gigantic greatness of the British power." The greatness of Jefferson was that "on the coming of that tremendous storm which for eight years desolated our country, Mr. Jefferson hesitated not, halted not . . . he adventured, with the single motive of advancing the cause of his country and of human freedom, into that perilous contest, throwing into the scale his life and fortune as of no value." Similarly Lafayette "shared in the dangers, privations and sufferings of that bitter struggle, nor quitted them for a moment, till it was consummated on the glorious field of Yorktown." For many Americans, the courage of the heroes in resisting oppression was the most memorable aspect of the Revolution. The editors of the "Readers"

and "Speakers," the textbooks of that generation, consistently favored passages that dwelt on that theme.⁸

The narrative conventions are worth noting because of the Book of Mormon's brief description of the American Revolution. While Joseph Smith might alter costumes and the locale of the narrator, the spirit of the event was less malleable. A responsive young provincial, it would seem, would absorb this first and retain it longest. Yet coming to Nephi's prediction of the Revolution after reading Fourth of July orations, an American reader even today finds the account curiously flat. Just before the Revolution prophecy, Nephi tells of "a man among the Gentiles," presumably Columbus in Europe, who "went forth upon the many waters" to America. And it came to pass that the Spirit of God then "wrought upon other Gentiles; and they went forth out of captivity, upon the many waters." The gentiles did "humble themselves before the Lord; and the power of the lord was with them" (1 Nephi 13:12, 13, 16). Then the Revolution is depicted in this fashion:

[The] mother Gentiles were gathered together upon the waters, and upon the land also, to battle against them. And I beheld that the power of God was with them, and also that the wrath of God was upon all those that were gathered together against them to battle. And I, Nephi, beheld that the Gentiles that had gone out of captivity were delivered by the power of God out of the hands of all other nations. (1 Nephi 13:17-19)

By American standards, this is a strangely distorted account. There is no indictment of the king or parliament, no talk of American rights or liberty, nothing of the corruptions of the ministry, and most

⁸Caleb Bingham, *The American Preceptor; Being a New Selection of Lessons for Reading and Speaking. Designed for the Use of Schools*, stereotype ed. (New York: B. & J. Collins for C. Bingham, 1815), p. 144; *Wayne Sentinel*, 11 August 1826, 1 September 1824. Among the favorite selections were passages from the Boston Massacre orations of Joseph Warren, Thomas Dawes, Benjamin Church, and John Hancock. See William Bentley Fowle, *The American Speaker, or Exercises in Rhetorick; Being a Selection of Speeches, Dialogues and Poetry from the Best American and English Sources, Suitable for Recitation* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), pp. 74-90.

The orator at Albany in 1817 observed that forty-one years had passed "since the dauntless representatives of an oppressed but high minded people, having exhausted the gentle spirit of entreaty, and become persuaded of the utter uselessness of all further attempts at conciliation, dared to raise the arm of independence. . . . The country, bleeding at every pore, but not disheartened, reciprocated the lofty sentiment, and confiding in the equity of their cause, looked to heaven and then aimed a death-blow at the head of tyranny. 'Twas one of the sublimest spectacles earth ever witnessed." "Patriots of '76," he said in the customary address to the veterans, "to you the scene must be most animating. You toiled, you suffered, you were willing to bleed and die in the glorious cause." Hooper Cumming, *An Oration, Delivered July 4, 1817* (Albany: Printed by I. W. Clark, 1817), pp. 5, 14.

significant, no despots or heroes. In fact, there is no reference to American resistance. The "mother gentiles" are the only warriors. God, not General Washington or the American army, delivers the colonies.

The meaning of the narrative opens itself to the reader only after he lays aside his American preconceptions about the Revolution and recognizes that the dramatic structure in Nephi's account is fundamentally different from the familiar one in Independence Day orations. The point of the narrative is that Americans escaped from captivity. They did not resist, they fled. The British were defeated because the wrath of God was upon them. The virtue of the Americans was that "they did humble themselves before the Lord" (1 Nephi 13:16). The moral is that "the Gentiles that had gone out of captivity were delivered by the power of God out of the hands of all other nations." The theme is deliverance, not resistance.

The theme of deliverance by God is more notable in Nephi's prophecy because it recurs in various forms throughout the Book of Mormon. Three times a people of God suffer from oppressive rulers under conditions that might approximate those in the colonies before the Revolution: Alma under King Noah, the people of Limhi under the Lamanites, and once again Alma under the Lamanites. In none do revolutionary heroes in the American sense emerge.⁹ In each instance the people escaped from bondage by flight.¹⁰ They gathered their people, flocks, and tents and fled into the wilderness when their captors were off guard. When they learned that the corrupt and spiritually hardened King Noah had dispatched an army to apprehend them in their secret meeting place, Alma's people "took their tents and their families and departed into the wilderness" (Mosiah 18:34). Limhi's people, an exploited dominion of a Lamanite empire, departed "by night into the wilderness with their flocks and their herds" (Mosiah 22:11). Alma's people, after escaping King Noah, fell into the hands of the Lamanites who "put tasks upon them" and "taskmasters over them." When they cried to the Lord for succor, they were told to "be of good comfort, for I know of the covenant which ye have made unto me; and I will covenant with my people and deliver them out of bondage." The deliverance came in due course, but not by way of confrontation. "The

⁹In one instance an individual not numbered among the people of God attempts to assassinate King Noah, but the wily monarch escapes by subterfuge. (See Mosiah 19:2-6.)

¹⁰Hugh Nibley discusses flight as part of the tradition of escape from crumbling societies in *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964), pp. 107-14.

Lord caused a deep sleep to come upon the Lamanites. . . . And Alma and his people departed into the wilderness. . . ." The point seemed to be that the people obtained their liberty by obedience rather than by courage or sacrifice. After successfully eluding their captors, the people thanked God because he had "delivered them out of bondage; for they were in bondage, and none could deliver them except it were the Lord their God" (Mosiah 24:9, 13, 19-21).

Godly people in the Book of Mormon defended themselves against invaders—in that sense they resisted—but they never overthrew an established government, no matter how oppressive. When we step back to look at the larger framework we can see that their actions were consistent. The deliverance narrative grew out of the Nephites' conception of history as naturally as resistance in the American Revolution sprang from Anglo-American Whig views. Book of Mormon prophets saw the major events of their own past as comprising a series of deliverances beginning with the archetypal flight of the Israelites from Egypt. Alma the Younger pictured the Exodus from Egypt and Lehi's journey from Jerusalem as the first of a number of bondages and escapes.

I will praise him forever, for he has brought our fathers out of Egypt, and he has swallowed up the Egyptians in the Red Sea; and he led them by his power into the promised land; yea, and he has delivered them out of bondage and captivity from time to time. Yea, and he has also brought our fathers out of the land of Jerusalem; and he has also, by his everlasting power, delivered them out of bondage and captivity, from time to time even down to the present day. (Alma 36:28-29)

Among those bondages reaching "down to the present day" were those of his father and Limhi who, like their illustrious predecessors, were

delivered out of the hands of the people of king Noah, by the mercy and power of God. And behold, after that, they were brought into bondage by the hands of the Lamanites in the wilderness . . . and again the Lord did deliver them out of bondage. . . . (Alma 5:4, 5)

Understandably the prophet-historians delighted in Alma's and Limhi's deliverances because they illustrated so perfectly the familiar ways of God with his people. Events took on religious meaning and form as they followed the established pattern of divine intervention.

Nephi's prophecy of the Revolution, therefore, makes sense in terms of its own culture as an act of divine deliverance. Any other rendition of the prophecy would have offended later Nephite sen-

sibilities just as its present form puzzles us. In the context of the Book of Mormon, heroic resistance could not give revolution moral significance. Only deliverance by the power of God could do that.¹¹ Once the pattern of Nephite interpretation of history comes into focus, Nephi's account of future events becomes comprehensible.

There are two points to be made here. The first is that Book of Mormon accounts of the Revolution and of the behavior of godly people in revolutionary situations differ fundamentally from American accounts of the Revolution. The second is that there is a consistency in the Book of Mormon treatment of these events. Each deliverance fits a certain view of providential history. The accounts disregard a significant convention of American patriotic oratory of the late 1820s in order to respect one of the book's own conventions.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND POPULAR OPPOSITION TO MONARCHY

Heroic resistance did not exhaust the meaning of the Revolution for the orators of the 1820s. Beyond their display of sheer courage, the patriots of 1776 were honored for adopting the true principles of government. "This is the anniversary of the great day," the *Wayne Sentinel* editorialized on 4 July 1828, "which commenced a new era in the History of the world. It proclaimed the triumph of free principles, and the liberation of a people from the dominion of monarchical government." The adoption of free principles, namely the end of "monarchical government," and the institution of "a government, based upon the will of the People, free and popular in every feature," effected a "sublime and glorious change in the civil and moral condition" of the United States and the world. The Revolution was "the glorious era from which every republic of our continent may trace the first march of that revolutionizing spirit, which, with a mighty impetus has disseminated the blessings of free governments over so large a portion of our globe." Revolutionary principles were shaking all the nations of the earth. "Whole states are changed, and nations start into existence in a day," the jubilee orator in Palmyra declared. "Systems venerable for their antiquity have been demolished. Governments built up in ages of darkness and vassalage, have tottered and fallen."¹²

¹¹There is no evidence that Book of Mormon people believed revolution to be sinful. The people of Limhi considered delivering "themselves out of bondage by the sword," but gave up the idea because of the superiority of Lamanite numbers. See Mosiah 22:2. The point is that resistance was not necessary to make a compelling story. Flight and deliverance had a greater moral impact.

¹²*Wayne Sentinel*, 4 and 18 July 1828.

And why had this political earthquake occurred? "Knowledge and a correct estimate of moral right have opened the eyes of men to see the importance of free institutions, and the only true, rational end of existence." The principles of the Revolution were awakening people everywhere and moving them to throw down their masters. The *Sentinel*, a month after the jubilee celebration, quoted Jefferson's aspiration that the Declaration of Independence would "be to the world what I believe it will be; the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings of free government." The American Revolution was the beginning of a world revolution in which "man, so long the victim of oppression, awakes from the sleep of ages and bursts his chains."¹³

¹³Ibid., 21 July and 11 August 1826. The orator who pronounced the eulogy on Adams and Jefferson at nearby Buffalo in 1826 elaborated the same themes. "Looking retrospectively through the lapse of half a century, we behold those stern patriots ardently engaged in the great work of political reformation. Until then, the human mind, shackled and awed by the insignia of power, had remained unconscious of its own noble faculties. Until then, man had failed to enjoy that exalted character designed in his creation. Until then, he had yielded to the dictates of usurpation and the arrogant pretensions of self-created kings. Here and there the rays of mental light had burst upon the earth; but like the flashes of the midnight storm, they had passed away, and all again was darkness. . . . To them and a few worthy compatriots, were reserved the signal honors of broaching a new theory; of solving that, until then mysterious problem of self government; of opposing successfully the blasphemous doctrine of the divine right of kings; of redeeming the rights of man from the chaotic accumulations of ignorance, superstition and prejudice; of unfolding to the world the true source of temporal enjoyment, and the legitimate object of human society; of emancipating the human mind from the thralldom of ages, and restoring man to his proper dignity in the great scale of being." Sheldon Smith, "Eulogy Pronounced at Buffalo, New York, July 22d, in 1826," in *A Selection of Eulogies Pronounced in the Several States, in Honor of those Illustrious Patriots and Statesmen, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson* (Hartford, Conn.: D. F. Robinson & Company, 1826), pp. 92, 95.

Orators enjoyed taking inventory of democracy among the nations of the earth and analyzing the reasons for the continuance of tyranny. Why despotism in nations where conditions were otherwise favorable, asked the speaker at Troy in 1825. "If they were not debased in spirit—if they were not groping in the darkness of ignorance, or faltering in the twilight of the mind, no tyrant would strip them of their rights—no despotic throne would cast its portentous and chill shadow over the land of their birth. . . ." O. L. Halley, *The Connexion between the Mechanic Arts and Welfare of States. An Address, Delivered before the Mechanics of Troy, at their Request on the 4th of July, 1825* (Troy, N. Y.: n.p., 1825), p. 7. For the most part, Americans were optimistic about the principles of democracy. William Duer at Albany in 1826 predicted that before another jubilee, the principles of the Declaration "will take root and flourish in every soil and climate under heaven! The march of Light, of Knowledge, and of Truth, is irresistible, and Freedom follows in their train." L. H. Butterfield, "The Jubilee of Independence, July 4, 1826," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 61 (April 1953):138. "The old monarchies of Europe must be entombed in some great political convulsion, if they listen not in season to the low but deep murmur of discontent, among their subjects, which is growing louder with the progress of intellectual light. . . ." William

Does any of that struggle seep into the Book of Mormon? Do enlightened people in its pages overthrow monarchs enthroned in ignorance? The most famous passage on monarchy in the Book of Mormon does in a general way echo the American aversion to monarchy. Jacob, brother of the first Nephi and son of Lehi, prophesied that "this land shall be a land of liberty unto the Gentiles. . . . For he that raiseth up a king against me shall perish, for I, the Lord, the king of heaven, will be their king. . ." (2 Nephi 10:11, 14). Yet when we examine more closely the Nephites' own attitude toward kings, principled opposition to monarchy is scarcely in evidence. Enlightened people in the Book of Mormon do not rise up to strike down their kings as the Fourth of July scenario would have it. In fact, the opposite is true. The people persistently created kings for themselves, even demanded them. Shortly after their settlement in the New World, the followers of Nephi asked him to be their king. Nephi demurred, being "desirous that they should have no king," but they continued to look on Nephi as "a king or a protector" and by the end of his life he had acquiesced (see 2 Nephi 5:18; 6:2). As he approached death, "he anointed a man to be a king and a ruler over his people," thus initiating the "reign of the kings" (Jacob 1:9).¹⁴ Nephi's establishment of monarchy set the precedent followed throughout Nephite political history with respect to kingmaking. When a segment of the nation migrated to another part of the continent under the leadership of the first Mosiah, they made him king over the land (see Omni 12). This process was repeated not long afterwards following another migration: Zeniff, the leader of the migrants, "was made a king by the voice of the people" (Mosiah 7:9; cf. 19:26). It was quite natural that when Alma broke away with yet another band, his people should be "desirous that Alma should be their king, for he was beloved by his people" (Mosiah 23:6). Unlike Nephi, Alma firmly declined, and a few years later, kingship among the people of Nephi at large was ended.

The abandonment of monarchy, however, did not occur by revolution nor at the instigation of the people. The occasion for the

Chamberlain, Jr., *An Address Delivered at Windsor, Vt. before an Assembly of Citizens from the Counties of Windsor, Vt. and Cheshire, N. H. on the Fiftieth Anniversary of American Independence* (Windsor: n.p., 1826), p. 24.

¹⁴Mormon reported much later that "the kingdom had been conferred upon none but those who were descendants of Nephi," implying hereditary monarchy. (See Mosiah 25:13) Jacob, Nephi's brother, said that to honor the first Nephi, subsequent rulers "were called by the people, second Nephi, third Nephi, and so forth, according to the reigns of the kings" (Jacob 1:11).

change was the refusal of the sons of Mosiah II to accept the kingship. Mosiah feared the contention that might ensue from an appointment outside the royal line and proposed the installation of judges chosen by the voice of the people (see Mosiah 29). Mosiah's lengthy argument against monarchy, written down and distributed through the countryside, persuaded the people and "they relinquished their desires for a king. . . . They assembled themselves together in bodies throughout the land to cast in their voices concerning who should be their judges. . . . And thus commenced the reign of the judges . . . among all the people who were called the Nephites" (Mosiah 29:38, 39, 44).¹⁵

There is nothing in these episodes of an enlightened people rising against their king. The people did not rise nor were they enlightened about the errors of monarchy. Quite the contrary. In every instance, the people were the ones to desire a king, and in three of five cases they got one. The aversion to kingship was at the top. Nephi, Alma, and Mosiah were reluctant, not the people. When monarchy finally came to an end, it was because the king abdicated, not because the enlightened people overthrew him. In the American view, despot kings held their people in bondage through superstition and ignorance until the true principles of government inspired resistance. The Book of Mormon nearly reversed the roles. The people delighted in their subjection to the king, and the rulers were enlightened.

Book of Mormon opposition to monarchy was not a matter of fixed principle either. Americans believed the patriots of 1776 had broached "a new theory," and discovered the "first principle" of government which was "diametrically opposed" to the inequalities of monarchy. "There is no neutral ground, no midway course," a Boston orator said in 1827.¹⁶ That was far from the case in the Book

¹⁵Hugh Nibley suggests that rule by judges was familiar to Nephites because of precedents in Israel: "In Zedekiah's time the ancient and venerable council of elders had been thrust aside by the proud and haughty *judges*, the spoiled children of frustrated and ambitious princes. . . . Since the king no longer sat in judgment, the ambitious climbers had taken over the powerful and dignified—and for them very profitable—"judgment seats," and by systematic abuse of power as judges made themselves obnoxious and oppressive to the nation as a whole while suppressing all criticism of themselves—especially from the recalcitrant and subversive prophets." Nibley, *An Approach*, p. 82. The provision for impeachment of corrupt judges in Mosiah's time could have reflected the trouble these judges had given the Israelites. Cf. Hugh Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert and the World of the Jaredites* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1952), pp. 20-26.

¹⁶William Powell Mason, *An Oration Delivered Wednesday, July 4, 1827, in Commemoration of American Independence . . .* (Boston: From the press of N. Hale, city printer, 1827), p. 17.

of Mormon. Alma and Mosiah's opposition to kingship was no theoretical breakthrough, nor was it advocated as a fundamental political truth. It was simply that wicked kings had the power to spread their iniquity.

He enacteth laws, and sendeth them forth among his people, yea, laws after the manner of his own wickedness; and whosoever doth not obey his laws he causeth to be destroyed . . . and thus an unrighteous king doth pervert the ways of all righteousness. (Mosiah 29:23)

A good king was another matter. "If it were possible that you could always have just men to be your kings," Alma said, "it would be well for you to have a king" (Mosiah 23:8). Mosiah made the same point.

If it were possible that you could have just men to be your kings, who would establish the laws of God, and judge this people according to his commandments . . . then it would be expedient that you should always have kings to rule over you. (Mosiah 29:13)

There was nothing intrinsically wrong with monarchy. It was not "diametrically opposed" to good government. It was simply inexpedient because it was subject to abuse.

THE REIGN OF THE JUDGES AND AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Nephite government was no more resistant to monarchy in practice than it was in theory, and in fact came to occupy the very middle ground which, according to the Boston orator, could not exist. The institution of judgeships, rather than beginning a republican era in Book of Mormon history, slid back at once toward monarchy. The chief judge much more resembled a king than an American president. Once elected, he never again submitted himself to the people. After being proclaimed chief judge by the voice of the people, Alma enjoyed life tenure. When he chose to resign because of internal difficulties he selected his own successor (see Alma 4:16).¹⁷ That seems to have been the beginning of a dynasty. In the next succession, the judgeship passed to the chief judge's son and thence "by right" to the successive sons of the judges (see Alma

¹⁷There was a democratic element in the transmittal of authority: Alma "selected a wise man who was among the elders of the church, and gave him power according to the voice of the people" (Alma 4:16). But Alma's selection was the major part of it: "Now Alma did not grant unto him the office of being high priest over the church, but he retained the office of high priest unto himself; but he delivered the judgment-seat unto Nephihah" (Alma 4:18).

50:39; Helaman 1:13). Although democratic elements were there—the judges were confirmed by the voice of the people—the “reign of the judges,” as the Book of Mormon calls the period, was a far cry from the republican government Joseph Smith knew.¹⁸ Life tenure and hereditary succession would have struck Americans as only slightly modified monarchy. The citizens of Palmyra in the middle 1820s were urged to “remember at all times the terms of

¹⁸The confirmation of the chief judges by the voice of the people is the only element of the Nephite constitution which comes close to republicanism, and in the context of life tenure and hereditary succession, this “election” is closer to the traditional acclamation of the king than to a popular plebiscite. We forget that kings have usually been thought to rule by the consent of their people and that at the ascent of a new king to the throne this consent is normally exhibited anew. Sometimes the election is merely ritualistic; in other cases, such as the selection of William III by the Convention Parliament in 1688, the consent of the people’s representatives was as essential as the popular election of an American president. There was a popular element in Nephite monarchy, too. While still monarch, Mosiah had sent “among all the people, desiring to know their will concerning who should be their king” (Mosiah 29:1). Zeniff was earlier “made a king by the voice of the people” (Mosiah 7:9; cf. Mosiah 19:26). The army of Israel “made their commander Omri king of Israel by common consent” (I Kings 16:16 [NEB]).

Marc Bloch in his study of medieval European society asks “How was this monarchical office, with its weight of mixed traditions handed on—by hereditary succession or by election? Today we are apt to regard the two methods as strictly incompatible; but we have the evidence of innumerable texts that they did not appear so to the same degree in the Middle Ages. . . . Within the predestinate family . . . the principle personages of the realm, the natural representatives of the whole body of subjects, named the new king.” Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, tr. L. A. Manyon, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 2:383-84.

One episode that may to a casual reader have a republican flavor is General Moroni’s elevation of the “title of liberty,” on which he wrote: “In memory of our God, our religion, and freedom, and our peace, our wives, and our children” (Alma 46:12). Around this emblem he rallied the people against a movement to raise up a king. While the word liberty and the opposition to monarchists strike a familiar note, the details of the story, beginning with the peculiar designation, “the title of liberty,” are strangely archaic.

Moroni made the scroll in the first place by rending his coat, and proceeded to enlist the people in the cause by “waving the rent part of the garment in the air,” and crying, “Behold, whosoever will maintain this title upon the land let him come forth in the strength of the Lord, and enter into a covenant that they will maintain their rights, and their religion, that the Lord God may bless them” (Alma 46:20). Responding to the call, the people “came running together with their armor girded about their loins, rending their garments in token, or as a covenant, that they would not forsake the Lord their God” (Alma 46:21). They cast their garments at the feet of Moroni” and covenanted that God “may cast us at the feet of our enemies, even as we have cast our garments at thy feet to be trodden under foot, if we shall fall into transgression” (Alma 46:22). Whereupon Moroni launched into an elaborate comparison with Joseph “whose coat was rent by his brethren into many pieces” and expressed hope for the Nephites’ preservation in similitude of Joseph’s. (Alma 46:23.)

It is difficult to see where Joseph Smith could have encountered precedents for that ritual in his American environment. Hugh Nibley has suggested that the title of liberty resembles the battle scroll of the Children of Light in the Qumran community. (See Nibley, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, [Salt Lake City: Council of the Twelve Apostles, 1957], pp. 178-89; Nibley, *Since Cumorah: The Book of Mormon in the Modern World* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1967], pp. 273-75.)

office should be short—and account to the public certain and soon.” A point urged in favor of Jackson in 1828 was that

his election will break the chain of succession which has been so long practically established and by which the presidents have virtually appointed their successors, and which if not interrupted, will render our elections a mockery, and our government but little better than a hereditary monarchy.¹⁹

Book of Mormon government by Jacksonian standards was no democracy. Joseph Smith’s contemporaries had they examined the matter closely would certainly have called the elections a mockery and the government little better than a hereditary monarchy.²⁰

Looking at the Book of Mormon as a whole, it seems clear that most of the principles traditionally associated with the American Constitution are slighted or disregarded altogether. All of the constitutional checks and balances are missing. When judges were instituted, Mosiah provided that a greater judge could remove lesser judges and a number of lesser judges try venal higher judges, but the book records no instance of impeachment. It was apparently not a routine working principle. All other limitations on government are missing. There was no written constitution defining rulers’ powers. The people could not remove the chief judge at the polls, for he stood for election only once. There were not three branches of government to check one another, for a single office encompassed all government powers. The chief judge was judge, executive, and legislator rolled into one, just as the earlier kings had been (see Mosiah 29:13). In war time he raised men, armed them, and collected provisions (see Alma 46:34; 60:1-9). He was called interchangeably chief judge and governor (see Alma 2:16; 50:39; 60:1;

¹⁹*Wayne Sentinel*, 3 November 1826; 5 September 1828; cf. 12 September 1828. A common argument against an incumbent was the danger of aristocratic pretensions occurring in men held in office too long. In 1826 the party opposing the reelection of Governor Clinton resolved “that the continuance of the office of governor in one family, for a period longer than twenty-eight years, out of forty-nine, in a state containing a population of nearly two millions, is at war with the republican principle upon which our government is founded, and would tend to the establishment of an odious aristocracy.” *Wayne Sentinel* 13 October 1826. Jacksonians in 1828 argued that one of the evils of the election of 1824 was that it established a system for passing on the presidency. Were it perpetuated “the sovereignty of the people would be an idle name. The president and his successor would save us from the trouble of an election—the heir apparent would create the king—the king would nominate the heir-apparent to the crown.” *Wayne Sentinel* 10 October 1828.

²⁰Under the influence of their own cultural conditioning, Mormons and non-Mormons alike have read American principles into the Book of Mormon, even though closer analysis will not sustain that view. Alexander Campbell saw republicanism in the book as did B. H. Roberts. (See Campbell, *Delusions*, p. 13; and B. H. Roberts *New Witness for God: The Book of Mormon*, 3 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909], 2:212; cf. p. 209.)

and 3 Nephi 3:1). He was also lawmaker. There is no ordinary legislature in the Book of Mormon. When the editor said in the heading of Mosiah 29 that Mosiah "recommends representative form of government," he could not have meant representatives elected by the people to enact laws. The only representation was in the choice of judges, not in the selection of legislators. In the early part of the Book of Mormon, the law was presented as traditional, handed down from the fathers as "given them by the hand of the Lord," and "acknowledged by this people" to make it binding (see Mosiah 29:25; Alma 1:14). But later the chief judge assumed the power of proclaiming or at least elaborating laws. Alma gave Nephihah the "power to enact laws according to the laws which had been given" (Alma 4:16). Any major constitutional changes, such as a return to formal kingship, required approval of the people, but day to day legislation, so far as the record speaks, was the prerogative of the chief judge (see Alma 2:2-7; 51:1-7). Perhaps most extraordinary by American standards, nothing was made of taxation by a popular assembly.²¹ The maxim "no taxation without representation" had no standing in Nephite consciousness.²² These salient points in enlightened political theory, as nineteenth century Americans understood it, were contradicted, distorted, or neglected.²³

ANCIENT PRECEDENTS

In the context of nineteenth century political thought, the Book of Mormon people are difficult to place. They were not benighted

²¹Despite abuses of the taxing power, no recommendation was ever made for an elected assembly. (See Mosiah 11:3, 6, 13; and Ether 10:6.)

²²The nonrepublican forms of Book of Mormon government compel us to recognize that the "just and holy principles" which protect human rights can be embodied in various constitutional arrangements.

²³The word *inequality* in Mosiah 29:32 catches the eye of modern Americans, but in context the word assumes a meaning foreign to American thought. In the preceding verses, Mosiah explains the thinking behind his image, namely, that wicked kings enact iniquitous laws and compel their people to submit, thus causing them to sin. (See Mosiah 29:17, 18.) A good king like Mosiah would enact no laws of his own, but rather would judge the people by the law handed down from the fathers, which ultimately came from God. (See Mosiah 29:15, 25.) Under bad monarchs, the king was responsible for the people's sins; under good ones, the people were responsible for themselves. One of the reasons for eliminating kings was to ensure "that if these people commit sins and iniquities they shall be answered upon their own heads. For behold I say unto you, the sins of many people have been caused by the iniquities of their kings; therefore their iniquities are answered upon the heads of the kings" (Mosiah 29:30, 31). Then Mosiah makes the reference to inequality. "And now I desire that this inequality should be no more in this land. . ." (Mosiah 29:32). It seems clear that inequality refers to the disproportionality of one sinful man, the king, having power to lead his people into iniquity.

This must be kept in mind when reading Mosiah 29:38. It is reported that the people became "exceedingly anxious that every man should have an equal chance."

Spaniards or Russians, passively yielding to the oppression of a monarch out of ignorance and superstition, nor were they enlightened Americans living by the principles of republican government. The Book of Mormon was an anomaly on the political scene of 1830. Instead of heroically resisting despots, the people of God fled their oppressors and credited God alone with deliverance. Instead of enlightened people overthrowing their kings in defense of their natural rights, the common people repeatedly raised up kings, and the prophets and the kings themselves had to persuade the people of the inexpediency of monarchy. Despite Mosiah's reforms, Nephite government persisted in monarchical practices, with life tenure for the chief judges, hereditary succession, and the combination of all functions in one official.

In view of all this, the Book of Mormon could be pictured as a bizarre creation, a book strangely distant from the time and place of its publication. But that picture would not be complete. A pattern running through the apparent anomalies provides a clue to their resolution. Book of Mormon political attitudes have Old World precedents, particularly in the history of the Israelite nation. Against that background its anomalies become regularities. The Hebrews, for example, cast their history as a series of deliverances. Moses was not a revolutionary hero from an American mold. His people fled just like Alma's and Zeniff's, and the moral of the story was that God had delivered them from captivity. Moses was not lauded for courageous resistance. The Book of Mormon deliverance narrative, incongruous amidst Fourth of July orations, is perfectly conventional biblical discourse.

An equal chance to do what? As Americans, we immediately assume an equal chance to get ahead in the world or to have a voice in government. The verse actually reads "every man should have an equal chance throughout all the land; yea and every man expressed a willingness to answer for his own sins" (Mosiah 29:38). Having so committed themselves, the people went out to choose judges "to judge them according to the law which had been given them." With a twist of mind we can scarcely understand today, the privilege of being judged according to the traditional law was a major part of the "equality" and "liberty" in which the Nephites "exceedingly rejoiced" (Mosiah 29:39; cf. 25, 41). A similar principle underlies the American Constitution. The Lord suffered it to be established, he says in the Doctrine and Covenants, so that "every man may be accountable for his own sins in the day of judgment" (D&C 101:78).

The discourse of Mosiah, viewed against the practice of hereditary descent of the chief judgeship, raises the possibility that the major distinction between judge and king was the lawmaking power. Mosiah did not contest the right of the king to make laws, only to make iniquitous ones. A judge, however, could not even claim legislative powers and thus perforce governed by the divine law passed down from the fathers. (See Mosiah 29:15, 25.) Seemingly by definition a lawmaker was suspect because he usurped the power of God, the maker of the traditional law. When the prophets said that the Lord should be king, they meant, at least in part, that he should make the laws.

The same is true for the popular demand for kings. Biblical people too raised up kings among themselves, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The most famous instance was the anointing of Saul. There the Book of Mormon prototypes are laid down precisely. The people demanded a king of Samuel who tried to persuade them otherwise, warning them of the iniquities a king would practice on them, just as Alma and Mosiah warned their people (see 1 Samuel 8:1-22; 10:18-25; Deuteronomy 17:14).²⁴ This basic plot was not singular to Saul either. Earlier, the Israelites had requested Gideon to be their king, and he had refused because "the Lord will rule over you" (Judges 8:22-23). On another occasion, the Israelite army, after hearing of the assassination of their king, "made their commander Omri king of Israel by common consent," much as the voice of the people confirmed kings among the Nephites (see 1 Kings 16:16).²⁵ Whereas the Book of Mormon practice of making kings at the behest of the people clashed with American assumptions, it fit the biblical tradition.

The same holds for reliance on traditional law instead of a representative legislature and indifference to the separation of powers.²⁶ Not every biblical political tradition reappeared in the Book of Mormon, but there are biblical precedents for most of the Nephite practices which are not at home in provincial upstate New York. The templates for Book of Mormon politics seem quite consistently to have been cut from the Bible.²⁷

With so many similarities before us, it is tempting to conclude that Joseph Smith contrived his narrative from the biblical elements in nineteenth century American culture and leave it at that. But the problems of interpretation are not so easily dismissed. Biblical patterns work differently in the Book of Mormon than in the culture at large. While American orators blessed God for delivering them

²⁴There was another biblical tradition that credited God with instituting kings among the Israelites. Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, tr. John McHugh, 2 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 1:94.

²⁵See also Judges 9:1-6; 2 Samuel 2:4; 1 Kings 16:21, 22; 2 Kings 11:12; 8:20.

²⁶de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1:149-52.

²⁷This construction of the Book of Mormon is confirmed by the recent discovery that certain sections of the book follow the intricate patterns of chiasmus characteristic of Hebrew writing. (See John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10 (Autumn 1969):69-84. In many other details, which Hugh Nibley more than any other scholar has mastered, the Book of Mormon follows Hebrew and Near Eastern forms. (See Hugh Nibley, *An Approach*, 2nd ed.; Nibley, *Since Cumorah*; and Nibley, *Lehi in the Desert*.) Nibley points out similarities to the Egyptian as well as the Jewish culture. At the time of Lehi's exodus, the Jewish nation was under the political shadow of Egypt, and was soaking in Egyptian patterns of thought and behavior.

²⁸Campbell, *Delusions*, p. 13.

from British slavery, they never permitted their gratitude to shade the heroism of the patriots. The acknowledgment of divine aid was more a benediction on America's brave resistance. Similarly, Americans believed God inspired the Constitution, but no one suggested that it was patterned after the government of ancient Israel. No one proposed to eliminate an elected legislature or to make the presidency hereditary because a king ruled the Jews. In fact, no Americans, including the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, followed biblical political models as closely as Book of Mormon people. Biblical language was used to sanctify American history and American political institutions, but Hebrew precedents did not deeply inform historical writing nor shape political institutions. The innermost structure of Book of Mormon politics and history are biblical, while American forms are conspicuously absent.

How does all this affect the interpretation of the book—the problem raised at the outset? At the very least, the dictum that the Book of Mormon mirrored “every error and almost every truth discussed in New York for the last ten years” should be reassessed.²⁸ Scholars confine themselves unnecessarily in deriving all their insight from the maxim that Joseph Smith's writings can best be explained “by his responsiveness to the provincial opinions of this time.” That principle of criticism obscures the Book of Mormon, as it would any major work read exclusively in that light. It is particularly misleading when so many of the powerful intellectual influences operating on Joseph Smith failed to touch the Book of Mormon, among them the most common American attitudes toward a revolution, monarchy, and the limitations on power. The Book of Mormon is not a conventional American book. Too much Americana is missing. Understanding the work requires a more complex and sensitive analysis than has been afforded it. Historians will take a long step forward when they free themselves from the compulsion to connect all they find with Joseph Smith's America and try instead to understand the ancient patterns deep in the grain of the book.

The Four Political Faces of the Intellectual In Soviet Russia Today: A Personal Essay*

Gary L. Browning

Approximately one-fifth of the population of the USSR can be classified as "Soviet intellectuals." Even though some Westerners would equate intellectuality in Russia with dissatisfaction, it is both unfair and incorrect to assume that every dissatisfied Russian is an intellectual or, very importantly, that every intellectual is dissatisfied. However, my personal observations from spending over a year in the Soviet Union lead me to believe that one can make a very general grouping of Soviet intellectuals according to their attitudes concerning official Communist ideology and the Soviet government: The four groups which I have in mind are the dedicated, the disingenuous, the dissident, and the defiant.

THE DEDICATED INTELLECTUAL

The dedicated intellectuals are genuinely convinced that Communism is correct and just, and that mankind would be greatly benefited by living in accordance with principles of Marxism-Leninism. There are, of course, people who *sincerely* believe this. I met and talked with intellectuals whom I judge to be of this type—the energetic and orthodox head of the Institute of World Literature, the resourceful director of the State Literary Archive, the acting secretary of the powerful Soviet Writers Union, and

Gary L. Browning is an assistant professor of Russian at Brigham Young University.

*The intention of this paper is to provide some organization for my varied, and at times conflicting, impressions concerning the Soviet intellectual based on three trips to the Soviet Union in 1963, 1969, and 1973. The last two trips were for six months each. In 1969 I was a guide for a United States Information Agency exhibition, *Education in the USA*, during which time my function was to exchange views with Soviet citizens for eight hours a day in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. My most recent trip was for doctoral dissertation research, primarily in Moscow and Leningrad. In the course of my research I emerged from archives and manuscript divisions of libraries sufficiently to interview over thirty prominent Soviet intellectuals. Primarily they were specialists in the fields of languages and literatures and included a significant number of Soviet authors. In some cases the official interviews led eventually to nonofficial meetings, more personal acquaintanceships, and even friendships. And from these encounters have come the impressions for this paper.

several of my fellow graduate students of Soviet Literature at Moscow State University.

One of these students was from a Caucasian mountain tribe, the Chechens. His name was Alek, and when I arrived in the USSR with my family he was assigned to meet us at the airport and to attend to our needs. He was eager to answer questions and to provide assistance, and became a genuine, dependable friend of our family. Alek was born on a train as his family and tribe were being exiled en masse to Siberia by Stalin. Stalin, a Georgian, shared the ancient animosity of his people for their Caucasian neighbors, the Chechens. But Alek has studied Communism and at least some alternatives, has joined the Party, and is fully dedicated to the establishment and the maintenance of its ideals as he views them.

I visited another intellectual of this type, Jakov Elsberg, a much older, established literary scholar known formerly as a "hard-liner" Stalinist. During the 1930s when Stalin succeeded in convincing the population that a genuine threat existed from the alleged tens of thousands of spies in foreign employ operating within the Soviet Union, Elsberg was particularly resourceful in "exposing" and, hence, destroying numerous writers. Following the secret Khrushchev speech in 1956, which signaled the beginning of what proved to be the short-lived de-Stalinization campaign, Elsberg was expelled from the Union of Soviet Writers. He has since been officially readmitted, but is now an old man, sick, and, it seemed to me, heavyhearted. Although I would say that he is a man with an uneasy conscience, still he remains firmly convinced that Communism is right, regardless of individual or even institutional excesses.

THE DISINGENUOUS INTELLECTUAL

It is most difficult for an observer from abroad to accurately determine whether a given individual is of this "devoted" type, that is genuinely dedicated, or whether he is really disingenuous. There is no doubt that many intellectuals adopt a pose of conformity out of a desire to avoid the adverse consequences of loss of social status, professional rank, or other opportunities for material advancement. The largest group of disingenuous intellectuals with whom I was personally acquainted were university professors from Moscow and Leningrad. These men and women know a great deal about Communist ideology and governments and frequently are skeptical or even cynical about them in private, but some reg-

ularly compromise their real convictions because of a desire to maintain a more than adequate standard of living. They are materially comfortable. In a real sense they have been bought by the system, and they do not want to jeopardize their positions. I met with professors who were relatively frank in conversations with me, but who refused to allow me to quote them with attribution in my dissertation. I attended conferences in honor of individual writers and heard those scholars eloquently expound views opposed to those privately expressed to me.

Consider for a moment the material rewards for a compliant intellectual, as, for example, a member of the Union of Soviet Writers (critics, prose authors, poets, dramatists). Besides being able to work in pleasant surroundings as an associate of an institute or research facility, he has access to far more information than does the ordinary student or citizen. This information is both about his specialty and about the world in general. It is available to him through otherwise closed archives or special, restricted library funds containing newspapers, journals, and books from around the world, including the works of "nonpersons" in the Soviet Union from Trotsky to Solzhenitsyn. He not only can regularly obtain without major difficulty the best tickets for the theater, ballet, and opera, of which the ordinary citizen would not even dream, but he is also invited to exclusive showings of movies from the West, experimental art, avant-garde theater, and innovative ballet and opera. These performances are never given for the public, but only for small, select audiences. In a country where almost everything is in short supply, the compliant intellectual of professional stature can, through the Party organization at his institute, get airline tickets without waiting or enduring the inevitable frustration of red tape, have access to private resort facilities, for example, on the Black Sea, and can arrange state-sponsored "creative trips" to interesting parts of the USSR, ostensibly to collect research material for future publication.

And try to find these people in the summertime! They are either at resorts, or at their very impressive summer homes (*dachas*) somewhere in the beautiful Russian countryside. I visited several literary scholars and writers at their *dachas* in 1973; many of the most prominent writers have summer homes at Peredelkino, not far from Moscow. Boris Pilniak, the Soviet writer on whom I was working, had been given one of the first *dachas* built there. While I was visiting the widow of a Soviet writer who had been

especially close to Pilniak, a truck drove up and two men brought in several pots of food. My hostess nonchalantly informed me that each day cooked food is delivered to her home, and she receives the full pots in trade for the previous day's empty ones, which are returned the next day full. That day I had been invited to dinner and can certify that the food was delicious, and much of it was made from produce then unobtainable on the open Russian market. Even if the food had been available to the public, it would have taken the average housewife hours and hours of time to battle the familiar lines for every item. As the widow told me, "The Literary Fund feeds us well." The Soviet system does feed very well those who achieve professional prominence and who declare sincerely or disingenuously their allegiance to socialism.

Another literary scholar with whom I met in another region lived in a magnificent summer home surrounded by a dense pine forest. He called it "my personal taiga." I was told that Stalin had built these *dachas* for his generals after World War II, and that the home had been inherited by my host. Expulsion from the Writer's Union would mean forfeiting not only the most important benefit—which is simply the possibility of publishing—but also many of the fringe benefits mentioned above. It would be difficult to give up such a comfortable life.

THE DISSIDENT INTELLECTUAL

The third category which I am suggesting is that of the dissident intellectual. He is acutely aware of hypocrisy, ineptitude, and illegality in his government, as is the disingenuous intellectual, but instead of living for the fringe benefits from not speaking out, he voices his opinion on occasion against these offenses. He is burning with dissatisfaction, although he is largely impotent to effect major change. He is likely to be a younger man or woman of genuine ability, but as yet without a worldwide reputation in his or her profession. He is respected by a relatively small group of peers as a real "comer," but has not yet arrived. His material position is considerably inferior to that of most members of the two previous groups, but he is on the verge of broad recognition and hence, of substantial reward. It is at this point that many dissidents gradually slip into the more secure category of the disingenuous. One of the children of a prominent Soviet author whom I met was a student at the State Institute of Cinematography in the late 1950s, and was then an energetic participant in liberal causes.

He almost singlehandedly won an official civil rehabilitation for his father, who had been falsely accused of spying for Japan and had been arrested and executed in 1937. As of late the son's ardor has cooled. He now has a family, and has been given a fine apartment in a beautiful housing complex in a scenic area on the outskirts of Moscow. He is currently interested in publishing his own fiction, and has become engaged in making a career for himself, thus leaving behind the cooling embers of an earlier dissident fire.

Another young scholar prominent in literary criticism published a significant book on socialist realism in 1969. In that book, among other things, he accused Soviet scholarship of professional stagnation for not recognizing Pilniak as a major artist largely because of false political charges against him. Shortly after this book appeared (and quickly sold out) he went before a committee to defend his doctoral dissertation and was rejected, primarily because of his liberal attitudes in relation to proscribed writers. For three years he wrote and lectured on noncontroversial theoretical material in an ideologically irreproachable manner. I visited him in Leningrad, and found a former dissident greatly subdued. While I was still in the Soviet Union he was again allowed to defend his revised, much more moderate dissertation, and this time was successful. Men like him can still move either way, but not a few are bought, or, if necessary, intimidated by the system, and quietly withdraw into the comfortable cabin of the boat which they once rocked.

I met other dissidents who were too firmly committed to their convictions to consider major compromise, and they must be among the most dissatisfied and bitterly frustrated people in the world. I cite the example of one family, with whom I became particularly close, in which both the husband and wife are literary scholars who have published widely in their specialties. We spent long hours together while they bemoaned their fate and I commiserated rather uneasily, knowing that I was virtually helpless to aid. But I did fill the role of a sympathetic listener, and thus provided moments of rather tortured pleasure for them as they recreated tales of the indignities and injustices they had experienced personally or had heard about.

These dissidents derive a certain satisfaction from stories of the meanness and moral and economic failure of the system to which they are opposed, since each story further substantiates their own painful convictions. As with most oral stories, these tend to

become more and more sensational upon retelling, and provide not only intellectual confirmation, but also a form of entertainment. The dissident intellectuals spend many evenings drinking and talking in small groups of fellow believers.

Another form of entertainment is the joke typically directed at the system which is brutalizing them. It is a way of preserving one's sanity, and at the same time of taking "armchair" revenge, an intellectual activity of belittling the opponent, thus making a superior force appear stupid and, hence, inferior. One of the many jokes told to me concerned the 1973 visit of President Nixon to Secretary Brezhnev in the USSR. It suffers in translation, but the following is an attempt:

Nixon approaches Red Square, asks a passerby whether this is the Kremlin, and receives the answer, "uh-huh." Nixon consults his dictionary but is unable to locate the word, so he asks a second person, and receives the reply, "yep," which again he is unable to find. Finally he sees a policeman and poses the same question, and this time is told "yes," which *is* in the dictionary. Soon, therefore, he is able to locate his host, Secretary Brezhnev. Puzzled, Nixon asks Brezhnev what these other words mean. Brezhnev replies that only a person with no education would answer "uh-huh," and that a slightly educated man might say "yep," but that a man of real education would respond "yes." Astonished, Nixon asks, "Are all the policemen in Russia men of high education?" to which Brezhnev emphatically replies, "uh-huh!"

One final example from this group of dissidents is a Jewish couple. The husband is a particularly astute scholar of the fine Russian poet, Osip Mandelstam, and the wife is a granddaughter of the writer Aleksei Tolstoy. Over the years they had become progressively more disgruntled and finally made application to emigrate to Israel. Immediately both were dismissed from their excellent jobs, because neither institute for which they worked could tolerate association with disloyal, antipatriotic, pro-Israeli, and by implication, anti-Soviet employees. For months Dima and Lena awaited a reply to their request to emigrate, which was finally refused. They were, in a sense, excommunicated from the church but not allowed to leave the building, and were just barely able to subsist by occasional free-lance translating and tutoring jobs. Who knows how long this would have gone on had not Secretary Brezhnev visited the United States in 1973. A friend at the U. S. Embassy in Moscow managed to get articles about these two intellectuals published in the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* just as Brezhnev

arrived in America. Because the Soviet government, like any other actively proselyting body, is most anxious to avoid adverse publicity, it gave Dima and Lena permission to emigrate just a few days after the newspaper stories appeared.

THE DEFIANT INTELLECTUAL

The last group, the defiant intellectuals, is the smallest but the most visible group to Westerners. These men and women are typically, although not always, at the top of their professional fields, often with worldwide reputations. These are men like the physicist Andrei Sakharov, the historian Roy Medvedev, and of course, the novelist Aleksander Solzhenitsyn. They are articulate in their expression of dissatisfaction, and are fearless in their criticism. They are protected by their international reputations from inhumane treatment only until their behavior becomes intolerable to the regime.

These defiant men and women suffer ostracism from many of their Soviet professional peers, but are sustained both by their consciences and frequently by a firm base of support from second level professionals, the less well-known dissidents. It is not uncommon for the dissidents to demonstrate solidarity with these defiant intellectuals, as did well over a thousand in the 1966 trial of the literary defiants, Yuli Daniel and Andrei Siniavsky. But they were later disciplined by threats of reprisal, or actually punished with loss of job or at least rank, or with a term in an insane asylum, in a prison, or with exile. The dissidents are left particularly vulnerable when a protecting defiant figure like Solzhenitsyn is gone.

My only extended personal contact with a defiant intellectual of this caliber was with Nadezhda Mandelstam, the widow of the poet Osip, and the author of one of the most significant Russian books of this century, a volume of brutally frank but beautifully written memoirs of the Stalin years entitled in English *Hope Against Hope*. She is fearless and aggressive in her attacks on the system which literally destroyed her husband. Most likely she has been spared arrest thus far because of her age and rapidly failing health, as well as her international reputation.

SUMMARY

The picture of the Soviet intellectual is complex. While categories are rigid, the people within them often are not. There are

dedicated intellectuals who are, on occasion, dissident. In general, however, the dedicated and the disingenuous intellectuals are relatively firm in their positions and are secure in the support of their powerful benefactor. The dissident and defiant intellectuals are under what I consider to be an increasingly menacing assault from a certain Neo-Stalinism which is generally not characterized by mass terror, arrest, torture, exile, or firing squads, but by a selective use of personal and especially professional sanctions. As one observer remarked, it is a crushing of good lives by administrative measures which leaves a man physically unharmed, but professionally paralyzed. Only a comparative handful of willing martyrs are courageous enough to protest at full voice. The rest either complain in whispers, in small, private groups of fellow disbelievers, or simply accommodate themselves to the system, for as one Russian proverb explains, "volkami zhit, volkami vit": "When you live among wolves, it is best to howl like them."

Joseph Knight's Recollection of Early Mormon History

Dean Jessee

On 22 August 1842, while reflecting upon the "faithful few" who had stood by him "in every hour of peril," Joseph Smith recorded the following sentiments about Joseph Knight:

[He] was among the number of the first to administer to my necessities, while I was laboring in the commencement of the bringing forth of the work of the Lord, and of laying the foundation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. For fifteen years he has been faithful and true, and even-handed and exemplary, and virtuous and kind, never deviating to the right hand or to the left. Behold he is a righteous man, may God Almighty lengthen out the old man's days; and may his trembling, tortured, and broken body be renewed, and in the vigor of health turn upon him if it be Thy will, consistently, O God; and it shall be said of him, by the sons of Zion, while there is one of them remaining, that this was a faithful man in Israel; therefore his name shall never be forgotten.¹

Joseph Knight, Sr., was born 3 November 1772 at Oakham, Worcester, Massachusetts. In 1809 he moved to Bainbridge, Chenango County, New York and two years later to Colesville, Broome County, New York where he remained for nineteen years. He owned a farm, a gristmill and carding machine, and according to his son, Newel, "was not rich, yet possessed enough of this world's goods to secure to himself and family the necessities and comforts of life." His family consisted of three sons and four daughters.²

While Joseph Smith was living in Harmony, Pennsylvania he was occasionally employed by Joseph Knight. Such was the friendship that developed between these two men that the younger Joseph confided in his employer the circumstances of the coming forth of

Dean Jessee is an historical associate at the Church Historical Department.

¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1964), 4:124-125. Hereinafter cited *HC*.

²Newel Knight Journal, p. 1, MS in Church Archives.

the Book of Mormon, and the elder sent provisions from time to time for the sustenance of his friend during the translation work. When Joseph Smith obtained the Book of Mormon plates in September 1827, Knight was visiting in the Smith home in Manchester. According to Lucy Smith, her son used Knight's horse and carriage as his means of conveyance on that occasion.³

Although not numbered among those present at the organization of the Church in April 1830, Joseph Knight was baptized in June of that year. His family formed the nucleus of a small branch of the Church in Colesville, New York. In 1831 he moved with the Colesville Saints to Kirtland, Ohio, and a few months later continued with them to Independence, Missouri where he helped pioneer the Latter-day Saint settlement of that state.⁴ Joseph Knight died on 3 February 1847 at Mt. Pisgah, Iowa during the Mormon exodus from Illinois.

Joseph Knight's account reproduced below, although undated and unsigned, appears to be a holograph penned sometime between the author's departure from Jackson County, Missouri in 1833 and his death in 1847. Located in the Church Archives, the document is written in ink on both sides of five 8 x 10 inch pages. The manuscript is incomplete, missing at least one beginning page. Although written in pencil from one to ten, the page numbers were obviously added by a later writer to designate the sequence of surviving pages. A clerk's filing inscription on the document reads, "22 Sept. 1827. Manuscript of the early History of Joseph Smith finding of plates, &c. &c." The words "22 Sept. 1827," "early," and "finding of plates, &c. &c." were inserted by Thomas Bullock, a church clerk from 1843 to 1857. Minimal punctuation has been added here to facilitate reading:

MANUSCRIPT OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF JOSEPH SMITH

From thence he went to the hill where he was informed the Record was and found no trouble for it appeared plain as tho he was acquainted with the

³Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet* (Liverpool: Published for Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1853), pp. 99-101.

⁴A comprehensive source of information, not only on the Colesville branch but the entire early period of Mormon history is Larry Porter, "A Study of the Origins of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816-1831," (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1971). See also Porter's "The Colesville Branch and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon," *BYU Studies* 10(Spring 1970):365-385.

place it was so plain in the vision that he had of the place. He went and found the place and opened it and found a plane Box. He oncovered it and found the Book and took it out and laid [it] Down By his side and thot he would Cover the place over again thinkinking there might be something else here. But he was told to take the Book and go right away. And after he had Covered the place he turned round to take the Book and it was not there and he was astonished that the Book was gone.⁵ He thot he would look in the place again and see if it had not got Back again. He had heard people tell of such things. And he opened the Box and Behold the Book was there. He took hold of it to take it out again and Behold he Could not stur the Book any more then he Could the mountin. He exclaimed "why Cant I stur this Book?" And he was answerd, "you have not Done rite; you should have took the Book and a gone right away. You cant have it now." Joseph says, "when can I have it?" The answer was the 22nt Day of September next if you Bring the right person with you. Joseph says, "who is the right Person?" The answer was "your oldest Brother."

But before September Came his oldest Brother Died.⁶ Then he was Disapinted and did not [k]now what to do. But when the 22nt Day of September Came he went to the place and the personage appeard and told him he Could not have it now. But the 22nt Day of September nex he mite have the Book if he Brot with him the right person. Joseph says, "who is the right Person?" The answer was you will know. Then he looked in his glass and found it was Emma Hale, Daughter of old Mr Hail of Pensylvany, a girl that he had seen Before, for he had Bin Down there Before with me.

⁵Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 85-86 contains this account of Joseph Smith's first attempt to obtain the plates: ". . . having arrived at the place, he put forth his hand and took them up, but, as he was taking them hence, the unhappy thought darted through his mind that probably there was something else in the box besides the plates, which would be of some pecuniary advantage to him. So, in the moment of excitement, he laid them down very carefully, for the purpose of covering the box, lest some one might happen to pass that way and get whatever there might be remaining in it. After covering it, he turned round to take the Record again, but behold it was gone, and where he knew not, neither did he know the means by which it had been taken from him.

"At this, as a natural consequence, he was much alarmed. He kneeled down and asked the Lord why the Record had been taken from him; upon which the angel of the Lord appeared to him, and told him that he had not done as he had been commanded, for in a former revelation he had been commanded not to lay the plates down, or put them for a moment out of his hands, until he got into the house and deposited them in a chest or trunk, having a good lock and key, and, contrary to this, he had laid them down with the view of securing some fancied or imaginary treasure that remained.

"In the moment of excitement, Joseph was overcome by the powers of darkness, and forgot the injunction that was laid upon him.

"Having some further conversation with the angel on this occasion, Joseph was permitted to raise the stone again, when he beheld the plates as he had done before. He immediately reached forth his hand to take them, but instead of getting them, as he anticipated, he was hurled back upon the ground with great violence. When he recovered, the angel was gone, and he arose and returned to the house weeping for grief and disappointment." Joseph Smith's more commonly known account of events recorded here is found in *HC* 1:16.

⁶Joseph Smith's oldest brother, Alvin, died 19 November 1825.

Joseph then went to Mr Stowels [Stowell]⁷ where he had lived some-time Before. But Mr Stowel Could not pay him money for his work very well and he came to me perhaps in November and worked for me until about the time that he was Married, which I think was in February.⁸ And I paid him the money and I furnished him with a horse and Cutter to go and see his girl Down to Mr. Hails. And soon after this he was Married and Mr Stowel moved him and his wife to his fathers in Palmyra Ontario County.⁹

Nothing material took place untill toard fall the forepart of September. I went to Rochester on Buisness and returnd By Palmyra to be there about the 22nt of September. I was there several Days. I will say there [was] a man near By By the name Samuel Lawrance. He was a Seear [Seer] and he had Bin to the hill and knew about the things in the hill and he was trying to obtain them. He [Joseph Smith] had talked with me and told me the Conversation he had with the personage which told him if he would Do right according to the will of God he mite obtain [the plates] the 22nt Day of Septemer Next and if not he never would have them. Now Joseph was some affraid of him [Samuel Lawrence] that he mite be a trouble to him. He therefore sint his father up to Sams¹⁰ as he Called

⁷Josiah Stowell, born in Winchester, New Hampshire, 22 March 1770, had extensive property holdings on the Susquehanna River near South Bainbridge, New York. The Stowells moved to the area from southeastern Vermont where, because of their New York allegiance during the Revolutionary War, they had been deprived of their property and forced to leave the state.

The spelling of Stowell's name follows a 7 February 1843 Josiah Stowell letter written by a son to John S. Fullmer. The letter is in the Church Archives.

⁸Joseph Smith married Emma Hale on 18 January 1827 at South Bainbridge, New York.

⁹Joseph Smith records that at the time of his marriage he was employed by Josiah Stowell, *HC*, 1:17.

¹⁰Lucy Smith records this incident as follows: "My husband soon learned that ten or twelve men were clubbed together, with one Willard Chase, a methodist class leader, at their head; and what was still more ridiculous, they had sent sixty or seventy miles for a certain conjuror, to come and divine the place where the plates were secreted.

"We supposed that Joseph had taken the plates, and hid them somewhere, and we were apprehensive that our enemies might discover their place of deposit. Accordingly, the next morning, after hearing of their plans, my husband concluded to go among the neighbours to see what he could learn with regard to the plans of the adverse party. The first house he came to, he found the conjuror and Willard Chase, together with the rest of the clan. Making an errand, he went in and sat down near the door, leaving it a little ajar, in order to overhear their conversation. They stood in the yard near the door, and were devising plans to find 'Joe Smith's gold bible,' as they expressed themselves. The conjuror seemed much animated, although he had travelled sixty miles the day and night previous.

"Presently, the woman of the house, becoming uneasy at the exposures they were making, stepped through a back door into the yard, and called to her husband, in a suppressed tone, but loud enough to be heard distinctly by Mr. Smith, 'Sam, Sam, you are cutting your own throat.' At this the conjuror bawled out at the top of his voice, 'I am not afraid of any body—we will have them plates in spite of Joe Smith or all the devils in hell.'

"When the woman came in again, Mr. Smith laid aside a newspaper which he had been holding in his hand, and remarked, 'I believe I have not time to finish reading the paper now.' He then left the house, and returned home.

"Mr. Smith, on returning home, asked Emma, if she knew whether Joseph had

him near night to see if there was any signs of his going away that night. He told his father to stay till near Dark and if he saw any signs of his going you till him if I find him there I will thrash the stumps with him. So the old man came a way and saw no thing like it. This is to shoe [show] the troubles he had from time to time to obtain the plates.¹¹

So that night we all went to Bed and in the morning I got up and my Horse and Carriage was gone. But after a while he Came home and he turned out the Horse. All Come into the house to Brackfirst [breakfast]. But no thing said about where they had Bin. After Brackfirst Joseph Cald me into the other Room and he set his foot on the Bed and leaned his head on his hand and says, "Well I am Dissopinted. "Well," say I, "I am sorrey." "Well," says he, "I am grateley Dissopinted; it is ten times Better then I expected." Then he went on to tell the length and width and thickness of the plates, and said he, "they appear to be Gold." But he seamed to think more of the glasses or the urim and thummam then [than] he Did of the Plates, for, says he, "I can see any thing; they are Marvelus. Now they are writen in Characters and I want them translated."

Now he was Commanded not to let no [any] one see those things But a few for witness at a givin time. Now it soon got about that Joseph Smith had found the plates and peopel Come in to see them But he told them that they Could not for he must not shoe [show] them. But many insisted and oferd money and Property to see them. But, for keeping them from the Peopel they persecuted and abused them [him] and they [the Smiths] ware obliged to hide them [the plates], and they hid them under a Brick harth in the west Room. About this time Came this Samuel Lawrence and one Beeman¹² a grate Rodsman¹³ and wanted to talk with him.

taken the plates from their place of deposit, or if she was able to tell him where they were. She said, she could not tell where they were, or whether they were removed from their place. My husband then related what he had both seen and heard." Lucy Smith, *Biographical Sketches*, pp. 102-103.

¹¹On the trouble that attended his obtaining of the plates, Joseph Smith recorded, "I soon found out the reason why I had received such strict charges to keep them safe, and why it was that the messenger had said that when I had done what was required at my hand, he would call for them. For no sooner was it known that I had them, than the most strenuous exertions were used to get them from me. Every stratagem that could be invented was resorted to for that purpose. The persecution became more bitter and severe than before, and multitudes were on the alert continually to get them from me if possible." Joseph Smith, *HC*, 1:18.

¹²Knight may have been confused on this point. According to Lucy Smith, Alvah Beaman helped Joseph Smith conceal the plates, *Biographical Sketches*, p. 108. This work spells the name "Braman . . . of Livonia," however, the manuscript at p. 115 reads "Beaman . . . of Livonia."

Brigham Young probably had the rodsman in mind when he said: "I well knew a man who, to get the plates, rode over sixty miles three times the same season they were obtained by Joseph Smith. About the time of their being delivered to Joseph by the angel, the friends of this man sent for him, and informed him that they were going to lose that treasure, though they did not know what it was. The man I refer to was a fortune-teller, a necromancer, an astrologer, a soothsayer, and possessed as much talent as any man that walked on the American soil, and was one of the wickedest men I ever saw. The last time he went to obtain the treasure he knew where it was, and told where it was, but did not know its value. Allow me to tell you that a Baptist deacon and others of Joseph's neighbors were the very men who sent for this necromancer the last time he went for the treasure. I never heard

And he went into the west Room and they Proposed to go shares with him and tried every way to Bargain with him But Could not. Then Beeman took out his Rods and hild [held] them up and they pointed Dow[n] to the harth whare they ware hid. "There," says Beeman, "it is under that harth." So they had to garde the house until some time in November. He obtaind fifty Dollars in money and hired a man to move him and his wife to Pensylvania to hir Fathers, his wife Being onwell and wanted to go to her Fathers. He Bout [bought] a piece of Land of hir Father with a house and Barn on it. Here the People Began to tease him to see the Book and to offer him money and property and they Crouded so harde that he had to hide it in the Mountin.

He now Began to be anxious to git them translated. He therefore with his wife Drew of[f] the Caricters exactley like the ancient and sent Martin Harris¹⁴ to see if he Could git them Translated. He went to Albany and to Philadelpha and to new york and he found men that Could Translate some of the Carictors in all those places. Mitchel [Samuel L. Mitchill] and Anthony [Charles Anthon] of New York¹⁵ ware the most Larded [learned] But there were some Caricters they could not well understand. Therefore Anthony told him that he thot if he had the original he culd translate it. And he rote a very good piece to Joseph and said if he would send the original he would translate it. But at Last Martin Harris told him that he Could not have the original for it was Commanded not to be shone. And he was mad and said what Does this mean, and he tore the

a man who could swear like that astrologer; he swore scientifically, by rule, by note. To those who love swearing, it was musical to hear him, but not so to me, for I would leave his presence. He would call Joseph everything that was bad, and say, 'I believe he will get the treasure after all.' He did get it, and the war commenced directly.

"When Joseph obtained the treasure, the priests, the deacons, and religionists of every grade, went hand in hand with the fortune-teller, and with every wicked person, to get it out of his hands, and, to accomplish this, a part of them came out and persecuted him." *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854-86), 2:180-181. See also 5:55 where, in another reference to the same individual, Brigham Young stated that he had forgotten the man's name.

¹³Barnes Frisbie describes the activity of "rodsman" in the area of Middletown, Vermont in the early 19th century. The "rods" were fashioned from witch hazel bushes that grew abundantly in the vicinity. A branch was "cut with two prongs, in the form of a fork, and the person using it would take the two prongs, one in each hand, and the other end [pointing away] from the body." The rodsman would lead his followers over the countryside until the rod "fell or made some motion." This was taken as evidence that precious metal was buried there and the signal for the rodsman and his followers to commence digging. Others used the rod as a "medium of revelation, claiming to divine the thoughts and intentions of men." Frisbie notes that some people became so caught up in the craft that they devoted their whole time to it. Barnes Frisbie, *The History of Middletown, Vermont* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle & Co., 1867), pp. 47-54.

¹⁴On the obscure matter of the motivation for Martin Harris's trip to New York, Joseph Smith, in his 1832 Autobiography, p. 5, says that Harris had stated that "the Lord had shown him that he must go to New York City with some of the characters. So we proceeded to copy some of them. And he took his Journey to the Eastern Cittys and to the Learned. . . ."

¹⁵Stanley B. Kimball deals with Harris's trip to New York and identifies the men involved in "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems," *BYU Studies* 10(Spring 1970):325-352.

paper that he wrote all to pieces and stampid it under his feet and says Bring me the original or I will not translate it. Mr Harris, seeing he was in a passion, he said, "well I will go home and see, and if they can be had I will wright to you immeditely." So he Came home and told how it was and they went to him no more. Then was fulfilled the 29th Chapter of Isiah. Now he [Joseph Smith] Bing [being] an unlearned man did not know what to Do. Then the Lord gave him Power to Translate himself. Then ware the Larned men Confounded, for he, By the means he found with the plates, he Could translate those Caricters Better than the Larned.

Now the way he translated was he put the urim and thummim into his hat and Darkned his Eyes then he would take a sentance and it would apper in Brite Roman Letters. Then he would tell the writer and he would write it. Then that would go away the next sentance would Come and so on. But if it was not Spelt rite it would not go away till it was rite, so we see it was marvelous. Thus was the hol [whole] translated.¹⁶

Now when he Began to translate he was poor and was put to it for provisions and had no one to write for him But his wife, and his wifes Brother would sometimes write a little for him through the winter.¹⁷ The Next Spring Oliver Cowdry a young man from palmyra Came to see old Mr Smith, Josephs father, about this work and he sent him Down to pensylveny to see Joseph and satisfy him self. So he Came Down and was soon Convinced of the truth of the work. The next Spring Came Martin Harris Down to pennsylvania to write for him and he wrote 116 pages of the first part of the Book of Mormon. And about this time Martin wanted to go home a Bout some Buisness and he wanted to take the writings with him But Joseph put him of[f]. But he urged him By fair promises that he would be Careful and he would Return it again. But he Being free with it some person go[t] hold of it and Cept [kept] it so that he never Could obtain it again. There fore Joseph Lost his privilage for a while. But after Repenting he again received the privelege of translating again, as in Book of Covenants page 163.¹⁸

Now he Could not translate But little Being poor and nobody to write for him But his wife and she Could not do much and take Care of her house and he Being poor and no means to live But work. His wifes father and familey ware all against him and would not h[e]lp him. He and his wife Came up to see me the first of the winter 1828 and told me his Case.

¹⁶Joseph Smith's explanation was that he translated the Book of Mormon "through the medium of the Urim and Thummim . . . by the gift and power of God." *HC*, 4:537. The issue has been discussed by B. H. Roberts, "Translation of the Book of Mormon," *Improvement Era* 9(April, May, July 1906); and James E. Lancaster, "By the Gift and Power of God: The Method of Translation of the Book of Mormon," *The Saints' Herald* 109 (15 November 1962):14-33.

¹⁷In his 1832 Autobiography, p. 6, Joseph Smith, in addition to his wife, Emma, lists his brother, Samuel H. Smith, as having written for him during the Book of Mormon translation. In response to a question in 1879 regarding those who were scribes for Joseph during the translation, Emma Smith named herself, Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and her brother, Reuben Hale. Joseph Smith, "Last Testimony of Sister Emma," *The Saints' Herald* 26 (1 October 1879):290.

¹⁸Doctrine and Covenants 10:3. In stating that Cowdery came to see Joseph Smith prior to Harris's loss of the 116 pages of the Book of Mormon manuscript, Joseph Knight is clearly in error. See *HC*, 1:20-22, 32.

But I was not in easy Circumstances and I did not know what it mite amount to and my wife and familey all against me about helping him. But I let him have some little provisions and some few things out of the Store apair of shoes and three Dollars in money to help him a litle. In January his father and Samuel [Smith] came from Manchester to my house when I was Buisey a Drawing Lumber. I told him they had traviled far enough. I would go with my sley and take them down to morrow. I went Down and found them well and the[y] were glad to see us. We conversed about many things. In the morning I gave the old man a half a Dollar and Joseph a little money to Buoy paper to translate, I having But little with me. The old gentlman told me to Come and see him once in a while as I Could I went home followed teaming till the last of March the slaying [sleighbing] Being good. I told my wife I must go Dow[n] and see Joseph again. "Why Do you go so soon, for," said she. Says I, "Come go and see." And she went with me. Next morning we went Down and found them well and ware glad to see us. Joseph talked with us about his translating and some revelations he had Received and from that time my wife Began to Beleve and Continuwed a full Believer untill she Died and that was the 7 Day of August 1831.¹⁹

In the spring of 1829 Oliver Cowdry a young man from Palmry went to see old Mr Smith about the Book that Joseph had found. And he told him about it and advised him to go Down to Pensylvany and see for him self and to write for Joseph. He went Down and Received a Revelation Concerning the work and he was Convinced of the truth of the work and he agreed to write for him till it was Done. Now Joseph and Oliver Came up to see me if I Could help him to some provisons, [they] having no way to Buy any. But I was to Cattskill. But when I Came home my folks told me what Joseph wanted. But I had ingaged to go to Catskill again the next Day and I went again and I Bought a Barral of Mackrel and some lined paper for writing. And when I Came home I Bought some nine or ten Bushels of grain and five or six Bushels taters [potatoes] and a pound of tea, and I went Down to see him and they ware in want. Joseph and Oliver ware gone to see if they Could find a place to work for provisions, But found none. They returned home and found me there with provisions, and they ware glad for they ware out. Their familey Consisted of four, Joseph and wife, Oliver and his [Joseph's] Brother Samuel. Then they went to work and had provisions enough to Last till the translation was Done. Then he agreed with Martin Harris to print. They therefore agreed with E Grandin to Print five thousand Coppies which was Printed and Bound at Palmiry in the Spring of 1830.

Now in the Spring of 1830 I went with my Team and took Joseph out to Manchester to his Father. When we was on our way he told me that there must be a Church formed But did not tell when. Now when we got near to his fathers we saw a man some Eighty Rods Before us run acros

¹⁹Joseph Smith's History records the death of Polly Knight and the Prophet's attendance at the funeral: "On the 7th, I attended the funeral of Sister Polly Knight, the wife of Joseph Knight, Sen. This was the first death in the Church in this land, [Missouri] and I can say, a worthy member sleeps in Jesus till the resurrection." *HC*, 1:199.

the street with a Bundle in his hand. "There," says Joseph, "there is Martin going a Cros the road with some thing in his hand." Says I, "how Could you know him so far? Says he, "I Believe it is him," and when we Came up it was Martin with a Bunch of morman Books. He Came to us and after Compliments he says, "The Books will not sell for no Body wants them. Joseph says, "I think they will sell well." Says he, "I want a Commandment." "Why," says Joseph, "fullfill what you have got." "But," says he, "I must have a Commandment." Joseph put him off. But he insisted three or four times he must have a Commandment.

We went home to his fathers and Martin with us. Martin stayed at his Fathers and slept in a Bed on the flor with me. Martin awoke me in the nite and asked me if I felt any thing on the Bed. I told him no. Says I, "Did you?" "Yes, I felt some thing as Big as a grat Dog Sprang upon my Brest." Says I, "Was you not mistekened." "No," says he. "It was so." I Sprang up and felt, But I Could see nor feal nothing. In the morning he got up and said he must have a Commandment to Joseph and went home. And along in the after part of the Day Joseph and Oliver Received a Commandmant which is in Book of Covenants Page 174.²⁰ I stayd a few Days wating for some Books to Be Bound. Joseph said there must Be a Church Biltup. I had Ben there several Days. Old Mr Smith and Martin Harris Come forrod [forward] to Be Babtise[d] for the first. They found a place in a lot a small Stream ran thro and they ware Babtized in the Evening Because of persecution. They went forward and was Babtized Being the first I saw Babtized in the new and everlasting Covenant. I had some thots to go forrod, But I had not re[a]d the Book of Morman and I wanted to oxeman [examine] a little more I Being a Restorationar and had not ox-amined so much as I wanted to. But I should a felt Better if I had a gone forward. But I went home and was Babtised in June with my wife and familey.

There was one thing I will mention that evening that old Brother Smith and Martin Harris was Babtised. Joseph was fild with the Spirrit to a grate Degree to see his Father and Mr Harris that he had Bin with so much he Bast [burst?] out with greaf and Joy and seamed as tho the world Could not hold him. He went out into the Lot and appeard to want to git out of site of every Body and would sob and Crie and seamed to Be so full that he could not live. Oliver and I went after him and Came to him and after a while he Came in. But he was the most wrot upon that I ever saw any man. But his joy seemed to Be full. I think he saw the grate work he had Begun and was Desirus to Carry it out. On the sixth Day of April 1830 he Begun the Church with six members and received the following Revelation Book of Covenants Page 177.²¹ They all kneeld down and prayed and Joseph gave them instructions how to Bild up the Church and exorted them to Be faithfull in all things for this is the work of God.

Now after he had set things in order and got a number of morman Books we Returnd home. Then in June as I Before said I and my familey and a number more ware Babtised, Joseph Being present and Confirmed them. And through that season there ware many Babtised in many places

²⁰Doctrine and Covenants 19.

²¹Doctrine and Covenants 21.

and the Church grew and multiplied. But soon after the Church Began to gro the People Began to Be angry and to persecute and Cald them fools and said they ware Decived. But along toards fall Joseph and Oliver Cowdray and David Whitmore [Whitmer] and John Whitmore Came from Harmony in Pennsylvany to my house on some Buisness. And some of the Vagabonds found they ware there and they made a Catspaw of a young fellow By the name of Docter Benton in Chenengo County to sware out a warrent against Joseph for as they said pertending to see under ground. A little Clause they found in the york Laws against such things. The oficer Came to my house near knite [night] and took him. I harnesed my horses and we all went up to the villige But it was so late they Could not try him that nite and it was put of[f] till morning. I asked Joseph if [he] wanted Counsell he said he thot he should. I went that nite and saw Mr James Davison [Davidson] a man I was acquainted with. The next morning ther gatherd a multitude of peopel that ware against him. Mr Davison said it looked like a squaley [squally] Day; he thot we had Better have John Read [Reid]²² a prety good speaker near by. I told him we would, so I imployed them Both. So after a trial all Day jest at nite he was Dismissed. Then there was a nother oficer was Ridy [ready] and took him on the same Case Down to Broom County Below forth with. I hired Boath these Lawyers and took them Down home with me that nite. The next Day it Continued all Day till midnite. But they Could find no thing against him therefore he was Dismist.²³

Soon after this Joseph Left the Susquhannah river and went to Manchester to his Fathers. Then about the first thing Sidney Rigdin came from ohio to see Joseph and they Boath Came Down to Broom County and Joseph and Sidney went Down to Harmoney to settle some Buisness. And the Mob found they ware gone and they found when they ware expected Back and we found they had a plan laid to take Joseph and Sidney and me. Now Sidney had Ben at my house several Days and had preached there several times and he was too smart for them therefore they wanted to trouble him. And the Day we expected them I sent my son Down to meat them and told them of their Plan and they turned acrost to Chenango point. and so went to the Lakes. And I Loaded up what I Could Cary and went away that nite for the Lakes. I also took my wife and Daughter for we war[e] calcalating to go soon for we a litle Before had a revelation to go to ohio. So the Mob watched all nite at the Bridge. But Behold we all Came up missing and the poor mob Lost all their truble. Now Joseph and I went rite on to Kirtland ohio But did not stay long there for in March we went to the town of Thompson a bout twenty miles and in the spring the Colesvill Church all Came on. But Joseph remaind in Kirtland and Sidney soon Came to Kirtland.

Now this Spring Joseph received anumber of revelations. One was to purchase a thousand acres of Land which was Claimed by Leman Copley²⁴ and

²²James Davidson and John Reid were neighbors of Joseph Knight, "respectable farmers, men renowned for their integrity, and well versed in the laws of their country." *HC*, 1:89.

²³Joseph Smith's account of this trial is found in *HC* 1:88-96.

²⁴Further references to the situation in Ohio involving Leman Copley is found in *HC*, 1:167-169, 180-181.

not paid for. He had a little Before Come into the Church and appeared to Be Zealous and faithful. We all went to work and made fence and planted and sowed the fields. About this time we were called upon to Consecrate our properties. But Brother Copley would not Consecrate his property therefore he was Cut off from the Church. Then we were Commanded to take up our Journey to the Regions westward to the Borders of the Lamanites. And we sold out what we Could But Copley took the advantage of us and we Could not get any thing for what we had done. So we left Copleys in June and moved our things to Wellsburg on the Ohio river which was about ninety miles. Then we went on Board the Steamer the third Day of July and we landed in upper Missouri the 26th of the same Month. We found ourselves among strangers But the people seemed to Be friendly with us. And we found the Country to be Beautiful rich and pleasant and we made ourselves as Comfortable as we Could. And in a few Days Joseph and Sidney and a number of Brethren came and they looked out and Entered a Considerable of Land, for the People to Settle on.²⁵ We found it a new Country with some settlers on it.

There was one Joshua Lewis²⁶ that had Come into the Church the winter Before, he and his wife. And they were faithful and good to us and took us in to their house, my wife Being sick as before stated. She Died the Seventh Day of August and Joseph and Sidney attended her funeral on the Eighth. She was Buried in the woods a spot Chosen out By ourselves. I was along By where she was Buried a few Days after and I found the hogs had Began to root where she was Buried. I Being very unwell But I took my ax the next Day and went and Built a pen round it. It was the Last I done for her.

Joseph at this time Looked out the Country and found the place for the City and Temple and set a mark, and after giving all other necessary instructions he Returned Back for Kirtland.²⁷ But as time Came along we often heard from him and Received Revelations. The next year in 1832 he Came again to Missouri²⁸ and set things in order and Called the Colesburg Church to gather and sealed them up to Eternal Life. And this made some little feeling among others But I think he knew Best. So that passed off and he Returned to Kirtland again and I think he Did not Come to Missouri the next year for the Mob Began to show their Black heads in 1833. But Joseph Sent and Counseled During our troubles in Jackson County and after the worst Came to the worst that we had Better leave the County.

²⁵The arrival of Joseph Smith in Jackson County, Missouri on this occasion is noted in *HC*, 1:188.

²⁶Joseph Knight, Jr., states that when he and his father arrived in Independence, Missouri "we found one family named Joshua Lewis living there. Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt and one or two others had come before us preaching; as we came by water, we had no tents, and my father and I slept in a hen coop two weeks, till we got a shelter." Joseph Knight, Jr., *Autobiography*, p. 3.

²⁷Joseph Smith left Kirtland, Ohio, on August 9, and arrived in Independence, Missouri on August 27, 1831. *HC*, 1:202, 206.

²⁸Joseph left Kirtland on April 1, 1832 and arrived in Independence on April 24. *HC*, 1:265-266.

The Paradox of Mormon Folklore

William A. Wilson

As I began work on this paper, I asked a number of friends what they would like to know about Mormon folklore. The responses were at such cross purposes the task ahead seemed hopeless. Finally, a colleague solved my problem by confessing that he knew next to nothing about the subject. "I would like to know," he said, "what Mormon folklore is and what you fellows do with it." Tonight I should like to answer these questions. I shall tell you what I, at least, consider Mormon folklore to be; I shall try to demonstrate what those of us who study it do with it; and I shall try to persuade you that what we do is worth doing, providing significant insight into our culture that we cannot always get in other ways.

In the 130 years since the word "folklore" was coined,¹ folklorists have been trying unsuccessfully to decide what the word means. I shall not solve the problem here. Yet if we are to do business with each other, we must come to some common understanding of terms. Briefly, I consider folklore to be the unofficial part of our culture. When a Sunday School teacher reads to his class from an approved lesson manual, he is giving them what the Correlation Committee at least would call official religion; but when he illustrates the lesson with an account of the Three Nephites which he

A lecture delivered for the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, at Brigham Young University, 27 March 1975; first published in Thomas G. Alexander, ed., *Essays on the American West, 1974-1975*, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, no. 6 (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976), and reprinted by permission.

William A. Wilson is associate professor of English at Brigham Young University and past president of the Folklore Society of Utah.

¹The term *folklore* was coined by William John Thoms in a letter to *The Athenaeum*, No. 982, 22 August 1846, pp. 862-63. Thoms, writing under the name Ambrose Merton, suggested that this "good Saxon compound" replace the term *popular antiquities* then in vogue. For definitions of folklore given by twenty-one twentieth-century scholars, see *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, ed. Maria Leach, 2 vols. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), 1:398-403. For a recent appraisal of folklore study, see *Toward New Perspectives in Folklore*, ed. Richard Bauman, special issue of *Journal of American Folklore* 84 (1971).

learned from his mother, he is giving them unofficial religion. Folklore, then, is that part of our culture that is passed through time and space by the process of oral transmission (by hearing and repeating) rather than by institutionalized means of learning or by the mass media.

Not everything, of course, that we transmit orally is folklore. We distinguish folklore from other forms of verbal communication by clearly discernable structure. We are all familiar with the "Once upon a time" that signals the beginning of a fairy tale and the "And they lived happily ever after" that marks its end. The markers that set off other forms of folklore are often more subtle, but they are nevertheless there, and when we hear the initial signal, most of us know immediately that conversation is going to be interrupted by the telling of a tale. Further, not only is folklore in general set off from regular conversation by its structure, but the different forms of folklore (for example, ballad, folktale, legend) are also separated from each other by the distinctive ordering of their parts. Thus a Nephite story, reduced to its basic elements, is quite a different creature, structurally, from a story about J. Golden Kimball. It is because of this structural patterning, among other things, that we are justified in considering folklore to be literature. Another reason, as we shall see, is that through these narrative patterns we come to terms with some of our most significant Mormon experience.

To suggest that folklore is literature is to suggest that it is fiction; to suggest that it is fiction is to suggest also that it is not true, that it does not recount history accurately. This suggestion will not trouble many when we apply it to folksongs or to humorous anecdotes, which we really don't consider factual; but when we apply it to stories of the Three Nephites or to accounts of visits to or from the spirit world or to divine help in genealogical research, then eyebrows arch all over the place. And this brings me once again to my colleague's question: "If we have three oral accounts of something Joseph Smith did, does that mean it's folklore?"

The answer to that question depends on the antecedent of the pronoun *it*. If the pronoun refers to the actual event that started the stories, the answer is clearly no. The event is whatever the event was, and the folklorist will leave to the historian the task of deciphering it. But if the pronoun refers not to the event but to the account of it circulating orally, the answer is yes. The account is, or is on the way to becoming, folklore.

Folklore comes into being through a process we call communal re-creation. In general the materials of Mormon folklore come from three places: they are borrowed from others and then adapted to fit the contours of our culture; they sometimes originate, as Joseph Fielding Smith said, speaking of Nephite stories, from the vivid imaginations of some of our people;² and they develop from actual happenings. But whatever the source, the stories become folklore when they are taken over by the people and are reshaped as they are passed from person to person.

This communal re-creation occurs in two ways. First, the stories are reshaped to fit the structural patterns available to the narrators. My mother, a devout Mormon not easily given to criticism, complained the other day that all the talks of returned missionaries sounded the same. What she had perceived was that the return-home address is a traditional form into which the missionary must fit his personal experiences, altering them, or at least carefully selecting them, to fit the pattern. The process is similar to the one followed when a writer attempts to develop his personal experience into a short story. To be successful, he must alter the experience to make it fit the structural requirements of the form.

Consider, for example, the stories of the Three Nephites. The basic structure of these stories seems to be this: someone has a problem; a stranger appears; the stranger solves the problem; the stranger miraculously disappears. A story may have more to it than this, but it must have these features. Any account that is taken into the Nephite cycle will be adjusted (probably unconsciously) to fit the pattern. The remarkable disappearance is particularly interesting. I see no compelling reasons why the Nephites must disappear. In Book of Mormon times they were thrown into prison, into dens of wild beasts, and into furnaces, and in none of these instances did they solve their problems by disappearing. But in the modern stories, they vanish from the back seats of speeding cars; they vaporize before one's eyes; or they walk away and someone later tracing their footsteps in the snow finds that they abruptly end. The Nephites disappear, I believe, because the story requires it. The disappearance is the climax toward which the narrative builds, overshadowing in many instances the kindly deeds the Nephites came to perform in the first place.

The second way in which communal re-creation occurs is that the

²Joseph Fielding Smith to Hector Lee, 15 December 1941, as cited in Lee, "The Three Nephites: The Substance and Significance of the Legend in Folklore" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1947), p. 217.

stories are reshaped (again probably unconsciously) to reflect the attitudes, values, and concerns of the people telling the stories. In 1962 a student in an anthropology class at BYU collected the following item from one of her teachers:

Brother James Rencher was a very devout man, who, in all of his spare time, read and re-read the Book of Mormon. However, no matter how many times he pored over the book, there remained ten questions concerning it which he could not answer. Every year during the fall, the Renchers moved down into town to escape the harsh winter. One day in October, 1898, Brother Rencher was moving some furniture and provisions down the mountain, when it began to snow. All of a sudden, a strange man appeared several yards in front of him, and asked for a ride. The stranger climbed into the wagon, and immediately began talking about the Book of Mormon. During the next few minutes he answered all of Brother Rencher's questions about the book. Then he jumped out of the wagon and started to walk away. Being concerned that the stranger would freeze in the cold snow, Brother Rencher went after him. He traced the man's footprints to the top of the mountain; there they suddenly disappeared.³

I have several accounts of this story quite similar to this one, except that in some not even the General Authorities could answer Rencher's questions and in some Rencher was from Pine Valley while in others he was from Heber City or from Idaho. In two versions of the story published by Austin Fife in 1940, Rencher picked up an old hitchhiker who explained political and religious matters "to his satisfaction just perfectly."⁴ These accounts suggest that the story once had a double theme—politics and religion. A story collected just last year emphasizes the politics:

Brother Rencher was closing up a campground and left to go home. After he had been driving in the mountains for a way, he came across a man who seemed to appear from nowhere. They were out in an area where there was no one living and very few people passed that way. Brother Rencher in order to start conversation asked the man what he thought of the political parties. The man who turned out to be one of the three Nephites answered: "They are both as corrupt as hell."

What we see here then is that different people, or groups of people, perceive the important "message" of an item differently, and that

³Unless otherwise noted, all items of Mormon folklore discussed in this paper, as well as comments of informants, are located in the Brigham Young University Folklore Archives, c/o English Department.

⁴Austin E. Fife, "The Legend of the Three Nephites among the Mormons," *Journal of American Folklore* 53 (1940):27-29.

as they continue to tell the story they drop or add details to strengthen what they consider to be important in the story.⁵

Another example of the shifting shape of folklore lies closer to home. Most of us will remember the turbulent period in late 1969 and early 1970 when BYU athletic teams and the marching Cougarettes met violent demonstrations in neighboring schools, when a spate of stories was circulating about bus loads of Black Panthers making their way to the state to blow up Mountain Dell Reservoir and to invade Temple Square, and when some people feared to travel beyond the state's boundaries because they had heard gory stories of people with Utah license plates being stopped and beaten up by blacks. Emotions were intensified by the revival and rapid circulation of the apocryphal Horse Shoe Prophecy attributed to John Taylor. (This prophecy was first written down in 1951 by Edward Lunt, who said that in 1903 or 1904 he had learned it from his mother, who said that she had received it from President Taylor in 1885.)⁶ In Lunt's account, President Taylor supposedly saw a day of great trouble and warfare striking the Saints, with "blood running down the gutters of Salt Lake City as though it were water." As versions of the prophecy began to multiply during the violence of 1969 and 1970, a new motif was added to it—the notion that the blood would run in the gutters because of racial warfare. For example, an employee of Seminaries and Institutes stated

that it was common knowledge among teachers in the Church educational system that a confrontation with Black Panthers was going to take place in the streets of Salt Lake City and that this would be a fulfillment of the prophecy that Blacks would wreak havoc in the streets of Zion. He said that this prophecy was given to President Taylor. It was common knowledge from reliable sources [he said] that Blacks and hippies were arming themselves in the canyons east of the city and that the FBI had uncovered plans by revolutionaries to hit Salt Lake City with a violence campaign.

Another individual, a stockbroker who claimed he did not believe the part about Negroes, stated:

John Taylor is supposed to have said that the Negroes will march

⁵The same individual will often tell the same story quite differently, depending on his reasons for telling it and upon his audience. For example, I have two versions of the James Rencher story told by the same informant, one with the political theme and one without it. In the first instance, the informant focuses on politics because he wants to persuade the students in his religion class that the General Authorities have the right to speak out on political issues.

⁶Brigham Young University, Harold B. Lee Library, Special Collections, Manuscript Collection, M884.

to the west and that they will tear down the gates to the temple, ravage the women therein, and destroy and desecrate the temple. Then the Mormon boys will pick up their deer rifles and destroy the Negroes, and that's when the blood will run down the street.

On 30 March 1970, the First Presidency, concerned by the growing emotionalism, released a statement in which they denounced the Horse Shoe Prophecy and urged members to school their feelings.⁷ In their statement, the First Presidency quoted a memorandum from the Church Historian's office which pointed out that of the five copies of the prophecy on file in that office no two were identical in wording and that the statement about Negroes was in one of the copies but not in the others, "particularly" not in the version signed by Lunt. What the First Presidency actually did was conduct a small-scale folklore study. They discovered, as we have discovered with the James Rencher stories, that as stories are passed from person to person they are "adjusted" to reflect the concerns and to fit the predispositions of the people.

What I am saying, then, is that while folklore may be factually false, it is psychologically true. Students of Mormon culture turn to it not to discover the ledger-book truths of history but to fathom the truths of the human heart and mind. The truths that we find may not always please us, but if we really want to understand ourselves I know of no better place to turn than to folklore.

I say this with some hesitation because I am well aware that Mormon literature, *belles lettres*, gives us good insight into the Mormon ethos. But I am convinced that Mormon folklore gives us a still clearer view. My reason for believing this is simple: the works of Mormon *belles lettres* are the creative products of individuals; the works of Mormon folk literature are the creative products of the people, constantly being reshaped, as we have seen above, to mirror contemporary values, anxieties, and social practices. The Mormon poet or short-story writer, however much he draws on his Mormon background and however much he discusses his works in process with his Mormon friends, still gives us his own *individual* interpretation of our culture, an interpretation, I might add, that is elitist in approach. On the other hand, an item of Mormon folklore, to have become folklore, must have moved from the individual expression of its originator to the communal expression of those who preserve it, losing, through the process of communal re-creation

⁷The First Presidency first addressed the issue in a letter (30 March 1970) mailed to stake presidents, mission presidents, and bishops. The letter was reprinted in the *Church News*, 4 April 1970.

described above, the marks of individual invention and assuming in time a form that reflects the consensus of the group.

In a recent BYU address, N. Scott Momaday made this point far more eloquently than I when, speaking of a Kiowa Indian tale, he said: "As many times as that story has been told it was always but one generation removed from extinction."⁸ As soon as any story, Kiowa or not, ceases to appeal to its hearers, then, it dies or it is changed to reflect a new reality. No two tellers, of course, will ever relate the same story the same way; but if that story is to live, they cannot, in the telling of it, depart too far from the value center of the audience whose approval they seek.

I have been dealing thus far with the revelatory nature of Mormon folklore and have ignored its functional role. That is, I have been discussing what folk stories mean to the student of Mormon culture, but I have said nothing yet about what they mean to the people who tell them and listen to them, nothing about the force of folklore in the lives of human beings. In the remainder of this paper, I should like to discuss the influence of Mormon folklore on Church members, as it functions to reinforce Church dogma and practice, to sanction approved forms of behavior, and to give people a sense of stability in an unstable world.

In 1694 the Puritan divines, Increase and Cotton Mather and the Fellows of Harvard College, instructed the New England clergy to record the remarkable providences that would show the hand of God in their lives. "The things to be esteemed *memorable*," they said, "are especially *all unusual accidents*, in the heaven, or earth, or water: all wonderful *deliverances* of the distressed: Mercies to the godly; *judgments* on the wicked; and more glorious fulfillment of either the *promises* or the *threatenings* in the Scriptures of truth; with *apparitions*, *possessions*, *incantments*, and all extraordinary things wherein the existence and agency of the *invisible world* is more sensibly demonstrated."⁹ This passage seems not unlike instructions on how to keep a Book of Remembrance. And indeed we Mormons, like the Puritans, seem eager to seek evidence of the invisible world, not simply because we like sensational stories but because, as Richard Cracroft and Neal Lambert point out, "the Mormon world is a God-made, man-centered world" and because "each

⁸N. Scott Momaday, "The Man Made of Words," Brigham Young University Forum Address, 14 January 1975.

⁹Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England* [1702], 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: S. Andrus & Son, 1853), 2:362.

Latter-day Saint in his personal life is challenged to bring forth evidence that supports this belief.”¹⁰ But in the stories we tell, we are seeking not just evidence that God lives but also that his programs are inspired and that he expects us to follow them. Stories about genealogical research and temple work illustrate this point well.

We are all familiar with the plethora of stories genealogy workers tell to encourage others to keep up the pursuit of their dead ancestors. For example, two LDS men driving to a conference pick up a man (later thought to be a Nephite) who urges them to do their genealogy work and then disappears from the back seat of the car. On another occasion, a lady who has trouble tracing her genealogical line prays for help. While she is out of the room where her typewriter is located, she hears its keys clicking. Investigating, she finds the missing information typed in the proper places on her pedigree chart. And so the stories go: A stranger appears to a man in the temple and warns him to get busy on his genealogy because the time is short. A Nephite brings to the temple genealogical sheets that a couple had left home on the table. A man is instructed by a stranger to visit a graveyard, where he finds his missing family names. A man is instructed to go to a pawnshop, where he finds his genealogical data in a Bible. In exchange for a meal, a Nephite gives a lady a book containing information which she needs to extend her family genealogy. And a woman finds the missing names she has been searching for in a newspaper left mysteriously in her car. All of these stories make two main points: first, genealogical research must be important because the Lord helps people complete it; and, second, if one keeps struggling faithfully ahead, not getting discouraged, he will eventually succeed.

If genealogical research is important, so, of course, is temple work, both for oneself and for one's ancestors. And once again circulating oral narratives stress the importance of this work. For example, couples who have not been sealed in the temple are visited by mysterious strangers (usually Nephites) who warn them to make haste in getting their work done. Couples who have been to the temple pick up old men along the highways who urge them to attend the temple often because time is short, warn them that otherwise they will not be ready when the Savior comes, and then disappear. Stories are legion about temple workers missing one of the names on a list and then having this mistake made known in

¹⁰Richard H. Cracroft and Neal E. Lambert, *A Believing People: Literature of the Latter-day Saints* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1974), p. 3.

a miraculous way. But the most widely circulated story today is probably the following:

A lady in Salt Lake City, Utah, was desirous of going to the temple but was afraid to leave her children at home alone. She hadn't been able to locate a suitable baby-sitter but finally she did. She went to the temple a little apprehensive and about halfway through the session she felt so uneasy that she got up to leave. As she got to the back of the room, a temple worker stopped her to find out what the matter was. She, the lady, said she felt like she was urgently needed at home. The temple worker promised her that if she would return to her seat and finish the session everything would be fine. So she did. After the session was over she hurried home, and sure enough, there were fire engines and police cars all around her house. As she was running to her house, a neighbor lady stopped her and explained that her daughter had fallen into the ditch and couldn't be found. As the lady came to the house, there was her daughter soaking wet and crying. Her mother grabbed her and hugged her. After, the little girl gave her mother a note and explained that the lady who'd pulled her out of the ditch had given it to her. There on the note was the name of the lady for whom this woman had gone through the temple that day.

In some versions of this story it is the new baby-sitter herself who pulls the child from the water. In these instances the sitter then disappears and the mother later recalls that the person whose work she had done in the temple that day had the same name as the baby-sitter.¹¹ In one version the mother, and her husband, though faithful in other duties, have not been attending the temple and finally decide to go only after their bishop makes a personal request. In another version the couple actually call home, learn that their child is missing, but, after praying and getting a feeling that all will be well, remain and complete the session. But whatever form the story takes, it serves always, as one informant said, "as a testimony to the truthfulness of temple work."

These stories, then, not only mirror our concern with genealogical research and temple work, they also reinforce our belief that these pursuits are of God and thus persuade us to participate more eagerly in them.

In one of the most common stories of the Three Nephites, one of the old men visits a home, asks for nourishment, is given it, and then blesses the home with health and prosperity. But in one instance

¹¹For a brief discussion of this version of the story, see Jan Harold Brunvand, "Modern Legends of Mormondom, or, Supernaturalism is Alive and Well in Salt Lake City," in *American Folk Legend: A Symposium*, ed. Wayland D. Hand (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1971), p. 200.

the lady of the house hasn't "time to bother" with her visitor; as a result she loses some of her children to the flu. In another, a lady who turns a beggar away has her lawn overrun with Bermuda grass. Stories like these are what Cotton Mather called "judgments on the wicked." They teach us to do right by showing us what happens to us when we don't. Many of them have to do with blasphemy and graphically demonstrate, in the words of one informant, that "the Lord will not be mocked." For example, in 1962 two priests from California decided to baptize a goat; they were struck dumb and haven't talked yet. In Idaho, the wayward son of a stake president consecrated a glass of beer; he passed out immediately, fell into a coma, and died a few days later. Two boys were in a chapel on Saturday without permission; they put bread on the sacrament trays and were running up and down the aisles; one of them looked down and discovered the bread had turned black. In 1860 Brigham Young dedicated "Salem pond," a new irrigation project, and promised that no one would die in the pond if the people refrained from swimming on Sunday; the eight people who have since drowned there were all swimming on Sunday. In southern Utah, a young man refused a mission call; about a month later he died in an automobile crash. In Springville not long ago three boys took a ouija board to the cemetery on Halloween night and asked it when they would die; within three years, in accordance with the ouija board's answer, all three were dead, one from suicide and the other two from accidents.

In no place do these stories flourish as abundantly as they do in the mission field. They are told over and over again to impress on the missionaries the sacredness of their callings and to demonstrate that the power of the priesthood is not to be tampered with. According to one story, a photograph taken of an elder in swimming, against mission rules, showed an evil-looking form hovering over his head. A story from Brazil tells of a missionary who refused to sleep in his garments at night because of the hot, humid weather: "When his companion woke in the morning he found the errant elder pressed into the wall so hard that he could hardly pull him off. The elder was obviously dead from being thus mashed into the wall." One of the most widely known stories, recounted in practically every mission, tells of elders who, as in the following account, are struck dead for testing their priesthood power by attempting to ordain a post or a Coke bottle or an animal: "Two missionaries were messing around, and they decided to confer the

Priesthood on a dog which they saw on the street. Before they could complete the ordinance, a bolt of lightning came and struck the dog and the two elders, and it *zapped* them."

One of the most frightening cycles of stories is that which tells of missionaries who seek a testimony by going through the back door—that is, by seeking first a testimony of the devil. The following story is typical:

I heard from one of my companions about a particular individual that decided that he would gain his testimony by finding out about the adversary. And so he decided that he would pray to the devil and pray for a manifestation or a vision of some type. . . . As he proceeded to pray, hour after hour, his companion had gone to bed and left him in the middle of the room on his knees, praying for a manifestation, or waiting to see the devil in person. And so, as the story goes, he finally reached the point where he woke, or he made enough noise so his companion woke and went to the window and saw a black figure on a black horse coming down the road towards their apartment. And they were up at least two stories, and this particular individual, as the story goes, jumped out of the window.

Another version of the same story ends a little differently:

He [the companion] looks over to the bed where his companion has gone to bed finally, and he's completely white and obviously dead from his appearance, and there's a black figure on a white horse in the room, who is laughing. And then it just kind of fades away, until there's nothing. And the companion's dead.

In many versions, the nonpraying companion summons the mission president for help. Usually when they enter the room by breaking down the door they find the praying elder suspended in the air, his hair sometimes as white as an old man's. In one account, when they opened the door, the suspended elder's body is slammed against the wall, instant death the result. In another they find the bed pinned to the ceiling with the missionary dead between bed and ceiling. In still another the elder is in bed, burned from one end to the other.

These stories do not make pleasant reading, nor telling. Anyone who doubts their evocative power need only sit in his office late at night, as I have done, listening to them on tape. I think I can say with some assurance that a group of missionaries sitting up telling the stories would not lightly dishonor their priesthood for some time to come. From them, unpleasant though they may be, we find a good example of how folklore controls behavior, moulding it, in this instance through tales of horror, to fit the accepted norms of the group.

Most Mormon folklore is not so dark and gloomy as these devil stories. Much of it, indeed, suggests that God is in his heaven and that all is right with the world—or, at least, that all will be right with the world. Committed to a Messianic view of life, most of us are convinced that if we will only endure to the end we will win in the end. Yet, as turmoil and unrest swirl around us, it is difficult at times not to feel, with Matthew Arnold, that

... we are here as on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.¹²

But our folklore persuades us otherwise. It teaches us that there is, after all, order in the universe and that if things get too much out of hand, God will step in and set them right.

Consider, for example, the following story:

There was war between the Arabs and the Jews and the Jews were out-numbered by hundreds, thousands. They had one cannon and they had like about ten men, and the Arabs had stuff from Russia, artillery and all sorts of stuff. And the Jews were banging on cans and moving the cannon over here and they'd shoot it and then they'd move it back and shoot it so the Arabs would think they had lots of men. And they were only fooled for a little while.

And then when the Jews had just about run out of all their ammo and they were ready to surrender, then the Arabs, they all threw down their weapons and came walking and waving the white flag and everything, surrendering to these Jews. And the Jews walk out and there's ten of them. And the Arab guy who was spokesman for the group said: "Where are those thousands of troops that were just across the hill with the man in white leading them? This man was dressed in white and he was leading all these thousands of men and he had a long beard."

In some accounts *three* men with white flowing beards appear to the Arab generals and warn them to surrender or to face annihilation. The story, one of the most popular Nephite accounts to develop in recent years,¹³ has been attached to all the Arab-Israeli wars: the 1948 War, the 1956 War, the 1967 War, and the recent war

¹²Matthew Arnold, "Dover Beach," in *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*, 1840-1867 (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 402.

¹³This story seems to have entered the Nephite tradition from printed sources. A somewhat different version from the one given here was cited by Joseph Fielding Smith in *The Signs of the Times* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1952), pp. 227-29. Two years later LeGrand Richards printed the same story in *Israel! Do You Know?* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), pp. 229-33. Both President Smith and Elder Richards cited as their source an article in *The Jewish Hope* by Arthur U. Michelson. Neither of them argued that the men in the story were Nephites but merely suggested that they might have been.

that brought about the oil crisis. It persuades those who believe it that God's plans for the Jews will not be thwarted and that he will not allow the wrong side to win in the Middle East.

On a less grand, but no less significant, scale, we hear stories which convince us that the missionary system will succeed in taking the gospel to the world. For example, a recent story tells of a missionary in the Language Training Mission who had gotten up one hot night to take a shower:

He took his shower and returned or began to return to his room. Halfway down the hall he stopped because he heard a noise and wheeled around. Upon doing so he saw before each door an armed guard. Each one was a full six feet six inches tall, and regally dressed as one might expect a Nephite army to be dressed. One sees many such pictures of Moroni. Each one was standing at attention, and the ones at the end of the hall behind him were changing guard, therefore the noise.

From the mission fields come numerous accounts of these guardian warriors being put to good service. Missionaries are saved from storms, rescued from violent mobs, and pulled from flaming wrecks on the freeway. In one instance, two lady missionaries, who run out of gasoline in the middle of a New Mexico desert, fortuitously discover a service station, fill up, and proceed on their journey; on their next trip over the same road they learn that no station has ever existed at the place where they filled their car with gas. After being badly treated on one street in Taiwan, the missionaries shake dust from their feet and the entire street burns down. In South America the elders dust their feet and a town is destroyed by wind. Two elders leave their garments at a laundry, and when the proprietor holds them up for ridicule, both he and the laundry burn, the fire so hot, in one instance, that it melts the bricks.

With the monstrous Texas murders fresh in our minds and with other stories of opposition to the missionary program familiar to us all, we take comfort in stories that testify that the missionary system, and with it the gospel, will prevail and that our righteous sons and daughters will be protected from harm. The stories thus provide their listeners a sense of security and equilibrium in an unsure world.

In discussing the contribution of myth and ritual to the stability of a society, the anthropologist A. R. Radcliffe-Brown has argued that members of society share a "system of sentiments" (about right and wrong and about the order of the universe) and that it is the continuance of these collective sentiments that makes the survival

of society possible. The function of folklore, he says, is, through "regular and adequate expression," to keep these sentiments alive in the minds of the people.¹⁴ All the examples I have given above fit Radcliffe-Brown's formula rather neatly. They reinforce our belief in Church dogma and practice; they persuade us to follow accepted standards of behavior by showing what will happen to us if we do and, particularly, what will happen to us if we don't; and they give rest to our souls by showing that there is order and purpose in the universe. But in all the examples I have given, I have left out one very important person—J. Golden Kimball.

How do we deal with J. Golden Kimball? More important, how do we deal with the fact that thirty-seven years after his death Mormons still tell more anecdotes about him than about any other figure in Church history? At first brush, the stories told about him certainly seem not to fit Radcliffe-Brown's model. They often make fun of Church practice. They do not give one a particularly strong feeling for the cosmic order of things. And they inspire correct behavior only in the sense that those who tell the stories fear they may be struck dead for doing so.

To answer this question about the J. Golden Kimball stories, let us look briefly at a missionary tale. By far the best known and most popular story my colleague John B. Harris and I have collected in our study of missionary lore tells of a pair of enterprising elders who, deciding to take an unauthorized trip, make their weekly activity reports out three months in advance, leave them with their landlady with instructions to send one in each week to the mission office, and then leave on an unearned vacation. A few weeks before their return, the landlady mixes up the reports, sends one in out of sequence, and they are caught. The place of the unauthorized trip (New York, The Riviera, Cairo, Moscow, the Easter Islands, the bush country of Australia) varies greatly; otherwise, the details of the story, known in virtually every mission, are the same. One could argue that, since the wayward elders are always caught, the story serves as a warning to obey mission rules. Perhaps it does. But most missionaries enjoy the story because they find it amusing. One returned missionary who had served as assistant to the mission president, told me: "You would always like to do something like that yourself, and you kinda admire someone who has the guts to do it." In other words the hero in this story does for the missionary what

¹⁴A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Interpretation of Andamanese Customs and Beliefs: Myths and Legends," in *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1922), pp. 376-405.

he is not allowed to do himself—travel five kilometers beyond the boundaries of his assigned city.

Folklorists have long been intrigued by the problem we face here: Why do characters in traditional narratives commit acts that the tellers of the tales cannot, or would not, commit themselves? The answer seems to be, as the comment of my returned-missionary friend suggests, that folklore as a mirror for culture reveals not only outward behavior but also inner desires, not only what we can do but also what we might like to do if society did not decree otherwise.

Speaking to this issue, Roger Abrahams has argued that hero stories project cultural values in two ways: "as a guide for future action in real life and as an expression of dream-life, of wish-fulfillment." Of this second kind of projection, he says:

In many groups there is a trickster hero who expends much of his energy in anti-social or anti-authoritarian activity. Even when this results in benefits to the group, his actions cannot be interpreted as providing a model for future conduct. He is a projection of desires generally thwarted by society. His celebrated deeds function as an approved steam-valve for the group; he is allowed to perform in this basically childish way so that the group may vicariously live his adventures without actually acting on his impulses. To encourage such action would be to place the existence of the group in jeopardy.¹⁵

Applied to the J. Golden Kimball cycle, Abrahams' dictum means that the stories provide us the pleasure of sin without the need of suffering its consequences. More seriously, they contribute to the social cohesion Radcliffe-Brown talks about by making it easier for us to live with societal pressures that inhibit our natural inclinations and might otherwise be the undoing of both ourselves and our society.

In this connection, we should remember that the J. Golden Kimball stories are, in the final analysis, no longer about J. Golden Kimball at all. They are about us. We are the ones who keep them alive by continual retelling and by continual reshaping. We should be concerned, I believe, not so much with trying to characterize Kimball but rather with trying to understand ourselves—trying to understand why we have created the kind of character who lives in the legend, and trying to discover what need the telling of the stories fills in our own lives.

¹⁵Roger D. Abrahams, "Some Varieties of Heroes in America," *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 3 (1966):341-42.

I believe it is a need to assert one's own personality and to resist, or at least to deflate, those who exercise authority over us. One of my friends, for instance, says he takes delight in the J. Golden Kimball stories because he believes reverence for people is absurd and because J. Golden is always putting down the revered. Those who would like to censor the stories because of their colorful language have really missed their best argument. If the stories are dangerous, they are so not because of their language but because of their expressed disrespect for authority. In joke after joke, J. Golden is juxtaposed alongside a higher, more sour and dour authority. In almost every instance he lets the air out of this authority and gets away with it. For example, "J. Golden was talking with one of the Quorum members one time and the 'brother' said to him: 'Brother Kimball, I don't see how you can swear so much. Why I'd rather commit adultery than swear so much.' J. Golden answered: 'Wouldn't we all brother? Wouldn't we all?'" Another story states: "This happened in St. George. J. Golden was down there with an Apostle for stake conference. J. Golden fell asleep while the Apostle was talking and fell off his chair right at the feet of the Apostle. The Apostle looked rather strongly at Brother Kimball, who responded: 'Well, you shouldn't be so damn boring.'" Most of us know the story of how President Grant insisted on writing J. Golden's conference address because he had lost confidence in the crusty old man's ability to speak without swearing. J. Golden took the talk as he walked toward the podium, stared at President Grant's handwriting, then screeched over the microphone: "Good hell, Hebe, I can't read a damn word of this." There is humor, of course, in the swearing and in the thwarting of President Grant's plan, but the real laughter is evoked by the word "Hebe." Prophet, seer, and revelator—yes. But never Hebe. Therein lies the sacrilege.

Though the J. Golden Kimball accounts are the best known, they are by no means the only stories that put down authority figures. A large number of "Mormon Bishop" jokes also serve this end. The following story, which has also been told for years about Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis, is typical:

This bishop lost his bicycle and suspected that it was stolen, so he talked with his counselors about it and asked them to help him find out who stole it. The bishop decided to give a little talk in church about the ten commandments, and when he came to the commandment about "Thou shalt not steal," he would slow down and pause so that his counselors could see who squirmed and find out who it was that stole his bicycle. Well, the bishop got up in

church and started preaching about the ten commandments, but when he came to the commandment about stealing he didn't even slow down. He just rattled right on and didn't even pause at all. Afterwards his counselors asked him why he didn't slow down so they could see who squirmed when he talked about stealing. The bishop said, "Well, when I came to the commandment 'Thou shalt not commit adultery' I remembered where I left my bicycle."¹⁶

(It is interesting to note that not only is the bishop in this joke made to look ridiculous; he is made so by violation of the very law that bishops are usually most diligent to enforce among their charges.) Even among our children the tendency to rebel against authority by using folklore is sometimes evident. Fed a diet of saccharine-sweet songs by solicitous Primary and Sunday School teachers, youngsters often respond with parodies like the following:

I have five little fingers on one little hand;
I have six little fingers on my other hand.
During all the long hours till daylight is through,
I have one little finger with nothing to do.

Some of the jokes project not just a resistance to authority but also a concern with certain Church practices. For example:

One day Saint Peter was repairing the Gates of Heaven and a Catholic priest who had just died came to get in.

"It'll be a few minutes before you can enter," Saint Peter said. "The gates are broken. You can go over there and have a cup of coffee while you wait."

The priest calmly began drinking his coffee and Saint Peter returned to his work. Not long after, a Protestant minister who had just died approached Saint Peter to enter heaven.

"You'll have to wait while I fix these gates," Saint Peter said. "Just go over there and have some coffee."

The minister joined the priest. Soon a Mormon bishop who had just died came up to Saint Peter and wanted to get into heaven.

Saint Peter said, "You'll have to go to hell; I don't have time to make hot chocolate."

A joke which made the rounds a few months ago tells that

President Kimball sent out messages for all members of the Church to meet on Temple Square for an important message. The Tabernacle, the Assembly Hall, and the Salt Palace were full, and people

¹⁶Many stories like this one are Mormon not by birth but by adoption. They come originally from the large body of anticlerical stories known throughout the world. The central character, in the above instance a Mormon bishop, is a rabbi, a priest, or a minister, depending upon the religious affiliation of the people telling the jokes. The popularity of such stories throughout the Judeo-Christian world suggests that religious subjects everywhere have enjoyed deflating those who exercise authority over them.

were all over. President Kimball got up and said: "Saints, I've got some good news and some bad news. First the good news. We have just received a telegram from Western Union; the Millennium is here. Christ arrives in two days. Now for the bad news. We're all supposed to meet at the Vatican."¹⁷

Some Mormons are offended by this story because we haven't the necessary psychic distance to tell jokes about a living head of the Church the way we can tell them, for instance, about Brigham Young. But the story itself is relatively innocent, spoofing the belief that only Mormons will make it to heaven. Other jokes are more serious. For example, an anecdote collected recently but first heard by the informant in the 1930s tells that when Heber J. Grant was President of the Church and Rudger Clawson, who was a year younger than Brother Grant, was President of the Quorum of the Twelve, Brother Clawson was trying "with all his strength" to "outlive Heber." At a later date, the same story was attached to David O. McKay and Joseph Fielding Smith, who also were close in age and were Presidents of the Church and the Quorum of the Twelve respectively:

Before President McKay died, Jessie Evans Smith used to get her husband out of bed each morning and say: "All right, Joseph, it's time for our exercises. Ready. One, two, three. Outlive David O.; outlive David O."

I am quite sure that neither of these anecdotes has any basis in actual fact, but they both have a basis in the psychological fact discussed earlier—that is, both reflect a real concern of some Mormons that ascendancy to the Presidency seems to result from longevity rather than from revelation and that we are forever destined to be led by men long past their prime. I personally cannot hear the anecdotes with pleasure—I have been taught too long and too well to honor the prophet. But they exist, and if we wish really to understand varying Mormon attitudes, they cannot be ignored.

The stories we have been considering here suggest that however willingly we live under our authoritarian system we do not always do so easily. If the jokes trouble us, we should remember the point made by Abrahams: jokes like these do not provide models for con-

¹⁷This is a widely-traveled story, told by Catholics, Mormons, and Reorganized Mormons alike. The pope in the Catholic version and the church president in the RLDS version both advise their people that the gathering place is to be Salt Lake City. Occasionally Mormons tell of the pope sending his followers to Salt Lake City, the geographical setting varying according to whether the teller is making fun of his own religion or someone else's.

duct; they provide instead a means of easing the pressures developed by the system we live under (and no matter what system we live under there will be pressures). We should also remember that the people who tell these jokes are not out to overthrow the system. They are simply finding release from their frustrations through laughter. Next Sunday will find most of them in church faithfully attending their duties. The fact that they are there may indeed be a result of their saving sense of humor. These stories, then, like the stories of divine intervention in the affairs of man, contribute to the stability of both the Church and its members. And herein lies the paradox of Mormon folklore: On the one hand, it persuades members to accept and support Church dogma and practice; on the other hand, it provides them with the means of coming to terms with the tensions such support at times imposes upon them.

In conclusion, and in answer again to the introductory questions, Mormon folklore is Mormon literature, folk literature. The materials of this literature are not some sort of fossilized artifacts surviving from an earlier period and valuable only to the curio-collecting antiquarian. They are instead a body of living traditions constantly renewed and constantly re-created as Mormons react to the circumstances of their contemporary environment. This material is valuable to the student of Mormon culture because it gives him keen insight into the Mormon mind and a better understanding of Mormon behavior. It is valuable to the people themselves because it reaffirms their conviction in the truthfulness of the gospel; it inspires them to conform to accepted patterns of behavior; it persuades them that God is on their side and in times of trouble will come to their aid; and, finally, when the burdens of their religion at times weigh too heavily upon them, it provides them with the means to ease the pressure by laughing at both themselves and the system and thus to face the new day with equanimity.

Hagoth and the Polynesian Tradition

Jerry K. Loveland

In what amounts to an aside in the story of the Book of Mormon peoples, there is in the 63rd chapter of Alma a brief reference to a "curious man" named Hagoth.

And it came to pass that Hagoth, he being an exceedingly curious man, therefore he went forth and built him an exceedingly large ship, on the borders of the land Bountiful, by the land Desolation, and launched it into the west sea, by the narrow neck which led into the land northward.

And behold, there were many of the Nephites who did enter therein and did sail forth with much provisions, and also many women and children; and they took their course northward. And thus ended the thirty and seventh year.

And in the thirty and eighth year, this man built other ships. And the first ship did also return, and many more people did enter into it; and they also took much provisions, and set out again to the land northward.

And it came to pass that they were never heard of more. And we suppose that they were drowned in the depths of the sea. And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth; and whither she went we know not. (Alma 3:5-8)

What we have here, is an account of a colonizing movement of men, women, and children who went out in ships presumably into the Pacific Ocean sometime between 53 and 57 B.C. And they were never heard of again.

According to tacit Mormon belief, Hagoth sailed into the Pacific where he and his shipload (or shiploads) of people became at least part of the progenitors of the Polynesian people. The primary question we will deal with in this essay, then, is whether there is any evidence from Polynesia itself to support the Latter-day Saint contention that Hagoth and his people were among the ancestors of the present-day Polynesians.

The question of Polynesian origins has been debated for nearly

Jerry K. Loveland is professor of history and political science at Brigham Young University, Hawaii campus.

200 years, but it has been only in the last generation that the greatest efforts have been made to determine the possibility of the entrance of cultural influences and people from the Americas into the Pacific.¹ Thor Heyerdahl has been the leading scholarly exponent of the theory that there were significant migrations of peoples from the Western Hemisphere into Polynesia.² In most scholarly circles now the argument is not whether there was American influence in the Pacific, but upon how it got there and how significant it was. As Roy Simmons notes:

There is no Polynesian [origins] problem, other than that created by ourselves, for it would seem that a handful of men and women from the east and west, and not racial groups as we know them today, produced the Polynesian people as a distinct entity among the races of Man.³

Most students of the subject think American influences were minimal, preferring to believe that the bulk of the peoples and culture originated to the west—the islands of Melanesia, western Polynesia (i.e., Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Rotuma, the Tokelaus, and the Wallis Islands) being settled before Eastern Polynesia (which includes the Hawaiian, Marquesas, Tuamotu and Society Islands, as well as New Zealand and Easter Island, which are the areas most likely to have been visited first by voyages from America).

Just when Polynesia came into being as a distinct cultural area has yet to be determined. Roger Green, one of the leading students in this field, has said that it is not until "about the 1st century B.C. that one is able to draw a distinct boundary between Polynesia and Melanesia. . . . At an earlier period this boundary simply did not exist, and Polynesia, as a cultural area, had yet to come into being."⁴

¹For a review of Polynesian origin theories see: Alan Howard, "Polynesian Origins and Migrations: A Review of Two Centuries of Speculation and Theory," in *Polynesian Culture History: Essays Presented in Honor of Kenneth P. Emory*, ed. Genevieve Highland et al. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1967); Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr., "Polynesian Origins," *Science* 141 (9 August 1963):499-505; Donald Stanley Marshall, "The Settlement of Polynesia," *Scientific American* 195 (August 1959):59-72.

²See Thor Heyerdahl, *American Indians in the Pacific* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1952), and Thor Heyerdahl, *Sea Routes to Polynesia* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).

³Roy T. Simmons, "The Blood Group Genetics of Easter Islanders (Pascuenses) and Other Polynesians," in *Reports of the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition to Easter Island and the East Pacific*, Monographs of the School of American Research and the Kontiki Museum, no. 24, pt. 2, ed. Thor Heyerdahl and Edwin N. Ferdon, Jr. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965), p. 343.

⁴Roger C. Green, "West Polynesian Prehistory," in *Prehistoric Culture in Oceania*, ed. I. Yawata and Y. H. Sinoto (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1968), pp. 106-07.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL EVIDENCES

Archaeologists, who have only in the last generation begun doing stratigraphic or subsurface work in the Pacific Islands, have established some Carbon-14 (C-14) dates for different island areas.⁵ The earliest of these are:

Fiji	1,290 B.C. ⁶
Tonga	820 ± 100 B.C. ⁷
Samoa	200 B.C. ⁸
The Marquesas	150 B.C. ⁹
Easter Island	A.D. 400 [A date which has been challenged.] ¹⁰
Society Islands	[A burial site on Maupiti Island, A.D. 860 (1090 ± 85 B.P.)]. ¹¹
New Zealand	A.D. 1,000 ¹²

Hawaiian radiocarbon dates have been notoriously unstable.¹³ The most ancient C-14 date for Hawaii, however, is from a Molokai site and is about A.D. 600.¹⁴

The earliest settlement in Eastern Polynesia, therefore, appears to have been in the Marquesas Islands. Interestingly enough, the Marquesas and Tuamotu Islands are the areas most easily reached from the South American coast by navigators dependent upon winds and currents.¹⁵

⁵Richard Shutler, Jr., "Pacific Island Radio-Carbon Dates: An Overview," in *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, ed. R. C. Green and Marion Kelly, Pacific Anthropological Records, vol. 2, no. 12 (Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1971).

⁶Ibid., p. 18.

⁷Ibid., p. 20.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 21.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid. These dates can only be approximate, of course, but they are all that are available at this point.

¹³There are several major problems in utilizing radiocarbon dating in the South Pacific. These problems are significant enough to leave open to question the reliability of many of these dates. See Shutler, "Pacific Island Radio-Carbon Dates," 2:23-27.

¹⁴Patrick Vinton Kirch, "Halawa Dune Site (Hawaiian Islands): A Preliminary Report," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 80 (June 1971):228-36.

¹⁵V. I. Boitov and D. D. Tumarkin, "Navigational Conditions of Sea Routes to Polynesia," in *Archaeology at the 11th Pacific Science Congress, Papers Presented at the XI Pacific Science Congress*, Tokyo, August-September 1966, ed. Wilhelm Solheim, University of Hawaii, Asian and Pacific Archaeology Series, vol. 1 (Honolulu: Social Research Institute, 1966), pp. 88-100; Edward P. Lanning, "South America as a Source for Aspects of Oceanic Culture," in *Studies in Oceanic Culture History*, ed. R. C. Green and Marion Kelly, Pacific Anthropological Records, vol. 1, no. 11 (Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1970), pp. 175-82.

But archaeological investigation is just beginning in Polynesia, and other than the C-14 data which supports the possibility of early settlement from the West, no archaeological evidence has yet been found which specifically substantiates the Hagoth story. Because of the warm, humid, tropical climate of most of the area, anything but bone, shell, or stone disintegrates quickly, and it is unlikely that many artifacts will be found.

Cultural similarities between Polynesian practices and any customs and traditions Book of Mormon people might have brought into the Pacific are also virtually impossible to trace. We do not know enough about the culture of the people of Hagoth nor of the earliest Polynesians to make any comparisons or to cite any parallels.

THE EVIDENCE OF TRADITION

It would seem, then, that if there is any evidence of Book of Mormon people entering the South Pacific, it must come from the oral traditions, histories, and genealogies of the Polynesians until such archaeological evidence as there may be comes to the fore. What we know today of ancient Polynesian traditions is what was recorded by literate aliens at the very time that Polynesian culture was undergoing radical moral, intellectual, and social change. Between 1775 and 1800 when these traditions were being written down, any Hagoth-carried traditions would have been about 1,850 years old. How reliable oral accounts could be expected to be after that long a period of time of being transmitted from generation to generation by word of mouth is a serious question. If the oral traditions had been common property, they might have been preserved more accurately. But they were kept by the genealogists and the keepers of traditions—the *tobungas*—who were often closemouthed about what they knew, either because they considered the knowledge too sacred to share, or because some types of information, genealogies in particular, were sometimes politically sensitive and needed to be safely guarded. In this connection, it should be noted that some genealogists were not above faking genealogies to suit the political purposes of their chiefs, as Sir Peter Buck notes:

The longer genealogies have been studied by European scholars, whose faith in these feats of memory has led them to overlook certain flaws which exist in the alleged human sequences. In some, the names of various lands at which the ancestors sojourned have been included, perhaps accidentally, as human beings. Various qualifying terms, as long, short, large, small, have been added in a se-

quence to the same name, but each is treated as a generation. The method is a convenient technique for lengthening a lineage. In others again, personifications of natural phenomena that belong to a mythical period have been interpolated into the human succession. Individuals have falsified records in order to give prestige to families newly risen to power or to hide the bar sinister that somehow cannot be avoided in long descent. The Hawaiian historian, David Malo, truly said that the expert genealogist was the wash-bowl of the high chief.¹⁶

Much of the Polynesian culture and tradition was gone within a generation after the coming of the Europeans. A good deal of history undoubtedly went into the graves with the sages who had known it, and often less well-informed individuals were left to repeat the traditions of their fathers to those literate aliens who came asking for their history. As we look to the recording of the oral traditions, we must also note the frequent disposition of Polynesian informants to distort their traditions to give them more standing with the European foreigners, of which more will be said later.

Among the collection of traditional evidence from Polynesia which we have today, we will look at two categories which might suggest a contact between Hagoth's adventurers and the peoples of the Eastern Pacific. These are the parallels between Old Testament stories and Polynesian traditions, and the tradition of migration accounts.

PARALLELS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS

Some students of Polynesian-American Indian relationships point out certain parallels in their respective religious traditions as proof of their common ancestry. Such parallels do exist and they are significant. But there are some problems for those anxious to assume a common source. There is a profusion of religious parallels between Polynesian religious beliefs and practices and practically every other major religion of the world, both ancient and modern. Critics have claimed there are elements of medieval Christianity, Greek and Roman mythology, ancient Indian Vedic Brahmanic beliefs, Hindu traditions, and Chinese Buddhism and Chinese folk religion in Polynesian religion, as well as traits from Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Melanesia and the Americas.¹⁷ This is not necessarily to suggest that the Polynesians actually borrowed from these

¹⁶Sir Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (Christchurch, New Zealand: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd., 1958), p. 25.

¹⁷E. S. Craighill Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927), p. 30.

various sources. Polynesian religious practices may have been invented independently of any other source as a means of answering questions fundamental to all human beings, or they may have diffused from an original source. One cannot say for certain.

Then, too, there are differences in Polynesian religion from area to area and even within a given island group. For example, there are many traditions about how man came to be created: man was created in his creator's image (Hawaii); the wind impregnated the earth and a girl was born (Ontong Java); a woman and a clam mated and man came into being (Rapa); man came from eggs (Marquesas); man came from dirt which was mixed with his creator's blood (New Zealand); man was begotten in a union between a plant and some red clay (also New Zealand); man descended from maggots on a rotting vine (Samoa and Tonga); man was first born from a *ti* plant (Niue); or from a rock (Tonga, Pukapuka, Samoa, the Tokelaus); or even from a blood clot (Chatham Islands).

But parallels between Old Testament and Polynesian traditions have been recorded. In fact, the similarities are sometimes so close that the initial recorders of them refused to believe they were authentically Polynesian. A good example of this comes from Tahiti where the missionary-scholar William Ellis arrived in 1816, fifty years after its discovery by European explorers, but only a couple of years after the first converts to Christianity were made. Ellis wrote this interesting account:

A very generally received Tahitian tradition is, that the first human pair was made by Taaroa, the principal deity acknowledged by the Tahitian nation. On more than one occasion, I have listened to the details of the people respecting his work of creation. They say, that after Taaroa had formed the world, he created man out of *ararea*, red earth . . . some relate that Taaroa one day called for the man by name. When he came, he caused him to fall asleep, and that while he slept, he took out one of his *ivi* or bones, and with it made a woman, whom he gave to the man as his wife, and they became the progenitors of mankind.¹⁸

But Ellis discounted the authenticity of the tradition:

This always appeared to me to be a mere recital of the Mosaic account of creation, which they had heard from some European, and I never placed any reliance on it, although they have repeatedly told me it was a tradition among them before any foreigner arrived. Some have also stated that the woman's name was Ivi, which would

¹⁸William Ellis, *Polynesian Researches. Polynesia* (1831; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), p. 110.

be by them pronounced as if written *Eve*. Ivi is an aboriginal word, and not only signifies a bone, but also a widow, and a victim slain in war.¹⁹

Eve, of course, is an English word derived via several languages from the Hebrew *Hawwah*.

Sheldon Dibble, a Congregational missionary who arrived in Hawaii in 1831, was less skeptical than Ellis. Noting the same resemblance between Hawaiian traditions and biblical accounts, he said that the Hawaiian oral traditions

. . . were told to the missionaries before the Bible was translated into the Hawaiian tongue, and before the people knew much of sacred history. The native who acted as assistant in translating the history of Joseph was forcibly struck with its similarity to their ancient tradition. Neither is there the least room for supposing that the songs referred to are recent inventions. They can all be traced back for generations, and are known by various persons residing on different islands who have had no communications with each other. Some of them have their dates in the reign of some ancient king, and others have existed time out of mind. It may also be added, that both their narrations and songs are known the best by the very oldest of people, and those who never learned to read; whose education and training were under the ancient system of heathenism.²⁰

The story of Joseph is comparable to the story of Waikelenuiaiku, one of ten brothers and one daughter, the children of Waiku. Waikelenuiaiku was the favorite of his father, but was despised by his brothers, who threw him into a pit. The oldest brother drew him out of the pit and gave him to another man with instructions to care for him. Waikelenuiaiku fled to a country governed by a king named Kamahoalii, where he was again imprisoned. While in this prison Waikelenuiaiku told his prison companions to dream dreams and report them to him. Four of the prisoners dreamed dreams which Waikelenuiaiku interpreted. He told the dreamers of the first three dreams that they would die; to the fourth dreamer he promised deliverance and life. The dreams were fulfilled as Waikelenuiaiku had foretold. The fourth dreamer told the king of Waikelenuiaiku's power to interpret dreams. The king sent for him and made him chief in his kingdom.²¹

While it is not in the scope of this essay to list and comment on all of the apparent parallels between Polynesian and Old Testament

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, 1909), p. 18.

²¹Ibid., p. 17. Dibble collected these and other traditions during the 1830s.

traditions, we may list several: a creation account that resembles the Genesis story; a story of a worldwide deluge; a story of the creation of woman from the first man's body; an account of a war in the heavens; a paradise lost; a forbidden fruit; a confusion of tongues; and the Joshua-like stopping of the sun for a period of time. There are also Adam- and Eve-like figures and Noah-like characters along with others who resemble the biblical patriarchs. In Hawaiian tradition there is a story in the Jonah tradition of a man who is swallowed by a large fish and later cast upon the shore. There is also a story of Kanaloa and Kane-Apua, which resembles the Moses and Aaron relationship.²²

But these stories are not without disbelievers. While John White, a collector of Maori traditions, referred to a deluge tradition among the Maoris, Elsdon Best, who was the most prolific producer of materials on the Maoris, and is a generation later than White, disputes that tradition. It was, he says, most likely infected with Christian teachings.²³ Anticipating such a criticism of some of his recordings of Hawaiian traditions, Kepelino, after describing a tree of life and death on the road to the underworld, says:

This is not a variant of a sacred (Biblical) story, this is a real Hawaiian legend. It is not a version taken from the stories of the

²²This is a partial listing of sources of Polynesian traditions which bear a striking similarity to Old Testament accounts:

Hawaiian Creation: Martha Beckwith, ed., *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 95 (Honolulu, 1932), pp. 14, 17, 24-34; Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, Memoirs of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, vol. 6 (Honolulu, 1919-20), pp. 267-68, 335, hereafter cited as *Fornander Collection*; Kamakau and Westervelt, as cited in Martha Beckwith, *Hawaiian Mythology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), pp. 45-46.

Hawaiian War in Heaven: Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race: Its Origins and Migrations*, 2 vols. (1878; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), 1:83; Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, pp. 48, 50, 54.

Tuamotuan War in Heaven: Teuira Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 48 (Honolulu, 1928), p. 349.

Forbidden Fruit and a Paradise Lost: *Fornander Collection*, pp. 273-76; Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, pp. 32-34.

Deluge Traditions: Society Islands - Henry, *Ancient Tahiti*, pp. 448-52, and Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, pp. 386-93; New Zealand - John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori*, 4 vols. (Wellington, New Zealand: George Disbury, Government Printer, 1887), 1:172-81; Hawaii - Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, pp. 35-38, and Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, 1:91-96; The Marquesas Islands - E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 69 (Honolulu, 1930), pp. 109-10; Fiji - Lorimer Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji* (London: A. Moring, 1904), pp. 30-31, and A. M. Hocart, *Lau Islands, Fiji*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 62 (Honolulu, 1929), p. 201.

Moses- and Aaron-like Figures: Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, pp. 68-70.

²³Elsdon Best, *The Maori*, 2 vols. (Wellington, New Zealand: Harry H. Tombs, 1924), 1:149-51.

Holy Bible. It is a strange thing taught by the Spirit. Perhaps the Hawaiians were mistaken. Perhaps a tree is not the roadway down into *Po* [the underworld]. Perhaps these were words handed down from our first ancestors, but lost because of the length of time gone by.²⁴

David Malo, a native Hawaiian scholar of the early nineteenth century, described a deluge in Hawaii sent by a personage named Kahina-lii.²⁵ Malo concludes his story with these words:

This is the story of the deluge which has been handed down by tradition from the ancients. Traditions are not as reliable as genealogies. Genealogies can be trusted to some extent. The ancients were misinformed. This we know because we have heard the story of Noah, and this does not tally with our tradition of the Kai-a-ka'hina-lii. For this reason this tradition of the Kai-a-ka'hina-lii cannot be of Hawaiian origin. It was heard by the ancients and finally came to be accepted by them as belonging to Hawaii nei.²⁶

Will Mariner recorded a Cain- and Abel-like story from Tonga which he learned when he was there in the early 1800s, just after the Christian missionaries came in 1797. In his account Toobo was elder brother to Vaca-acow-ooli. The older brother, becoming envious of the younger brother, who was wise and hardworking, killed him. The father of the two young men, Tangaloa, the chief Tongan God, found out about this and sent the families of both brothers away. Addressing the family of Vaca-acow-ooli, the murdered brother, Tangaloa said:

Put your canoes to sea, and sail to the east, to the great land which is there, and take up your abode there. Be your skins white like your minds, for your minds are pure; you shall be wise, making axes, and all riches whatsoever, and shall have large canoes. I will go myself and command the wind to blow from your land to Tonga; but they (the Tonga people) shall not be able to go with you with their bad canoes.

Tangaloa then spoke to the others:—You shall be black, because your minds are bad, and shall be destitute; you shall not be wise in useful things, neither shall you go to the great land of your brothers. How can you go with your bad canoes? But your brothers shall come to Tonga, and trade with you as they please.²⁷

John Martin, Mariner's compiler, says of this story:

Mr. Mariner took particular pains to make inquiries respecting

²⁴Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, p. 52.

²⁵David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publications, no. 2 (Honolulu, 1951), pp. 234-37.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 237.

²⁷Will Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands . . . Compiled from the Communications of W. Mariner by John Martin*, 2 vols. (London: Constable, 1827), 2:112-13.

the above extraordinary story, with a view to discover whether it was only a corrupted relation of the Mosaic account; and he found that it was not universally known to the Tonga people. Most of the chiefs and matabooles [lesser chiefs, often learned men] were acquainted with it, but the bulk of the people seemed totally ignorant of it. This led him at first to suspect that the chiefs had obtained the leading facts from some of our modern missionaries, and had interwoven it with their own notions; but the oldest men affirmed their positive belief that it was an ancient traditionary record, and that it was founded in truth.²⁸

Martin goes on to say that Mariner then told them of the Cain and Abel story in the Bible and told them he believed their account had come from some European who had been among them at an earlier period. (Tonga was first discovered by Europeans in 1616, though European visits were few and far between before the early nineteenth century.) But, he says:

. . . some still persisted that it was an original tradition of their own, whilst owned there was so great a similarity between the two accounts, that they were disposed to believe they had received theirs from us, perhaps two or three or four generations back.²⁹

A strong attack on the authenticity of Hawaiian legends and traditions with Old Testament overtones has been made in connection with the Kumuhonua legends, describing the creation of the earth and of Hawaii and of the origins of the Hawaiians, which were published by Abraham Fornander in 1878, in *An Account of the Polynesian Race*. The Kumuhonua account was published again from Fornander's notes in 1919-1920 as *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*. In the later volume he noted that his account was compiled from Kepelino and S. M. Kamakau,³⁰ contemporary scholars of Hawaiian customs and history, and acknowledged his debt to them for furnishing him with "some valuable chants, and the groundwork of the Kumuhonua legends, most of which was confirmed by the late Mr. Kamakau."³¹

Recently, Dorothy Barrere has argued that the Kumuhonua legends were "fabrications of the latter nineteenth century, and not traditions of pre-Christian days,"³² claiming that Kamakau and Kepelino deliberately distorted the Kumuhonua account, adding to

²⁸Ibid., p. 113.

²⁹Ibid., p. 114.

³⁰Fornander Collection, p. 266.

³¹Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, 1:vi.

³²Dorothy Barerre, *The Kumuhonua Legends: A Study of Late Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Stories of Creation and Origins*, Pacific Anthropological Records Number 3 (Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1969), p. 1.

an ancient authentic tradition certain concepts compatible with their own ardent Christianity. They were, she says, part of "an on-going attempt among some Hawaiians of that time to introduce 'traditions' compatible with Christian teachings."³³ Add to this the capacity of the Polynesians to adapt themselves and their culture very quickly to new influences and the problem of determining the exact tradition is compounded. A statement from Alfred Metraux in his study of Easter Island illustrates this latter problem:

The natives who are still acquainted with their folk literature have no scruples about introducing new details gained from visitors with whom they have discussed their islands' past. Lavacherty and I gave our Easter Island friends an account of their ancestors' behavior towards the first voyagers who landed on the island. I was greatly surprised to find later that details the Easter Islanders had learned from us or from other travellers had slipped into the modern versions of these tales.³⁴

In summary, we must conclude that while there are charges that many of the later striking parallels between the Old Testament and the Polynesian oral tradition result from mere fabrications, there are some other interesting traditions in prehistoric Polynesian culture which bear striking resemblances to the Old Testament chronicle. The similarities are so close as to suggest the Polynesians' ancestors brought these oral accounts with them into Polynesia. At the same time, we must be aware of the influence of time, error, and distortion which have either deleted from or added to the oral record.

MIGRATION ACCOUNTS

We might also expect to find accounts in Polynesian traditions dealing with migrations of Polynesian peoples from other places. Such a tradition is fairly well stated in Maori oral history which has the early Maoris leaving a homeland, Hawaiiiki, and sailing for New Zealand. The term *Hawaii*, or its variations, turns up in several places in Polynesia: *Hawaii* in the present-day Hawaii, and *Savaii* in Samoa. The ancient name for Raiatea in French Polynesia was, according to some, *Havaii*. The name also shows up in one Marquesan story in which the people of Hivaoa sailed to Havaii and back in a bamboo raft which had five levels, two below the water and three above.³⁵

³³Ibid., p. 2.

³⁴Alfred Metraux, *Easter Island* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 229.

³⁵Handy, *Marquesan Legends*, p. 137.

There are, then, traditions of the movement of people from place to place—hardly surprising considering the island character of Polynesia. Migration accounts are more frequently found in Eastern Polynesia than in Western Polynesia, where autochthonous theories are the rule. Our question here, though, is whether we can find any tradition that suggests an affinity with the Hagoth account in the Book of Mormon, any event that occurred 1600 years before the first Europeans entered the Pacific to note and record any Polynesian traditions. The answer here is yes, but. . . . In 1920, Handy recorded a Marquesan tradition of a great double canoe, the *Kaahua*, which sailed from Hivaoa east to Tafiti. (The Polynesian word *Tafiti* or *Tabiti* designates a foreign place.) Some explorers left the vessel there while others returned. Handy's informant insisted that the voyage was in the direction of the rising sun, that is, toward South America, not southwest toward the island of Tahiti.³⁶

The most striking Polynesian account of a Hagoth-like voyage is that of Hawaii Loa, or Hawaii-nui. (He is called Hawaii Loa or Ke Kowa i Hawaii in the Fornander story and Hawaii-nui in the Kepelino version.) Mormon tradition has it that Hawaii Loa and Hagoth are the same person, and LDS temple records show them as being the same. The Hawaii Loa story is a part of the Kumuhonua legends referred to above. A portion of Fornander's account (which he got from Samuel Kamakau and Kepelino) follows:

Hawaii Loa, or Ke Kowa i Hawaii. He was one of the four children of Ainani ka Lani. . . . Hawaii Loa and his brothers were born on the east coast of a country called Ka Aina kai Melemele a Kane (the land of the yellow or handsome sea). Hawaii Loa was a distinguished man and noted for his fishing excursions which would occupy sometimes months, sometimes the whole year, during which time he would roam about the ocean in his big vessel (*waa*), called also a ship (*he moku*), with his people, his crew and his officers and navigators. . . .

One time when they had thus been long out on the ocean, Makalii, the principal navigator, said to Hawaii Loa: "Let us steer the vessel in the direction of Iao, the Eastern Star, the discoverer of land. . . . There is land to the eastward, and here is a red star '*hoku ula*' (Aldebaran) to guide us, and the land is there in the direction of those big stars which resemble a bird. . . .

So they steered straight onward and arrived at the easternmost island. . . . They went ashore and found the country fertile and pleasant, filled with awa, coconut trees, etc., and Hawaii Loa, the

³⁶Ibid., p. 131.

chief, called that land after his own name. Here they dwelt a long time and when their vessel was filled with food and with fish, they returned to their native country with the firm intention to come back to Hawaii-nei [i.e., here in Hawaii] which they preferred to their own country. They had left their wives and children at home; therefore they returned to fetch them.

And when they arrived at their own country and among their relations, they were detained a long time before they set out again for Hawaii.

At last Hawaii Loa started again, accompanied by his wife and children and dwelt in Hawaii and gave up all thought of ever returning to his native land. He was accompanied also in this voyage by a great multitude of people . . . steersmen, navigators, shipbuilders and this and that sort of people. Hawaii Loa was chief of all this people, and he alone brought his wife and children. All the others came singly without women. Hence Hawaii Loa is called the special progenitor of this nation.³⁷

The rest of the story of Hawaii Loa tells of his further travels to Tahiti (where he had a brother), and to other islands. The island of Maui was named after his eldest son and Oahu after his eldest daughter. Kauai was named after his younger son. On one of Hawaii Loa's journeys westward he landed on the eastern coast of Lahui-maka-lilio "the people with the turned up eyes oblique. He traveled over it to the northward and to the westward to the land of Kuaahewahewa-a-Kane . . . and thence he returned . . . to Hawaii nei, bringing with him some white men . . . and married them to native women. . . ."³⁸

The descendants of Hawaii Loa were also travellers, and according to the Fornander account, they settled the rest of Polynesia and Fiji.

The descendants of Hawaii Loa and also of Ki (which are one, for they were brothers) peopled nearly all the Polynesian islands. From Ki came the Tahiti, Borabora, Huahine, Tahaa, Raiatea and Moorea (people). [All in French Polynesia.]

From Kanaloa were peopled Nukuhiwa, Uapou, Tahuata, Hiwaoa and these other islands. [These are in the Marquesas group.] Kanaloa married a woman from the man-eating people, Taeohae [a valley in the Marquesas on Nuuhiwa], Fiji, Tarapara, Paumotu, and the islands in western Polynesia. . . .³⁹

Kepelino's account is similar to the one published by Fornander, but briefer.⁴⁰

³⁷*Fornander Collection*, p. 278.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 280.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴⁰Beckwith, *Kepelino's Traditions*, pp. 76-78.

The Hawaii Loa story is certainly suggestive of the Hagoth reference in the Book of Alma, but its authenticity has fallen under suspicion because it is part of the "discredited" portion of the Kumuhonua story published by Fornander from the notes he took from Kepelino and Kamakau. The most serious difficulty, however, is the fact that no other Hawaiian tradition or legend refers to the Hawaii Loa account.⁴¹ Barrere accuses Kepelino and Kamakau of creating the Hawaii Loa legend, saying:

In the Hawaii Loa legend(s) Fornander's informants departed from Biblically-inspired tales and entered the realm of pure invention in their attempts to account for the peopling of the Hawaiian islands. Kepelino's story as written in 1868 is a plausibly told legend, but the embellishments and "biographical" material found in Fornander's notes . . . reveal the extent of the invention. They also disclose a knowledge of Pacific geography and of an ethnic relationship among Polynesian peoples that were unknown to the Hawaiians before western contact, and so could hardly have been incorporated in an authentic tradition.⁴²

One possible explanation would be that Kepelino and Kamakau had read the Hagoth reference in the Book of Mormon and postulated the Hawaii Loa legend from it. Mormonism was established in Hawaii and the Book of Mormon was available by the time the alleged fabrication of Kamakau and Kepelino took place. But there is no evidence that they borrowed from Mormon sources or even knew about Mormonism. Kepelino was a devout Catholic, as a matter of fact, which makes less plausible the claim that he would pick up an idea from the Book of Mormon on which to base a story of the origins of his ancestors.

Barrere says that for Kepelino "the problem of accounting for the peopling of Hawaii had been a topic of discussion among those who wished to replace the older mythological traditions with a more 'modern' and credible account."⁴³ Kepelino's and Kamakau's motives are so impugned by Barrere, who accuses them of intellectual dishonesty and outright fabrication. Her supposition that the geographical details in the Hawaii Loa story could not have been known to the prehistoric Hawaiians is a telling criticism. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, however, because it is supported primarily by the unprovable inference that Kamakau and Kepelino were so desperate to have an account of the peopling of Hawaii that they invented a migration myth.

⁴¹Barrere, *The Kumuhonua Legends*, p. 38.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴³*Ibid.*

Cartwright suggests that we not throw the baby out with the bathwater. He accepts the proposition that Kamakau and Kepe-lino doctored up the Kumukonua account with biblical tales, but he believes that Hawaii Loa was still a real character who figured prominently in Hawaiian history.⁴⁴

CONCLUSION

This study has been an effort to determine whether any evidence from Polynesian oral tradition supports Mormon interpretations of the account of Hagoth given in the Book of Mormon that a colonizing expedition left the west coast of South or Central America and found its way into the Pacific, the people in it becoming part of the Polynesian cultural heritage. We have accepted the theory that people from the Americas did become part of that heritage. We have not, however, found irrefutable evidence in the histories and/or genealogies of the Polynesians to suggest that they had a tradition of Hagoth's voyages. The biblical parallels and the Hawaii Loa account certainly suggest a remote ancestry with the Book of Mormon people, but we have seen that they are somewhat suspect. It seems unlikely that we shall be able to learn anything more from Polynesian traditions because the old wise men, the learned *tohungas*, the chanters of the genealogies, are long in their graves, and present-day traditions, although purporting to be of ancient things, are generally considered unreliable by the critics.

If the Hagoth account is to be verified scientifically, it must come from other means. Stratigraphic archaeology and other more sophisticated scientific techniques have only just begun to be applied to Polynesia. The great age of Polynesian discovery may lie just ahead of us—and here tradition may become a guide for the investigator.

⁴⁴Bruce Cartwright, "The Legend of Hawaii-loa," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 38 (1939):105-119.

Missionaries to the Saints

A. Glen Humpherys

Preaching the good word of repentance has characterized the Mormon missionary message since the Church was founded. Missionaries started traveling shortly after the publication of the Book of Mormon, and invited everyone to accept the restored gospel. In addition to the missionaries called to take the new message to non-Mormons, some missionaries were called to repeat the doctrinal teachings to members of the Church. These specially called missionaries set the pattern of Church meetings, dominated the speaking style, and established the tradition of traveling speakers.

Auxiliary missionaries and home missionaries are callings which have ceased to function in the Mormon Church as independent assignments. Gone is the horseback missionary riding wintry trails to preach fiery reformation sermons to the Saints. However, remnants of these once vital callings continue in the traditional duties of many leadership offices in the Church. A high councilor speaking in a ward sacrament meeting, a General Authority visiting a stake conference, and an auxiliary board member conducting a regional workshop are examples in our day of the home missionary form.

From the organization of the Church until the exodus from Nauvoo in 1846, Mormon communities were located in partially settled regions of the American frontier. Missionaries traveling from Kirtland, Ohio; Independence, Missouri; or Nauvoo, Illinois visited Church members scattered along their routes of travel. These members not only opened their homes to the missionaries for meetings with local residents, but also provided lodging, financial aid, and traveling assistance. When the Church became centralized in Salt Lake City, the relationship of members to missionaries changed. The Saints living on the farms of isolated settlements were no longer hosts to traveling elders. Missionaries left the Great Basin to preach their message to the world, but the settlers left behind did not directly participate in the cottage meeting-neighbor conversion process which had been the common experience of the previous decades.

A. Glen Humpherys is curator/director of the Wheeler Historic Farm, Salt Lake City, Utah.

During the 1850s-1870s Brigham Young called missionaries to travel among the Saints, preaching the need for repentance. Home missionary work borrowed the forms and procedures of full-time missionary work: holding public meetings, preaching, traveling in pairs, and relying on those who received the message to support the missionary. But the method most widely used by home missionaries was preaching to the Saints in a regular meeting.

In focusing on home missionary activities, it is evident that many special missionaries were called to do other work besides preaching to the Saints. These calls included sending special missionaries to mine gold in California, smelt iron in Parowan, process lead ore near Las Vegas, transport mail for the Brigham Young Express and Carrying Company, study at eastern universities, colonize various settlements in the West, or build chapels, schools, and temples.

Included among the home missionaries were forty-six elders called in January 1845 to act as agents in receiving tithing and donations for building the Nauvoo Temple. These men went on short missions contacting the scattered members of the Church between Illinois and the Atlantic Coast, returning to Nauvoo in the early spring of 1845 with the money they had collected.¹ At the October 1852 conference twenty-five elders were called to preach the gospel to Israel in the valleys of the mountains. These missionaries were both general officers of the Church and prominent elders such as David Pettigrew, a well-known veteran of the Mormon Battalion.² Brigham Young asked Cyrus H. Wheelock in January 1854 to preach in all the Salt Lake Valley wards, but did not give him detailed instructions concerning his calling. Brother Wheelock worked out the details with the local bishops.³ In the fall of 1854, Elders Wilford W. Woodruff and Ezra T. Benson visited several settlements under the direction of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. These missionary experiences were antecedents of the 1855 organization of Utah into six missionary districts and the appointment of home missionaries for each of these areas.⁴

Representative members of the Quorum of the Twelve and the presidents of the First Council of the Seventy met at the home of

¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1902) 7:368-69.

²*Deseret News*, 16 October 1852, p. 2.

³Bishops' Meeting with Presiding Bishopric, Minutes, 1858 to 1862, 31 January 1854, Church Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴*Deseret News*, 28 December 1854, p. 157.

Parley P. Pratt, 15 October 1855, and organized the mission districts of Utah Territory as authorized by the recent general conference. Utah County comprised the first district; Juab, Sanpete, and Millard Counties were the second; Iron and Washington Counties the third; Davis County the fourth; Weber County the fifth; and Salt Lake and Tooele Counties formed the sixth missionary district. Six to twelve home missionaries were assigned to attend quarterly conference in each area. These missionaries were recently returned proselyting missionaries, General Authorities, and other prominent members of the Church. In addition to the conference speaking assignments, they scheduled other conferences and preaching meetings throughout the fields of labor assigned to them. Brigham Young felt strongly about this home missionary effort. Preaching in the Bowery at Great Salt Lake City, 8 October 1855, he stressed that not "in any other place on God's earth is there a people who now need preaching to more than do the Latter-day Saints in this Territory, and that too by faithful Elders, faithful ministers of the Gospel, messengers of life and salvation."⁵ From the ardent, sincere preaching of these home missionaries grew a reformation that had a lifelong impact on many Church members.

In the three decades following the 1855 call of home missionaries, three kinds of home missionaries developed and functioned concurrently. First, the General Authorities continued to call missionaries as they had in 1855 to travel to and work in various stakes. Second, the Relief Society, the Retrenchment Societies, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, Sunday School, and the Primary each called missionaries to represent their cause like the missionaries called by the General Authorities. The third type of home missionary, which emerged in 1877, was the home missionary called by the stake presidents and high councils and sustained in the stake conferences to labor within the boundaries of the stake. By the middle of the twentieth century the duties of the home missionaries had been divided into the duties of stake missionaries, home teachers, visiting high councilors, and speaking companions to high councilors.

CHURCH-WIDE HOME MISSIONARIES

The Church-wide home missionaries created the style and traditional procedures which were used in subsequent missionary

⁵*Deseret News*, 17 October 1855, p. 156; Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints Book Depot, 1854-86), 3:115.

work to the Saints, and which persisted after the cause of home missionary work had withered. In 1855, a widespread vigorous missionary work was conducted both by regular officers of the Church and special missionaries. The need for reform was preached from the pulpit and taught in the homes. Repentance and rebaptism were the results of this concerted effort to bring the Mormons to a more spiritual style of living. James S. Brown described his labors as a missionary during the reformation by indicating that from 1856 to 1859 he baptized or rebaptized 400 persons and visited with the catechism from house to house.⁶

In 1861 Brigham Young called the prominent Salt Lake businessman George Goddard on a special mission to preach the cause of rags to the Saints. A new paper mill, erected in 1860 following the Utah War, needed rags to manufacture paper. Newsprint was in short supply and local resources were required to relieve the shortage without dependence on either overland wagon transportation or the United States' Civil War economy. Goddard was charged to gather rags for the operation of this Church paper mill. He preached the cause of rags in local meetings, from the pulpit in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, and in door-to-door campaigns. Despite the initial blow to his native English pride, Goddard attempted to fill the assignment to go to every town and settlement. He usually carried a basket on one arm and an empty sack on the other, gathering rags that could be used in the manufacture of paper. He garnered in his three-year mission 100,000 pounds of rags as well as the goodwill of many Church members and leaders.⁷

The First Presidency—Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and Daniel H. Wells—sent letters calling twenty-three elders as home missionaries in November 1863. They were appointed "to labor in the midst of the Saints, preaching in all humility and meekness, the spiritual things of the Kingdom of God, stirring up the people to repentance and remembrance of their first love, without finding fault with the Saints, and the blessings of the Lord will attend your ministry therein."⁸ Five of these brethren were asked to devote the principal part of their labors working with the Scandinavian members of the Church who had settled in Utah.⁹

⁶Diary of James Stephens Brown, 1859, holograph, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. Cited hereafter as BYU.

⁷Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 115-16.

⁸Brigham Young to John V. Long, 2 November 1862, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives.

⁹*Ibid.*

The *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* of January 1873 reported that the home missionaries were active in several parts of the territory, holding two-day meetings to increase interest in the work of God. In Salt Lake City they held special ward meetings on Sunday afternoons instead of requiring Saints to attend the usual meetings in the Tabernacle. This was especially advantageous to those who lived a long distance from the Tabernacle,¹⁰ and allowed the members to partake of the sacrament at a local meeting.

James S. Brown was called again as a missionary to the Saints in 1876. He had served as a home missionary during the reformation of the late 1850s and again in 1863. He was apparently an amputee, because he purchased a new artificial leg while on a mission to the eastern states in 1872. Despite this handicap, Brigham Young called him to work with the Indians in Arizona with the view of preparing the way for Mormon settlements there. While involved in this activity Brown brought a delegation of Navajo chiefs to visit Brigham Young in the fall of 1876. Following this meeting in Salt Lake, Brown was sent to visit the settlements and seek volunteers to move to Arizona. After another spring and summer in Arizona, Brown traveled as a missionary during the fall of 1877, visiting wards in southern Idaho and northern Utah. His home missionary assignment was to recruit colonists for the growing settlements in Arizona.¹¹

Representatives of Church education institutions were also called as missionaries and commissioned to visit local wards, speak in sacrament meetings, and hold special meetings to promote student enrollment. Karl G. Maeser, along with other faculty members of the Brigham Young Academy, such as James E. Talmage, made several education missionary trips in central and southern Utah. Each of these trips occurred after a letter of introduction was sent by the President of the Church to the local bishops and stake presidents in the visiting area.¹² In 1901, Ezra Dalby, accompanied by the stake president, went on a recruiting circuit of local Idaho communities preaching the cause of education and student attendance at the Fremont Stake Academy (later Ricks College).¹³ This practice of sending agents from Church institutions to local members has since become routine in the operation of Church schools, though no longer for recruitment purposes.

¹⁰"Utah News," *Millennial Star*, 35 (7 January 1873):14-15.

¹¹Diary of James Stephens Brown, 1876.

¹²Diary of James Edward Talmage, 2 June to 30 July 1880, BYU.

¹³Diary of Ezra G. Dalby, August 1901, microfilm of holograph, BYU.

As a missionary during 1889-90, Andrew Jenson traveled throughout the settlements speaking in Church meetings and studying historical records. He preached the responsibility of priesthood holders to keep a journal and gathered histories of the wards and stakes of the Mountain West. He was also a regular home missionary in the Salt Lake Stake, but continued his history missionary activities after his appointment as assistant Church historian in 1891.¹⁴

During the 1890s the serious financial needs of the Church were partially solved by calling Heber J. Grant and Matthias F. Cowley as fund-raising missionaries. In 1898 they went to the Pocatello Stake (Idaho) to raise funds to aid Church institutions such as the Oneida Stake Academy. This special assignment is an example of combined educational and fund-raising missionary work.¹⁵

AUXILIARY MISSIONARIES

Concurrently functioning with the specially designated missionaries were missionaries representing various auxiliaries which were being organized. The Relief Society, Retrenchment Society, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, Sunday School, and Primary each sent missionaries to wards and stakes to preach in sacrament meetings, hold special meetings, and work with members and non-members. The mobile ministry of the auxiliary organizations stems from the Relief Society reorganization of 1866.

Perhaps the greatest auxiliary missionary was Eliza R. Snow, president of the Relief Society. Sister Snow had a long history of Relief Society service beginning with her call as secretary to the first Relief Society organized in Nauvoo, Illinois, 17 March 1842. Later, in 1855, she was placed in charge of the sisters' work in the Endowment House in Salt Lake City. From this close association with spiritual ordinance work and a long association with women's organization activities, she developed a spiritual approach to teaching and missionary work. As president of the Relief Society, Eliza R. Snow traveled throughout the stakes assisting in the organization of Relief Societies, Primaries, and Retrenchment Associations. In her two decades of travel and meetings, she emphasized the need for repentance and demonstrated the influence of spiritual gifts in her own life. Her great work resulted not only in the spread of the

¹⁴Andrew Jenson, *Autobiography of Andrew Jenson* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938), pp. 186-95.

¹⁵James R. Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833-1964*, 5 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 3:305.

auxiliary organizations, but also in the wide use of auxiliary missionaries who followed her example.¹⁶

In the fall of 1869 Mary Isabella Horne was called by Brigham Young on a mission to teach retrenchment among the wives and daughters of Mormondom. With Eliza R. Snow and Margaret T. Smoot, Sister Horne met with Brigham Young and received his instructions concerning the teaching of spiritual values to Mormon women. Brigham Young had organized his own daughters into a Retrenchment Society, and Sister Horne invited some of the Salt Lake Relief Society presidents into her home to organize the cause of retrenchment during the winter of 1869-70. The individuals who were invited to the retrenchment meetings were encouraged to organize the women of their own ward areas into Retrenchment Associations. Each of these units was independent and not directly connected with the others. The visits of Sisters Horne and Snow were responsible for the creation of many of the local organizations, especially in the Salt Lake Valley wards. Other women followed the strong example set by Sister Snow and not only carried the responsibility for their local ward, but also visited the meetings of sister organizations, often preaching at the meetings and occasionally speaking in tongues.¹⁷

Retrenchment meetings were held in the homes of local officers or in the Relief Society buildings. Minutes of many of the retrenchment meetings were published in the *Woman's Exponent*. These reports reveal that visiting sisters were encouraged to speak in the meetings not only to express their feelings about the role of women, but also to relay information about the meetings of similar societies. An example of this missionary visiting was the 20 April 1875 meeting in Bountiful where four sisters from Salt Lake were in attendance. Mrs. Zina Young, a wife of Brigham Young, spoke on home industry and the raising of silkworms as one manufacturing endeavor which could produce silk dresses and ribbons of local origin.¹⁸

In June 1875, Brigham Young and some other brethren were touring the southern Utah settlements, accompanied by Sister E. S. Barney, Eliza R. Snow, Mary I. Thorne, and Elizabeth Howard. On 21 June 1875, at a meeting of the women at Moroni, Sanpete County, Brigham Young spoke regarding these four sisters, and said, he

¹⁶Susa Young Gates, *History of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from November, 1869 to June, 1910* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1911), p. 19.

¹⁷Gates, *History of YLMIA*, p. 31.

¹⁸*Woman's Exponent*, 15 May 1875, p. 186.

"would appoint them a mission to visit every settlement in Sanpete County and see that they were properly organized and set to work."¹⁹

Other published letters detailed some of the messages delivered in the meetings held at Ephraim, Gunnison, Spring City, Cedar Fort, Farmington, and Willard, Utah. Sister Snow spoke at these meetings advocating a return to spiritual principles which included living polygamy, closing saloons, marrying in the Church, and home manufacturing, especially the culturing of mulberry trees and silk-worms. Education for women was also a topic strongly preached in the sermons of retrenchment sisters. Education—though not from gentiles—was the duty of a retrenched girl. Eliza Snow preached that "the sisters in Zion are required to form the characters of the sons who are to be rulers and bishops in the kingdom of God. Then women must be educated, intelligent, and holy."²⁰

In 1877 when the stakes of the Church were being reorganized, the stake Relief Society organizations were also visited and reorganized by officers of the Relief Society. Phoebe Woodruff and Mary I. Horne referred to themselves as home missionaries in recounting the Relief Society meetings and the organization of the Bear Lake Stake at Paris, Idaho.²¹

Mary Ann Freeze followed the example of Eliza R. Snow in actively preaching the cause of women's retrenchment. Sister Freeze was the president in 1875 of the Salt Lake Eleventh Ward Young Ladies' Retrenchment Association. She visited other wards in city and country to assist in the local organization of societies. By 1877 she was traveling to Spanish Fork and Alta, Utah, as a representative of a successful organization, and in 1878 she was appointed as the first stake president of the Young Ladies' Association of the Salt Lake Stake. She continued active preaching to young ladies' organizations in Salt Lake, Ogden, and Logan during the 1880s, and in 1898 was appointed to the general board of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association.²²

In 1878 Aurelia S. Rogers, disturbed by the ruffian attitude of the young boys she had observed, obtained the help of Eliza R. Snow and the approval of John Taylor in organizing a Primary Association in Farmington, Utah, under the direction of her bishop. Eliza R. Snow and Mary I. Horne visited the Primary organization

¹⁹Ibid., 1 July 1875, p. 21.

²⁰Ibid., 15 August 1875, p. 21.

²¹Ibid., 1 November 1877, p. 84.

²²Gates, *History of YLMIA*, p. 84; Diary of Mary Ann Burnham Freeze, 1882, holograph, BYU; *Woman's Exponent*, 1 April 1875, p. 166.

at Farmington on several occasions in 1878 and early 1879. They observed the Primary members making carpets and cultivating beans for a storage program to match the wheat stored by the Relief Society. However, the major purpose of the Primary was to teach gospel ideals by lessons and songs. The successful programs of Primary units were exchanged among communities by organization leaders such as Eliza R. Snow.²³

Both the Primary and the Sunday School sent missionaries from house to house to enlist the youth in the instruction work of these organizations. This work was continued nearly three decades with formally called Sunday School and Primary missionaries. All of these auxiliary missionaries followed the pattern set by the home missionaries of the 1860s and '70s. The method was traveling, the purpose was to organize auxiliaries and preach repentance, and the mode was calling a special meeting.

The Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association combined both the experience of foreign missionaries and the concept of home missionaries in organizing and calling MIA missionaries. Junius F. Wells had just returned from a mission to England when he was called to preach missionary preparation to the young men of the Salt Lake area, and his missionary experience shaped the nature of the young men's organization and their missionary work. He related his mission introduction experience as follows:

I found myself upon a mission before I was eighteen years old, standing for the first time in my life before an audience to speak. I was in Liverpool, six thousand miles away from home. I was introduced by the president, and being a son of President Wells, there was much expected of me. It took the president of the branch several minutes to introduce me, but it took me just one and one-quarter minutes to say all that I knew. I desired in my heart that my brothers should be better prepared than I was for such a position.²⁴

By call of Brigham Young, Junius Wells organized the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association in the Salt Lake Thirteenth Ward on 10 June 1875. The purpose of the association was to give young men speaking experience in preparation for missionary work. Following the organization of the first group, Wells traveled on a preaching tour with his father, Daniel H. Wells, to the communities of Southern Utah in September 1875. His visiting took him as far

²³Aurelia Spencer Rogers, *Life Sketches of Orson Spencer and Others* (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon & Sons, 1898), pp. 212-24.

²⁴Gates, *History of YLMIA*, pp. 80-83.

south as St. George, where he organized a YMMIA. At the October conference Wells was called on another mission to the eastern states beginning with Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois, and continuing to the New England coast area. Before he left, Wells organized associations in Brigham City, Mantua, and in several Salt Lake wards. By 1 November 1875, Wells had reported the results of his missionary labors in Utah and had left on his mission to the East.²⁵

Brigham Young had a strong feeling for the work with the young men, and on 6 November 1875, he called his son, Brigham Morris Young, to serve with John Henry Smith and Milton Hardy in continuing the missionary work in the YMMIA while Junius Wells was on his mission. While visiting the territorial settlements, they were to confer with the bishops and local authorities, organize associations, and attend to the election of officers. The stated purpose of these organizations was to provide opportunities for bearing testimonies and speaking the truths of the religion. Beginning their tour in December 1875, B. Morris Young and Milton Hardy held organizational meetings throughout the communities they visited. The first circuit of their travels was to Cache and Box Elder Counties in northern Utah. In March they canvassed Utah, Juab, and Sanpete Counties, holding twenty-eight meetings in twenty-six days, visiting twenty-four settlements, four Sunday Schools, and eleven day schools. Following the April conference in 1876, these same two brethren traveled from April to June, organizing the young men in Millard, Beaver, Iron, Kane, Washington, and Sevier Counties. In July they toured Oneida and Bear Lake Counties in Idaho and Rich County, Utah. Brother Young and Brother Hardy organized associations, distributed tracts, visited previously organized societies, and preached in public meetings. Their circuit was a forerunner of the general reorganization of the stakes conducted by the apostles in 1877.²⁶

Returning from the Eastern States Mission in November 1876, Junius Wells again became very active and interested in YMMIA work and visited local meetings of the associations. He went on another organizing and preaching tour with Milton Hardy and John Craner during July and August 1878, to Box Elder, Cache, Bear Lake, Rich, Morgan, Summit, and Wasatch Counties where they created stake organizations of the YMMIA. During this tour they held sixty meetings, stressing home manufacturing, the establish-

²⁵Junius Wells, "Historical Sketch of the Y. M. M. I. A.," *Improvement Era* 28 (June 1925):718-23.

²⁶*Ibid.*

ment of libraries, and personal improvement; they also advocated a monthly conjoint meeting between the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations and the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations. (Retrenchment Associations had taken on these new names.)²⁷

In 1878 local members began visiting the young men's organizations of the Salt Lake wards on a formal basis. A rotating system of monthly visits by representatives of each of the city wards provided preaching experience for the representatives. The circuit functioned by having each association send two members to visit the meeting in the next numbered ward of the twenty-one wards in the city; the Twenty-First Ward sent visitors to the First Ward. The following week representatives were sent to the next ward in the numerical sequence, and thus the system continued until each ward had been visited by representatives of all other wards. The complete circuit required five months. The representatives not only attended the meetings of other wards to observe the procedures and functions, but also briefly addressed the associations they were visiting. In the weekly meeting following their visits, the representatives reported to their home wards the topics and procedures observed at the meetings last visited. From the meeting schedule, which was published along with the visiting appointments, it is interesting to note that one ward met on Monday evenings, eleven met on Tuesday, five on Wednesday, and two on Thursday evenings.²⁸

After the initial organizing visits and the subsequent visits to elect stake officers, the YMMIA conducted membership drives by meetings and personal visits in the style of home missionaries. These 1870 activities of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Associations set the precedent for later missionary action in the 1890s, but during the 1880s auxiliary missionary work was not pushed as a vitally needed force in rescuing the young. Current organizations and newly organized stakes involved many of the young men who were stirred into leadership roles by the association's activities. In addition, stake-called home missionaries were actively preaching in sacrament meetings. Because of these forces, together with the legal difficulties many members faced by enforcement of the antipolygamy laws, the focus of church attention was turned away from traveling missionary work. By 1896 the political status of Utah was settled when statehood was granted. However, the young men born

²⁷*Woman's Exponent*, 1 September 1878, p. 52.

²⁸Y. M. M. I. A., " *Juvenile Instructor* 13 (15 December 1878):286.

since the organization of the YMMIA in 1875 were only partially involved in the activities of the association. A new wave of missionary work splashed across the stakes of the Church under the sponsorship of the YMMIA.

"Be not satisfied, rest not content, until every young man professing the name of Saint in Zion is enrolled in the cause of Mutual Improvement."²⁹ This 1880 call to do missionary work was used as the basis of a new thrust of MIA missionary activity following the MIA general conference in July 1897. B. H. Roberts and J. Golden Kimball organized the MIA missionary work in a manner which enabled newly-called missionaries to labor for a three-month mission during the winter of 1897-98. Originally, Elders Roberts and Kimball hoped to call men they knew personally to travel out to the stakes of the Church as missionaries. However, they did not know a sufficient number of elders who were free to donate their time. Thus letters were sent to all stake superintendents asking them to consult with the president of the stake and supply a list of about eight names of young men suited to do this kind of missionary labor.³⁰

President Wilford Woodruff issued calls to the MIA missionaries similar to the calls he issued to traveling missionaries. One hundred and fifty-six elders responded to the call, eighty-eight of whom labored in stakes other than their own, and sixty-eight of whom worked within their own stake areas.³¹ Among those who labored in their own areas were missionaries called from eight stakes—St. Joseph, St. Johns, and Snowflake, in Arizona; San Luis, in Colorado; Alberta, in Canada; and San Juan, Wayne, and Uintah, in Utah. In twenty-three stakes missionaries from outside the stake were used to press the work. This system was adopted in an attempt to avoid local jealousies and preconceived attitudes toward individuals who needed missionary help.

Traveling without purse or scrip these missionaries depended on local members for food, lodging, and transportation during the missionary effort which started in American Fork, 2 December 1897, and lasted until the following February. Local association leaders were helpful in supplying lists naming enrolled young men and also lists of those who were indifferent to both Church and association work.

²⁹"Our Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 1 (December 1897):138-39.

³⁰"Report of M. I. A. Missionary Labor, 1897-8," *Improvement Era* 1 (May 1898):533-39.

³¹*Ibid.*

Three kinds of meetings were held in an effort to stir men into activity. First, public meetings were scheduled with local bishops and held in ward houses as a means of introducing the program to a large number of individuals. Second, conversational meetings were held in the church vestry or in the sitting room of a house that was centrally located. The individual who volunteered his home also invited his friends to attend these small, informal gatherings. The missionaries usually spoke at the meeting, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ in general and the cause of Mutual Improvement in particular. Following the remarks of the missionaries, questions were encouraged from the men and boys in attendance. Elder A. H. Snow of Brigham City, working with the Logan Fourth Ward, reported that one conversational meeting had nine boys in attendance ranging in age from fourteen to twenty-one. Seven of these nine had not been associated with the work of MIA. After getting the boys to feel at home and talking to them about an hour, the question and answer period started. Among the questions asked at the meeting was, "How did Joseph Smith get authority to baptize and organize the Church? Other questions on infant baptism, and changes in ordinances touched on many basic beliefs of the Mormons and were not confined to the narrower scope of association work."³²

In addition to the conversation meetings, the MIA missionaries did a great deal of visiting in the homes of the young men. These home visits were used both to enroll men in the MIA and to invite them to attend the public and conversational meetings. After visiting and meeting with most of the young men in a ward, the elders moved to another ward in the stake. By such means these serious, preaching missionaries covered most of the stakes, contacting and enlisting the majority of the young men who were not previously closely associated with the Church programs.

As a result of this three-month missionary campaign, 13,035 were added to the membership rolls of the association. This work had been pursued not only with wayward and indifferent Church members, but also with non-Mormons living in Utah. In addition to enlarging the list of names on the association roles the general influence of the missionary work was favorable. "Quite a general awakening of interest has been effected in the great work of the Lord. Many hundreds have been converted to the faith of their fathers, and have been started well along the path of duty."³³ Bishops

³²"M. I. A. Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 1 (February 1898):295-99.

³³"Report of M. I. A. Missionary Labor," p. 539.

and stake presidents noted a general improvement in the activities of members of their units. They reported that attendance had increased at Sunday Schools, theology classes, quorum meetings, and general meetings of the Church. This MIA missionary work also increased the payment of tithes and offerings as well as spreading the observance of the Word of Wisdom. Parents and local officers gave enthusiastic support to this movement as local positive benefits were observed.

The missionary effort was repeated from December 1898 to February 1899, with about 150 missionary elders visiting the stakes in the cause of Improvement Association enrollment. The purpose of their work was to bring about the reformation and perpetual progress of the youth of the Church. New names were added to the membership rolls of the MIA, but in much smaller numbers than the previous year since this second effort was largely a follow-up type of recruiting. A significant difference in the 1897-99 MIA missionary campaign was the number of baptisms reported as a result of the missionary work—twenty-six in one stake and eighty-five in another. The first year, 1897-98, resulted in a great number of young men becoming members of the Improvement Association. The effort in the following year was to convert those enrolled to a strong standing in the faith and stalwart, permanently reformed membership in the Church.³⁴ This was a dedicated, preaching missionary work which conducted nearly 17,000 personal visits and held more than 904 public meetings.³⁵

A change in the MIA missionary procedure was proposed by President Joseph F. Smith and B. H. Roberts at the MIA conference of July 1899. The form of the missionary work was changed and new functions were assigned to the missionaries. Forty elders from many stakes of the Church responded to the missionary call. This represented a drastic reduction in the number of missionaries used in the two previous winters when nearly 150 elders were serving on missions to the Saints. The forty missionaries met in Salt Lake City for five days of training during October 1899. These MIA missionaries were to take the information received in the training sessions to the local association officers of the wards and stakes. Their mission was to work with the leadership of the auxiliary organizations in the stakes and let the local leaders be responsible for the missionary work with the wayward and indifferent in their local areas. This

³⁴"Report of M. I. A. Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 2 (March 1899): 395-97; "A Word to Missionaries," *Improvement Era* 2 (December 1898):156.

³⁵"Our Work," *Improvement Era* 2 (May 1899):553.

precedent-making change created the basis for visits, training workshops, and leadership meetings of auxiliary general boards and even Regional Representatives of the Twelve Apostles.³⁶

Through these training missionaries local officers were given a clear outline of the functions of the officers of the organization. Because this was a leadership training movement, however, it lacked some of the zeal that had accompanied the preaching work of the two previous years. The reports indicated that the problems of officer turnover and the overburdening of local officials delayed the progress of the organizational work in 1900. Local leaders did not like the idea of a person from the local area being called to go to Salt Lake, receiving special training, and then coming back home with instructions for running the program, but having no responsibility to carry out the instructions. The idea was adapted further for the next session held in 1900-1901. The stake leaders came to training sessions and then returned to lead the local work of visiting directly with the association members as a local missionary of the MIA.³⁷

From 1901 to 1904 the responsibility of local missionary work was left with the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association of each ward. The work had begun to falter on the local level as some of the same persons were repeatedly contacted by various missionaries. Also, the reform zeal was waning without the input of traveling elders. New calls were issued for traveling elders to assist the local missionaries, but dramatic success was not forthcoming. The forms of missionary work were being perpetuated by an organization after the effective function had dissipated.³⁸

HOME MISSIONARIES WITHIN THE STAKES

The third branch of missionary work to the Saints was the calling of home missionaries within the stakes. These home missionaries comprised the largest group of missionaries in the Church. Within this large missionary corps considerable variety existed among stakes in the functions, calls, duties, and terms of service. Each stake president was able to regulate the home missionaries to meet local needs.

³⁶"Our Work," *Improvement Era* 2 (August 1899):792; "The Missionaries, Their Preparation and Labor," *Improvement Era* 3 (November 1899):75.

³⁷"Missionary Labor," *Improvement Era* 3 (July 1900):715-16.

³⁸"Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 4 (May 1901):554; "Local Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 3 (October 1900):952-54; "A Call for Missionaries," *Improvement Era* 4 (June 1901): 632-33; "Responsibilities of Officers in Missionary Work," *Improvement Era* 5 (December 1901):155.

The reorganization of stakes in 1877 created many new local leadership positions. This reordering of the local organizations came during the active work of home and auxiliary missionaries, and temple building in Salt Lake, Logan, Manti, and St. George. The territorial economy had been permanently altered by the joining of the transcontinental railroad lines at Promontory Point in 1869. The railroad facilitated the travel of emigrants from Europe to Salt Lake City and enabled Utah agricultural products and metal ores to be sold on a national market. Conversely, manufactured goods from eastern factories came to Utah in exchange for cash. Brigham Young proposed home manufacturing to curtail the outflow of gold and silver from the Great Basin into the national economy. The reorganization of the local units of the Church was an attempt to solve many of the problems of the time. The creation of new stakes and wards put new men in positions of leadership and changed the roles of continuing leaders. Spiritual awakening, home manufacturing, cooperative marketing of farm commodities, and promotion of education were all discussed in the circular letter of the First Presidency, dated 11 July 1877. This letter also detailed the duties of the newly appointed stake leaders and became the basis for calling home missionaries to promote temple building, repentance, and economic stability.

The final duty of the presidents of the different stakes listed in the 1877 circular letter was to visit wards.

The presidents of the different Stakes should make arrangements to travel and visit as frequently as possible in the various Wards under their jurisdiction, and elders, sound in doctrine and full of the Spirit of the Lord, should be appointed to preach from time to time, that our meetings may be more interesting and instructive.³⁹

Home missionaries were the elders called to visit the wards. However, there was considerable doubt about their abilities to make the meetings more interesting and instructive. Therefore, a theme continually repeated in the instructions to the home missionaries for the next half-century was to improve their speaking abilities and make their remarks interesting. Despite these often-repeated instructions, almost no formal program developed to achieve this result. A few of the men called as home missionaries had been trained to preach polished missionary sermons as the major method of gaining converts. However, starting in the 1850s and becoming more predominant toward the end of the century was the distribution or

³⁹Clark, *Messages of the First Presidency*, 3:293.

sale of tracts and books as the primary missionary activity, making foreign missions less effective training experiences for polished public speaking. Mutual Improvement Associations did attempt to promote good public speaking during the first few years of their organization. However, this program trained young people, creating an unfortunate situation as the older, less skilled men were the major part of the membership of the home missionary and high council groups. An undercurrent of boredom with home missionary and high councilor sermons was a contributing factor in low attendance rates and the almost total absence of youth from sacrament meeting, especially on "dry council" Sunday.

A description of the formulation, operations, successes, and failures of home missionary work throughout the Church may be obtained from the analysis of two representative stakes. Home missionary activities have been pieced together from an examination of the records of the Salt Lake Stake and the Cache Stake, Logan, Utah. Salt Lake Stake represented a populous, urban area and Cache Stake a scattered, rural one. Both stakes had been visited by home missionaries during the 1860s and 1870s, so the style and function of home missionary work was part of the local mode of worship.

The Salt Lake Stake, while not always the first in establishing new programs, had a strong, well-organized home missionary group and provides a basis of comparison and contrast. Following the intent of the 1877 circular letter, a corps of home missionaries was called by the stake president, Angus M. Cannon, in October 1877. The earlier calling of home missionaries by General Authorities could be confused with this selection of twenty-eight elders called to serve in the Salt Lake Stake because Charles C. Rich and Lorenzo Snow, both apostles, assisted the stake president in setting the missionaries apart.⁴⁰

The first of a long series of home missionary monthly meetings was held on 11 October 1877 at the Council House in Salt Lake City. At that meeting it was decided to meet in the Council House regularly at seven o'clock on the last Wednesday evening of each month for instruction and prayer. A special appointment book containing the elders' ward visiting schedule was placed in the office of John Taylor, president of the Quorum of the Twelve, and presiding head of the Church in the period following the death of Brigham Young.⁴¹

⁴⁰Salt Lake Stake (SLS), Historical Record, Minutes 1876-80, 8 October 1877, p. 88, Church Archives.

⁴¹Ibid., 10 October 1877, p. 89.

The visiting system of the Salt Lake Stake was organized by dividing the wards into two groups—the city wards and the country wards. Home missionaries were assigned in a rotating basis to visit the city wards on the first and third Sundays and the country wards on the second and fourth Sundays of each month. This meant that each ward was visited twice a month by home missionaries, but the home missionaries were often assigned to make a speaking visit every Sunday.⁴² The country wards held their meetings starting about 11:00 A.M., with starting times ranging to 2:00 P.M. The city wards held evening meetings, most of which began at 6:00 P.M. and some at 6:30 P.M.⁴³ Travel to these settlements was often by horseback or railroad. Edward Stevenson, who had been called as a missionary in the Salt Lake area in 1867 and served until 1873, related that he was dependent upon his missionary horse to get him to all of his appointments. Brother Stevenson was called again in 1880 to serve as a home missionary in the Salt Lake Stake. This is an example of missionary service as a direct continuation of the methods, forms, and procedures of earlier missionary work.⁴⁴

In June 1879, the appointment book was moved from the office of President Taylor and placed in the office of the gatekeeper at the east gate of the Temple Block. That summer home missionaries enthusiastically preached in reformation style. Two-day meetings were held in Mill Creek Ward and West Jordan. These meetings were designed to teach in some depth and to motivate the local members of West Jordan, South Jordan, Herriman, North Jordan, and Mill Creek to repent, reform, and retrench their lives. The custom of holding two-day ward meetings did not flourish, although two-day stake conferences were standard. The regular twice-a-month visits to local wards became a sustaining feature of the home missionary assignment.⁴⁵

Several policies and procedures in the call and operation of a home missionary program were worked out and formalized in the 1880s. George Goddard protested, as the Salt Lake Stake Sunday School superintendent, that conflict existed in the call of home missionaries who were also Sunday School officers and teachers in their own wards. Because the starting time in the country wards for sacrament meeting was late morning or early afternoon, the home mission-

⁴²SLS, Home Missionaries Appointments 1877, pp. 1-8, Church Archives.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Diary of Edward Stevenson, 5 May 1872, microfilm of holograph, Church Archives.

⁴⁵SLS, Historical Record 1876-80, 14 June 1879.

aries from Salt Lake City were forced to miss morning Sunday School duties in order to travel to their appointments. Despite the disruption of the ward Sunday Schools the stake president and high council were reluctant to release the home missionaries, unsure of the policy regarding their call. For twenty years home missionaries had been called by the First Presidency of the Church and some doubt existed in the minds of stake presidency and high council as to whether or not they were authorized to release this set of missionaries. They did allow individuals to resign, but declined to release the Sunday School workers because these home missionaries were appointed by the highest authority of the stake, approved by the First Presidency of the Church, and sustained by a vote of the conference.⁴⁶

The question of personnel changes in the home missionary corps was decided for the Salt Lake Stake on 12 December 1881. One plan was to make a complete change of the group and call another set of home missionaries for a similar term at the end of which the group would again change completely. Some stakes, such as Cache and Utah Stake, adopted this procedure. The feeling of the Salt Lake Stake high council was that gradual changes should be the policy of replacement. This created a perpetuating missionary group which had some members serving for nearly twenty years, giving regular sermons almost every week. Changes were regularly made at stake conferences when the list of home missionaries was presented for a sustaining vote. However, releases did not keep pace with appointments. As some brethren became reluctant to continue aggressive missionary work they were still retained on the list of missionaries but not assigned to make visits. New men were then chosen to assist in the active missionary work, which resulted in the home missionary corps growing larger in size while diminishing in activity.

The high council sometimes assumed the role of home missionaries. At stake conferences both the high council and home missionaries were presented and sustained by the members. The high council was a judicial, advisory body that constituted a regular, well-organized, perpetual group. The home missionary group was also a perpetuating group. The high councilors and alternate members of the high council were sustained on the home missionary list. However, as the number of home missionaries grew to 150, the high councilors represented only a small portion of the group.⁴⁷

⁴⁶SLS High Council, Minutes 1878-82, 29 August 1881, p. 742, Church Archives.

⁴⁷Ibid., 12 December 1881, p. 780.

The qualifications of the men appointed as home missionaries were varied and many. The list of missionaries includes names of older men who were prominent in the community. Businessmen, such as Elias Morris and James P. Freeze, served as home missionaries. In the 1880s family names such as Wooley, Young, Richards, Wells, Cannon, and Pratt were sprinkled across the home missionary lists. Some able young men who would later become prominent also served as home missionaries, such as Andrew Jenson, later assistant church historian, and Matthias F. Cowley, later a member of the Quorum of the Twelve.⁴⁸

Speaking was the primary function of the home missionary. On some occasions topics were suggested by the stake president or other leaders for the home missionaries to take to all the wards. In 1890 home missionaries were enlisted in recruiting members for the Mutual Improvement Associations. Church schools was another topic home missionaries were assigned to discuss. But most of the speaking appointments were left unstructured and the missionary was free to choose his own topic. The talks were often nearly an hour in length and occasionally longer. The following note gives some insight into the type of preaching being done by the missionaries, especially in the meetings conducted in the Scandinavian and German languages. Posted in the appointment book was the notice to the missionaries, "Please do not speak, unless in the language, over thirty minutes."⁴⁹

After fast meeting was moved to the first Sunday of the month from the first Thursday, the schedule of visiting wards twice a month was altered. The city wards were still visited on the second and fourth Sunday, but the country wards were visited only on the third Sunday. This eliminated some traveling which was regularly done by railroad trains on which the home missionaries received half-fare reductions. After the division of the Salt Lake Stake, from 1901 to 1905, the home missionaries continued twice-a-month visiting on the second and fourth Sunday.⁵⁰

The home missionaries in the Salt Lake Stake were not only perpetuated as a group, but also honored by special seating at Tabernacle meetings, where seats to the right of the stand were reserved for them. Presented as business at the 1 April 1902 missionary meet-

⁴⁸Ibid., 13 January 1882, p. 785; SLS High Council, Minutes 1882-87, 21 July 1882, p. 61, Church Archives; SLS High Council, Minutes 1878-82, 16 July 1880, p. 529.

⁴⁹SLS, Home Missionaries Assignments 1883-85, 14 June 1885, Church Archives; SLS, Historical Record 1890-99, 24 September 1890, p. 56, Church Archives.

⁵⁰SLS, Home Missionaries Appointments, 1900-1904, Church Archives.

ing was the proposition that the home missionaries teach members to sustain themselves and thus reduce the welfare support being given by the Church. As part of their regular speaking routine, home missionaries suggested that as many as possible of the people dependent upon the Church for their support sustain themselves.⁵¹

In 1904 a major change in missionary work occurred in the Salt Lake Stake, when Nephi L. Morris, the stake president, announced at the 18 September 1904 stake conference that the missionary work previously performed under the direction of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association was to become the responsibility of the elders' quorums. This started a flurry of local missionary work for the winter of 1904-05. The home missionaries were still organized and preached on Sundays, but new elders were called as local missionaries to visit personally with both members and non-members.

The elders' quorum presidents and the bishops of the Salt Lake Stake submitted lists of elders to the high council for consideration. From those recommended the high council approved thirty-seven elders for the work. Eventually thirty-nine elders accepted the call as local missionaries. This was a dedicated and well-organized program to visit the population residing within the boundaries of the Salt Lake Stake. Record and report books were printed and missionary tracts were purchased by the elders' quorums of the stake. The local missionaries worked in four districts, with two or three wards comprising each district. They were regularly employed in various jobs and worked as missionaries on their own time, traveling in pairs within the district assigned to them by the missionary committee of the high council. The home missionaries reported from their November visits that the local missionary work was underway in each of the wards.⁵²

The work of the local missionaries was to visit the homes of all members of the Church and to hold cottage meetings for members and nonmembers, their purpose being to preach the basic principles of the gospel of Christ and bring about conversions and a renewed dedication. The local missionaries also spoke in regular meetings of the wards and called door-to-door throughout the stake. A young high councilor, Joseph Fielding Smith, Jr., reported that in the first month of work the local missionaries visited 176 families of church

⁵¹SLS, Historical Record 1899-1904, April 1902, p. 100, Church Archives.

⁵²SLS, Historical Record 1904, 18 September 1904, p. 86; 12 October 1904, pp. 96-97; 23 November 1904, p. 116; 30 October 1904, p. 103; 23 November 1904, p. 115; 30 November 1904, p. 117, Church Archives.

members, 37 families of nonmembers, held 200 gospel conversations with church members, 43 gospel conversations with nonmembers, 73 prayers with families of members, 5 prayers with families of nonmembers, and held 11 cottage meetings.⁵³

The local missionaries, home missionaries, high council, and stake presidency met jointly in a regular monthly meeting from December 1904 to April 1905 to discuss the total missionary work of the stake. The local missionaries were making impressive accomplishments and the high council not only visited the local sacrament meetings as home missionaries, but also visited the local priesthood quorums. The attendance of the home missionaries at the monthly meeting declined rapidly as they felt others assuming their responsibilities. By contrast the activity and attendance of the local missionaries was high, and a spirit of dedication surrounded their labors. Elder Willard H. Farnes, president of the second missionary district, expressed the urgency of the local missionary work by "exhorting all to throw their energies into works of righteousness, because if they did not abide with Christ, touching the hem of his garment, they might find themselves, like Peter, sitting at the fireplace with the enemies of the Master."⁵⁴

Cottage meetings were a source of rivalry between the local missionaries and the acting teachers, who were elders called to act as teachers. An attempt to heal the rivalry created a change of focus for the local missionaries. They had started with a general missionary approach to all. After the acting teachers and the local missionaries found that they were both attempting to hold cottage meetings, the local missionaries were assigned to build the Aaronic Priesthood offices and lessen the load of the acting teachers.⁵⁵

On 2 May 1905, the local missionaries were released from their assignments and their work was celebrated by a reception hosted by the stake presidency. These missionaries had been very enthusiastic and successful, while the home missionaries had missed appointments, and the acting teachers were not able to generate the drive that had surrounded the work of the local missionaries. Following the experience of a successful year of local missionary work, the call of local missionaries was repeated again in the fall of 1905, with the more focused assignment to work in behalf of the causes of the Aaronic Priesthood quorums in the wards.⁵⁶

⁵³Ibid., 18 December 1904, p. 129.

⁵⁴Ibid., 2 December 1904, p. 122.

⁵⁵SLS, Historical Record 1905, 22 February 1905, p. 21, Church Archives.

⁵⁶Ibid., 2 May 1905.

Home missionaries continued to preach, visit, attend the monthly meeting, and be sustained in stake conference after the temporary program of local missionaries was discontinued. However, home missionary work was no longer characterized by a strong spirit of dedication. By the fall of 1907, thirty-eight home missionaries were sustained, but only fifteen were present at the 21 October 1907 meeting. This apparently was the last separate monthly home missionary meeting held on the Salt Lake Stake. Home missionary assignments were still made and the missionaries continued to work under the complete direction of the high council. An attempt was made to change the nature of the home missionary group by adding the recently returned foreign missionaries to the list of home missionaries in 1912.⁵⁷

In the stake conference of 10 March 1912, a dramatic shift of home missionary work occurred in the Salt Lake Stake when all the home missionaries were released. Following the example of other stakes, the Salt Lake Stake placed the entire missionary emphasis under the seventies. Missionary work approved by the First Council of Seventy was aimed at two groups of people within the stake. The first group consisted of nonmembers, many of whom had vague or wrong ideas about the Mormon Church. The second included nominal adherents of the Church who neglected their religious duties. The six quorums of seventy in the stake were assigned missionary conferences with the same boundaries as their quorum boundaries. Thus, the Salt Lake Stake Mission was first organized in March 1912. The presidency of the mission was composed of six presidents of seventy, one from each quorum, and the presidency of the stake.⁵⁸

The duties of the stake missionaries or seventies included making visits, distributing tracts, loaning religious books, holding gospel conversations, and baptizing converts. They also addressed the Saints in sacrament meeting, sometimes as companions to visiting members of the high council. The stake missionary program, under the direction of the seventies, became a regular feature of the stake organization with a permanent role of visiting the people in their homes..⁵⁹

Seventies were relieved of the duty of speaking in sacrament meetings after about a year of serving in that capacity. New missionaries were chosen in July 1913 by the high council. Twenty-nine

⁵⁷Ibid., 28 April 1905, p. 61; 8 November 1905, p. 147; SLS, Historical Record 1912, 19 February, p. 17, Church Archives.

⁵⁸SLS, Historical Record 1912, 10 March 1912, p. 25.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 29.

elders were called, many being recently returned missionaries, to serve as companions to members of the high council in speaking to the Saints. These home missionaries lacked the autonomy common to the first stake-called home missionaries of the 1870s. Recently returned missionaries were occasionally added to the home missionary list and the missionaries were assigned topics such as tithing, boy scout work, or civic beautification. Church causes on occasion enlisted these home missionaries in supportive, recruiting roles, such as the 1919 membership drive for 100,000 members of the MIA.⁶⁰

Home missionaries continued to be companions to members of the high council until after 1920. During this period many notices were made in minutes of the meetings stating that the home missionaries were performing in an uninterested and unsatisfactory manner. Bishops and bishops' counselors were assigned to accompany the high council on their preaching visits in order to give the bishoprics a wider experience in how meetings were being conducted in other wards of the stake. In an attempt to find something more meaningful for them to do, home missionaries were sent to preach to the ward meetings without high council members for a period of time before 1925 when it was again decided to have high councilors speak with a home missionary companion.⁶¹

In contrast to the method of using home missionaries in the Salt Lake Stake, the Cache Stake at Logan, Utah, structured the role of home missionaries in different ways. After 1871 home missionaries were called from the high council at Logan. Visits and two-day meetings were held in many wards in the early 1870s. In November 1876, about twenty-six missionaries were organized in Logan to preach to the surrounding wards during that winter. Later, after May 1877, when the Cache Stake was reorganized and Moses Thatcher was sustained as stake president, these men were called to various leadership positions. Other home missionaries were called in Cache Stake who continued the active tradition of preaching and personal visiting. They were assigned to ward meetings, and also spoke at the Sunday afternoon Tabernacle meetings in Logan.⁶²

⁶⁰SLS, Historical Record 1913, 16 July 1913, p. 80; SLS, Historical Record 1918, 30 January 1918, p. 81; SLS, Historical Record 1920, 14 March 1920, p. 160; SLS, Historical Record 1919, 27 August 1919, p. 137; SLS Historical Record 1922, 26 April 1922, p. 303, all in Church Archives.

⁶¹SLS, Historical Record 1920, 19 April 1920, p. 188; 14 April 1920, p. 187; SLS, Historical Record 1925, 17 November 1925, p. 64, Church Archives.

⁶²Cache Stake (CS), Missionary Meeting Minutes 1876-77, pp. 1-15, 50, 52, 53, and 100; CS, Historical Record 1877-84, 28 December 1879, p. 259, Church Archives.

Christian J. Larsen served as a home missionary in Cache and Box Elder Counties during the late 1860s. He also had missionary duties during the 1870s as a high councilor, both with the English-speaking Mormons and the Scandinavian Saints. In 1877 he was released from the high council to become a counselor to Bishop Melvin J. Ballard, but was not released from his duties as a home missionary. During 1880 Elder Larsen filled a three-month full-time home mission throughout Cache Stake where he and his companion visited from house to house and preached in public meetings. He reported at the January 1881 stake conference that in this missionary labor he "had traveled 500 miles, held 143 meetings, administered to 73 sick persons, and listened to the testimony of 313 Latter-day Saints bearing witness to the truth."⁶³

Home missionaries were called for a definite term of missionary work in the Cache Stake as regular procedure. Six months was the most common term, and missionaries were assigned to work in one ward for the period of their call. This resulted in the same two or three missionaries speaking in the local ward for the six-month duration of the call. The high councilors did not make regular visits and preaching tours to the local wards, but did do home missionary service when separately sustained as home missionaries. Therefore, during the 1880s, some periods of time elapsed when the local wards were left to develop their own preaching programs without missionaries from the stake.⁶⁴

The home missionaries were instructed in the Cache Stake to attend the Sunday Schools in the wards they visited, and use every opportunity to talk, and encourage the young in private.⁶⁵ The usual quality of their sermons may be judged from the following instruction "to take time to improve themselves as they may talk intelligently."⁶⁶ The reports of the home missionary labors in the Cache Stake during the months from December 1895 to March 1896 indicate that the group of missionaries visited 3,023 families, held 55 meetings, visited 22 Sunday Schools, visited 41 outsiders, and were turned away from 10 houses. By 1904 the home missionaries were serving for six-month periods on a rotating schedule of preaching in sacrament meetings and visiting Sunday Schools.⁶⁷

⁶³Diary of Christian J. Larsen, 1870, 1877, pp. 212-15, typescript, BYU.

⁶⁴CS, Historical Record 1882-98, 7 February 1886, p. 96; 5 November 1888, p. 231-32, Church Archives.

⁶⁵CS, Historical Record 1877-84, 13 May 1883, pp. 510-11.

⁶⁶CS, Historical Record 1882-98, 15 May 1898, p. 550, Church Archives.

⁶⁷CS, Historical Record 1882-98, 1894-95, inset between pp. 578-79; CS, Historical Record 1899-1903, 11 May 1902, pp. 364-65, Church Archives.

In January 1907, the high council became involved with a different version of missionary work among the Saints. The high councilors visited a ward and, with the cooperation of the bishop, called several acting priests to hold cottage meetings with the members and do visiting missionary work. The measurement of success of this program was the increased attendance at sacrament meetings, which ranged from nineteen percent to thirty-five percent for December 1906. The acting priests' missionary program was under the supervision of the bishops, but was directed by members of the high council.⁶⁸

In October 1908, the stake presidency of the Cache Stake invited the seventies of the area to perform some missionary work during the fall and winter of 1908-09. Their labors were preaching house-to-house and holding meetings, an action which was approved by the high council and the bishops. There began in that area a missionary movement under the direction of the seventies which grew into the stake missionary movement common to most stakes of the Church since that time. However, this stake mission included holding meetings both with members and strangers, while the stake missionary work as currently constituted developed into a system of work with nonmembers only.⁶⁹

CONCLUSION

By the mid-1920s the home missionary visit (which was the leading form of conversion and reformation in the 1870s) had dissipated to monthly high council visits to the Saints in sacrament meeting. The term home missionary was at times applied to the visiting companions of the high councilors, and recently returned missionaries were at times called to work with the high councilors in preaching to the wards.⁷⁰ However, in many rural stakes the returned missionaries soon left to attend school or seek employment in the urban centers. In these areas stake missionaries, presidents of quorums of seventy, stake clerks, and priesthood quorum leaders are still enlisted into the preaching corps to tour the wards and bring the good word to the Saints. Many regular high council visits are scheduled on the second Sunday of each month. Other stakes send high council home missionaries on the third Sunday.

⁶⁸CS, Historical Record 1904-07, 5 January 1907, p. 307, Church Archives.

⁶⁹CS, Historical Record 1907-09, 14 October 1908, p. 236, Church Archives.

⁷⁰*The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints General Handbook of Instructions*, Number 20 (Salt Lake City: The First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1968), p. 14.

Missionary work has been a characteristic of Mormonism since the publication of the Book of Mormon. During the 1830s and 1840s the missionaries frequently used the homes and hospitality of Church members in preaching the gospel message. However, direct member involvement changed after the Mormon group moved to the Mountain West. No longer did missionaries bring unifying messages to Church homes on their way to the mission field. Because missionaries left the communities of Utah, local members became isolated from Church functions, depending almost entirely on the zeal and ability of local officers.

Isolation, inactivity, loss of communication, and declining devotion to religious duty were situations which needed reform, thus prompting the creation of the home missionary system. As previously mentioned, the missionaries' function was to travel, preach reform and repentance and to open communication between the leaders of the Church and individual members. The missionaries' travels crossed organizational boundaries and broke down barriers of isolation. Traveling missionaries directly contacted Church members with personal and religious messages, thus bypassing less-than-zealous or inept local officers. The missionaries created a sense of belonging to a larger group, either stake or Church-wide. Exhortations to repent and increase religious devotion characterized each missionary wave. Each successive home missionary effort met with initial enthusiasm and success as needs for communication and identity were met, but often continued in form long after the program had ceased to function effectively.

As television, Church-wide magazines, and regional representatives bring direction and exhortation directly to the Church membership, the home missionary program becomes a rarely remembered, though significant, part of our past.

A Survey of Pre-1830 Historical Sources Relating to the Book of Mormon

David A. Palmer

The Book of Mormon contains an interesting historical and religious record covering the period from before 2,000 B.C. to 400 A.D. Internal reconstruction of Book of Mormon geography shows that the specific events mentioned in the book probably took place in those parts of Mexico and Guatemala known as Mesoamerica;¹ it was also in Mesoamerica that many of the great ancient American civilizations once flourished. Records were kept by the people of those civilizations, in addition to the book translated by Joseph Smith, and certain of the Prophet's detractors claim that he had access to those records and "was familiar with the advanced state of the native civilizations in Central and South America as well as the relics of the early inhabitants of western New York because of the many books available on these topics,"² further asserting that the Book of Mormon is simply a fanciful rewriting of already available material. The question having been raised, it is instructive to look at what substantial, authentic information on pre-400 A.D. Mesoamerican history was available in western New York in 1829.

One of the greatest early Mexican historians was an Indian noble, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl. He knew the Indian legends and had many painted books (codices) which served as a mnemonic aid in preserving that oral tradition. Trained in Spanish by Catholic priests and aided by the most reliable natives he could find, he attempted to compile the history of Mexico from its beginnings to

David A. Palmer is a research engineer for Amoco Chemicals Corporation.

¹Jesse N. Washburn and Jesse A. Washburn, *An Approach to the Study of Book of Mormon Geography* (Provo, Utah: New Era Publishing, 1939). See also more recent unpublished papers by John L. Sorenson and V. Garth Norman which give specific correlations of Book of Mormon geography.

²Hal Hougey, *Archaeology and the Book of Mormon* (Concord, Calif.: Pacific Publishing, n. d.), pp. 8-9.

³There are so many apparent correspondences between the early eras of this history and the Book of Mormon account, that an entire book has been devoted to their documentation. See Milton R. Hunter and T. S. Ferguson, *Ancient America and the Book of Mormon* (Oakland, Calif.: Kolob Book, 1950).

the Spanish Conquest.³ Copies of the original manuscripts were available to early Mexican historians. The first publication, however, was Lord Kingsborough's very expensive 1831 London edition.⁴ As late as 1839 the book was still unavailable to American scholars. Another more accessible edition has been published in Spanish since that time.⁵

Sigüenza y Góngora (1645-1700) is practically a forgotten figure among Mexican historians, despite his great efforts to preserve Mexican history. He spent a fortune collecting manuscripts and ancient codices including those of Ixtlilxóchitl. He wrote a great deal of ancient Mexican history, including the preaching of the life God, Quetzalcóatl. When he died, however, his manuscripts were lost by his heirs before being published.⁶ The historian Mariano Veytia says, "At his death it seems as if a surprise attack upon his papers had been sounded and everyone got possession of what he could."⁷ A few years later no trace could be found of his Quetzalcóatl manuscript, reportedly titled "Fénix del Occidente."

Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci (1702-1750) was an Italian nobleman who spent eight years in Mexico. His friendship with the Indians allowed him to gather a large collection of codices and other materials, but because he took up a public collection for a coronation ceremony for the Lady of Guadalupe without permission of the Council of the Indies, the clerics impounded his museum and put him in jail. Later, he was put on a ship bound for Spain and was fortunate to arrive alive because the ship was captured by British pirates. In about 1746 he was given permission to publish, but was never given access to his own materials during the writing of the book. Any references to the writings of Ixtlilxóchitl which had been in his library, had to come from memory. His book has many errors and has not attracted much attention. It is quite rare now, and apparently has not been reprinted in Spanish or translated into English.⁸

Francisco Javier Clavijero (1731-1787) was the most successful of the early Mexican historians in terms of publication. He was born in Veracruz, Mexico, and as a Catholic monk learned Nahuatl,

³Edward King, viscount Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico* (London: James Moyes, 1831-48).

⁵Alfredo Chavero, ed., *Obras Históricas de Don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl* (Mexico: Oficina de la Secretaria de Fomento, 1891).

⁶Irving A. Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1929).

⁷Mariano Veytia, *Historia Antigua de México* (Mexico: Juan Ojeda, 1836), p. 190.

⁸Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci, *Idea de Una Nueva Historia General de la América Septentrional* (Madrid: Juan de Zuñiga, 1746).

Otomi, and Mixteca, the native Mexican languages. He had early access to the library of Sigüenza y Góngora, so was well acquainted with the manuscript of Ixtlilxóchitl. He went to Italy in 1767 and did his writing in Bologna. His works were translated from Spanish for publication in Italian, and comprise the first comprehensive history of Mexico. It has subsequently been printed in many editions. Of primary interest are the English editions. These were printed in London in 1887, in Richmond, Virginia in 1806, and in Philadelphia in 1817.⁹ The book mentions an eclipse in 34 A.D., but aside from that Clavijero chose to ignore the period covered by the Book of Mormon, preferring instead to concentrate on descriptions of flora, fauna, customs, and later history, even though he had information on the early history available to him.

One of the most important histories of Mexico was written by Mariano Veytia. Born in Puebla, Mexico in 1720, he passed the bar exam at the age of seventeen and was sent to Spain, where he successfully settled some business matters in the king's courts. During his stay in Spain he made fast friends with Boturini, who gave him considerable instruction in American history. After serving as mayor of Oña for three years, he decided to travel through Europe visiting royal courts. In all these travels he spent time studying ancient artifacts and history. After his parents died, he returned to Puebla and served as the primary confidant in America of the King of Spain. By virtue of his personal prestige and influence, he had access to practically any manuscript on any subject available in Mexico. His most important acquisition was the museum of Boturini which contained the writings of Ixtlilxóchitl in manuscript form, as well as many codices, old maps, and other antiquities. Some of these have been lost since that time. Although Clavijero and Veytia wrote at about the same time, they apparently never met, and unfortunately were never able to compare notes.

Veytia chose, in contrast to Clavijero, to give substantial emphasis to the earliest period of Mexican history. He relied heavily on the manuscript of Ixtlilxóchitl, correcting errors made by Ixtlilxóchitl in converting Aztec dates to their Christian equivalents, and used many other primary sources, some of which have since been lost or destroyed. Some correspondences between the history of Veytia and the Book of Mormon include notice of a universal flood, the sun standing still for a full day, calamities during the time of the Jare-

⁹Francisco Javier Clavijero, *Ancient History of Mexico* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1817).

dites, a calendar change, journeys across seas, an eclipse, great earthquakes in 34 A.D., and the appearance of a white, bearded god shortly thereafter. After the death of Veytia in 1788, his manuscript was ignored for over thirty-two years. In 1820 a man named Orteaga decided to publish it, but unnamed difficulties prevented his doing so until 1836.¹⁰ It was not republished until 1944.¹¹

Returning for a moment to the time of the earliest historians, we should mention Fray Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590). One of the truly great chroniclers of Mexico, his works are a monument to a lifetime devoted to study of the natives he was called to teach. He was born in Spain, studied at the University of Salamanca, and came to Mexico in 1529. Wherever he went, he found the most learned natives—those who knew Nahuatl, Spanish, and Latin—and worked with them on documentation of their history, culture, and general ethnography, often matching codices with oral traditions. Two codices which were preserved in this way were the Codex Matritense and Florentine Codex.

Sahagún's work was reviewed by fellow priests, but although they considered it excellent, they decided that it was contrary to the vows of poverty for him to hire scribes to copy it—notwithstanding the fact that he was growing old and his hands shook so much he couldn't do it himself. One of his superiors scattered portions of his only copy around the province, but a friend gathered them up and returned them in about 1573. In 1575 a higher authority gave Sahagún the needed assistance and a copy was made. But in 1578 an inquisitional body, the Council of the Indies, heard that Sahagún had preserved idolatrous Nahuatl traditions, so they ordered him to hand over all the copies of his book to be burned. He apparently had a copy hidden, however, because in 1585 he reconstructed his work. After his death the manuscript lay hidden until its first publication in Spanish in 1830.¹² The first English edition, comprising only four of the twelve books, was published in 1932.¹³ The text of the Florentine Codex has since been translated from the Aztec directly into English.¹⁴

¹⁰Veytia, *Historia Antigua*.

¹¹Mariano Veytia, *Historia Antigua de México* (Mexico D. F.: Editorial Leyenda S.A., 1944).

¹²Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, Bustamente ed. (Mexico: A. Valdes, 1829-30).

¹³Bernardino de Sahagún, *A History of Ancient Mexico*, trans. F. R. Bandelier (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1932).

¹⁴Bernardino de Sahagún, *General History of the Things of New Spain, Florentine Codex*, translated from the Aztec into English by J. O. Anderson and C. E. Dibble (Santa Fe: Monographs of the School of American Research, 1952).

The Spanish priest, Juan de Torquemada (1557-1624), was one of the few chroniclers to see his history printed, a history which merits our attention because it mentions over water crossings by different groups of settlers. Torquemada's work was maligned because it presented the unpopular view of Indians as people of culture rather than as savages. Thus it was practically ignored until this century. The first edition,¹⁵ published in 1615, suffered an immediate scarcity when a ship carrying most of the copies sank. At the beginning of the eighteenth century only three copies could be found in Spain. Another copy has since been found in Mexico and I have examined a first edition copy in the Newberry Library, Chicago. There was a second edition published in Madrid in 1723 which also became a very rare book.¹⁶ The only reprintings have been in this century, and it has never been published in English.

Alexander Humboldt was a man of prestige and wealth who traveled through Mexico writing about the physical characteristics of the countryside. He made maps, measured altitudes, and compiled ethnographic data. Learning the ancient history was for him incidental, but he did describe the Mexican pyramids at Cholula in some detail, and did mention that some forms of theocratic government were known in South America. He was acquainted with the codices because he saw the remnants of the Boturini collection. His book was published in English in New York in 1811. Concerning the history he says,

The Toultecs appeared first in the year 648 A.D. . . . [They] introduced the cultivation of maize and cotton; they built cities, made roads, and constructed those great pyramids which are yet admired, and of which the faces are very accurately laid out. They knew the use of hieroglyphic painting; they could cast metals, and cut the hardest stones. And they had a solar year more perfect than that of the Greeks and Romans.¹⁷

This was the earliest history mentioned by Humboldt, but it does not even begin until more than two centuries after Book of Mormon history ends.

The other significant aspect of Humboldt's book is his reference to Quetzalcóatl, the serpent god, whom he dates to the period following the appearance of the Toltecs. Mormon writers have linked Quetzalcóatl with Jesus Christ partly because of references in the

¹⁵Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Sevilla M. Clavijo, 1615).

¹⁶Juan de Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana* (Madrid: Rodriguez Franco, 1723).

¹⁷Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, translated from the French by John Black (New York: Riley, 1811), p. 183.

Book of Mormon to the use of a serpent as a symbol for the Savior (2 Nephi 25:20; Helaman 8:13-15). If Humboldt was correct in placing Quetzalcóatl late in Mexican history, then how can the Book of Mormon references (and even biblical, viz. Numbers 21:5-9 and John 3:14) connecting Christ with serpent symbols be reconciled? Modern research has shown that there were at least two historical figures called Quetzalcóatl, and Humboldt was referring to the one who lived last.¹⁸

The visit of Jesus Christ to America is the central event in the Book of Mormon. However, historical documents available prior to 1830 did not speak of this visit at all. Had the lost work of Sigüenza y Góngora or the writings of Ixtlilxóchitl been available, the situation would have been different. Even if Joseph Smith had seen Humboldt's book or quotations from it, he would have had no evidence of anything bearing on a visitation by Christ. Nevertheless, it is interesting that modern research gives credence to that event.

John L. Stephens, who discovered the Mayan ruins in 1839, lamented the dearth of written histories which were needed to understand the cities he had uncovered. He said,

Throughout the country the convents are rich in manuscripts and documents written by the early fathers, caciques, and Indians, who very soon acquired the knowledge of Spanish and the art of writing. These have never been examined with the slightest reference to the subject; and I cannot help thinking that some precious memorial is now mouldering in the library of a neighboring convent, which would determine the history of some one of these ruined cities. . . .¹⁹

What led to Stephens' frustration was the fact that all the aforementioned studies were unavailable, even to a man of his stature.

¹⁸The first was the life god whom archaeological evidence has shown to have been worshipped since very ancient times in Mesoamerica. He was an historical figure who transformed himself into a god by achieving perfection. Represented by the serpent symbol, in anthropomorphic representations he is recognized by the cross cut of a sea shell on his chest (see César A. Saenz, *Quetzalcóatl* [Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1962], pp. 20-28), which symbolized his primary teaching that man must be spiritually reborn (see David A. Palmer, "A Study of Mesoamerican Religious Symbolism," *S. E. H. A. Newsletter*, no. 103 [1967]).

Various priests who pretended adherence to the religion of Quetzalcóatl called themselves by his name. The most famous of these was Ce Acatl Topiltzin Quetzalcóatl. Born in Michatlaucó, Mexico about 843 A.D., he learned the cult of the feathered serpent and later became king-priest of Tula, the Toltec capital in the state of Hidalgo. According to tradition, he was later expelled because of moral turpitude (see Laurette Sejourne, *El Universo de Quetzalcóatl* [Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1962], pp. 1-50). It appears that he took his retinue to the Yucatan peninsula, where he introduced many elements of Toltec culture and religion. There, the serpent was worshipped by the name of Kukulcán.

¹⁹John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Bros., 1841), 2:456.

Furthermore, Mayan history came close to never being available as a result of the burning of native records by the Spanish priests. However, after the inquisitorial spirit subsided, there were a number of documents written by natives in their own languages in European script, which were discovered in later years. None of these was published prior to 1830. Practically all of these documents are of interest to Book of Mormon students because of references to the creation, to sacred globes (Liahona?), and to migrations across the sea. There is also an extensive treatment of religious customs.

The *Pópol Vuh* was first published in Spanish in 1857 and in English in 1950.²⁰ *Memorial de Sololá* and *Título de los Señores de Totonicapán* were published in 1885, and *Papel del Origen de los Señores* in 1950.²¹ There are also a number of the so-called Books of *Chilam Balam*,²² the first of which was published in 1882. The writings of Gaspar Antonio Chi have only recently been translated and published,²³ and the works of the chronicler Diego de Landa (1524-1579) were first published in French in 1864 and in English in 1937.²⁴

Although there were a number of romances and other less than reliable books about the natives of North America available in the pre-1830 United States, North America appears to have no connection with the area described in the Book of Mormon account. The only authoritative sources available on Mesoamerica, where Book of Mormon history apparently evolved, were Clavijero's *Ancient History of Mexico* and Humboldt's *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*. Neither deals significantly or at length with the pre-400 A.D. period. The year 1830 was a turning point in Mesoamerican scholarship, however, as it saw the publication of the Book of Mormon in English, and the works of Sahagún in Spanish. Shortly thereafter Veytia's *Historia Antigua*, Stephens' report of his explorations of Mayan ruins, and the writings of Ixtlilxóchitl were published.

²⁰*Pópol Vuh, The Sacred Book of the Quiché Maya*, trans. Delia Goetz and Sylvanus Morley from Spanish translation by Adrian Recinos (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

²¹Adrian Recinos, trans. and ed., *Memorial de Sololá, Anales de los Cakchiqueles, Título de los Señores de Totonicapán* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1963).

²²Alfredo B. Vázquez and Silvia Rendón, *El Libro de los Libros de Chilam Balam* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1963).

²³M. Wells Jakeman, trans., *The Historical Recollections of Gaspar Antonio Chi* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Department of Archaeology, 1952).

²⁴Diego de Landa, *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest*, trans. William Gates (Baltimore: The Maya Society, 1937).

The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

Some fascinating sidelights to Mormon history are often revealed in correspondence between Latter-day Saint leaders and prominent non-Mormons. In this issue of "The Historians Corner" we present two such sets of correspondence. The first, edited by Dr. Ronald G. Watt of the Church Historical Department, concerns Lyman Wight, a former apostle who led a colony to Texas after the death of Joseph Smith.¹ Here we see Wight's attitude toward the Utah Church (perhaps gaining some insight into reasons for it), as well as Wilford Woodruff's very powerful defense of the Church.

While preparing a history of Mormon-Indian relations, Dr. Larry C. Coates of Ricks College discovered some interesting correspondence between Brigham Young and the famous American artist, George Catlin. Catlin is especially well known for his sympathetic and accurate treatment of American Indian culture, and his unusual proposal to Brigham Young reflects his deep concern for the future of the Indian people. It also reflects at least one very interesting public image the Mormons had achieved.

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN WILFORD WOODRUFF AND LYMAN WIGHT

Ronald G. Watt

On 1 July 1857 Wilford Woodruff, apostle and assistant Church historian wrote to Lyman Wight, a former apostle who had gone to Texas shortly after Joseph Smith was killed, taking with him about 150 Mormons who had been working in the timber country of Wisconsin. This letter started a fascinating exchange between Wight and Woodruff.

¹For a fine treatment of the Wight colony, see Davis Bitton, "Mormons in Texas: The Ill-fated Lyman Wight Colony, 1844-1858," *Arizona and the West* 2 (Spring 1969):5-26.

Ronald G. Watt is supervisor of the Archives Search Room at the Church Historical Department.

Woodruff was writing the history of the Twelve Apostles and found he did not have enough material on Wight "to do justice to it without your assistance." He informed Wight that he and his family were all well, and that it was generally a time of peace for the Mormons. He also informed him that Parley P. Pratt had been killed in Arkansas, and that Thomas B. Marsh, another former apostle, was returning to the Church.

I wish Brother Wight you could come and pay us a visit. We will all be glad to see you. We have built up a beautiful City in the valley of the Mountains. Our census makes us about 80,000 Souls and increasing fast—Mormonism is as great a trouble to the world as ever. All the Twelve are now in this country except O. Pratt, E. T. Benson, Erastus Snow and John Taylor who are abroad. Amasa Lyman and C. C. Rich arrived a short time ago from San Bernardino, and Geo. A. Smith from Washington.

He also reminisced: "Mormonism is as good to me to day as it was when I was with you in the old log cabin in Clay County, and milking the cows for Sister Wight and making brick for Col. Arthur's house."¹

Wight received the letter about a month and a half later. He sent Woodruff a history of his life and also raised the question as to why the apostles had cut him off from the Church:

I received your favor on the 12th inst dated July 1st, 1857. You may be assured it was well received it being the first I have received from any of the twelve for the last 12 years. I had come to the conclusion that they had become so far advanced in the order of the kingdom and become so popular in temperal things that they had entirely forgotten that such an uncouth old plough goger [gouger or codger?] as Lyman Wight had an existance on the face of the earth, but I yet live and am bold to say that of the doctrine of Joseph Smith the Angel of the seventh dispensation there is not a firmer believer or defender on the face of the earth and hold every ordination given me as sacred as I did the day they ware given, and if the death of Br Joseph gave one of the twelve a supremacy over the others I have it yet to learn, did Brigham Young have any authority at Joseph death more than he received from Br Joseph. If you answer no I ask whe[n]ce did he receive authority to disanul revelations given by Br Joseph? See Book of Doctrine & Covenants p 396 par 7th concerning building the Nauvoo house and by careful examination you will find that I have a revelation given to me which is not to end while I live on the earth, and no man on the earth has a right to take that mission from me being given of God the highest of all.

¹Wilford Woodruff to Lyman Wight, 1 July 1857, Historical Department Letterbooks, Church Archives.

Yet I did consider it my duty to counsel with the twelve, and the fifties [Council of Fifty] had not circumstances ordered it otherwise the mission I am now on Br Willford I received of the prophet of God, and it was well known by the twelve at that time that Joseph was striving very hard to come to this very place with 250,000 men he therefore requested me to come and establish a church in this region and such mission was even talked of while in jail where I had the advantage of six months teaching and received many things that is yet unknown to the church, never having refused to obey the prophet I started in all good faith, had but just got out of hearing before I was accused from the stand by who would be big of begging the mission of Br Joseph who to passify me gave his consent and that I run away from Nauvoo to get rid of fighting and that he could chase me all over Nauvoo with a plug of tobacco, I acknowledge I am afraid of tobacco but should have no fear of the person for I believe he was too lazy to have chased me all over Nauvoo, he pitched into me largely on many occasions but I care very little about the whole. I did not so much wonder at this having been with him for four weeks after the death of Br Joseph and I do not recollect of hearing him use the pronoun we when speaking of the twelve for the first time but got the pronoun I so completely to perfection that I considered myself out all together, I soon learnt that I was cut off from the church but never learnt what it was for, after learning this I found I had no where to go but to my beloved Br Joseph and to the Saviour with the former I have had many communications face to face without a dimming veil between, and received many good instructions this has been to me fully satisfactory, and as I am a little timid about meeting men with such dangerous weapons I have kept one steady course doing what I considered my duty according to my ordinations.

After this Wight wrote his life history, returning in a post-script to his original argument:

One or two questions more and I am done, was it necessary that Br Joseph should be of the lineage of Joseph who was sold into Egypt in order to receive the Melchizedek priesthood, and rule over the church? It is necessary that the same Priesthood should be handed by lineage from father to son? Can the priesthood be transferred to the lineage of Judah? Is it necessary that the lineage of that priesthood should be kept up through all ages of the world to carry out the purposes of God? Can you tell me why I was cut off from the church and such men as Orson Hide, W. W. Phelps; T. B. Marsh received in, have they ever asked Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon or myself to forgive them for writing letters to the Governor and swearing against us with a view of swearing away our lives? W. W. Phelps said under oath that he was baptized to save his property. One of Joseph's prophecies in jail was, if he was taken away Brigham Young, [Reynolds] Cahoon and, others would cut me

off from the church whether they had any accusation against me or not which I have lived to see fulfilled.²

Although Wight's letter was dated 24 August 1857, it did not reach Elder Woodruff until June of the following year, having been delayed by the approach of Johnston's Army and Woodruff's subsequent move to Provo. Following is Woodruff's eloquent and convincing reply to Wight's charges against the authority of the Twelve:

Provo, Utah Co. Utah Territory
June 30 1858

Brother Lyman Wight

Your letter dated Mountain Valley Aug. 4 57 has just arrived, it has been detained from us by the Army of the United States, and it has very fortunately survived the almost universal destruction of all our Mail matter, we regret that we could not have received your history in season for publication; a sketch which had been prepared you will see in the Deseret News, which is now published at Fillmore, 100 miles from this City.

The brief sketch of the History of the Twelve, had been forwarded to the Printers, they are only intended as a synopsis, leaving each of them the opportunity to publish the same in full, at their leisure.

Your letter has been read to George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, and your two nephews Stephen and Ephraim Wight, who are all present while I am writing this.

We have ever entertained the warmest feelings for you personally, and regret exceedingly that your course has led you from our midst; instead of building up ourselves, we have labored as one man to build up the Kingdom of God; you complain that Pres. Young used the pronoun I too much to suit you. He was the President of the Twelve, and the quorum backed him up and sustained him, you claiming more authority than the Eleven, went your own way, we regret the result exceedingly; it was your duty not only to council with the Twelve, but to take their counsel.

You refer to the revelation which says "it is my will that my servant Lyman Wight shall continue in preaching for Zion, in the spirit of meekness" &c. the spirit of meekness was the condition of the promise "I will receive him unto myself" which appears to us to be evidently wanting, when you declared in Nauvoo that you would not turn your hand over to be one of the Twelve, and it seems to us impossible that you should forget the caution of the Lord in the Book of Covenants in June 1831 "let my servant Lyman Wight beware for Satan desireth to sift him as shaft." Brother Lyman we ask you to think for a moment of the great promises made to men in the Revelation of Jan 1841 who have fallen, or who have apostatized and re-

²Wight to Woodruff, 24 August 1857, Woodruff Collection, Church Archives.

member that all those promises are upon conditions. We will name Bennet, the Lord promised to crown him with glory if he continued; also George Miller is declared without guile, did he continue? William Law you remember had great blessings in the same revelation, and the conditions, of them all, that he continue to observe the Counsels of the Presidency. When Joseph was taken away, the Priesthood continued with the quorum of the Twelve, with the fulness of the authority of the Priesthood, and when you turned your heels against it, Satan had you in his sieve, and like chaff you were blown away. Come back again brother Lyman and dwell in Zion, and resume your duty enjoined upon you by the Lord, and preach for Zion in meekness, and listen to the Councils of the Presidency, the Church, and cease to arrogate to yourself authority over your brethren. Brigham Young ordained you to the apostleship. He was the President of the quorum, and every member of that quorum whom Satan did not blow away as chaff, have stood with and by him, and faced every storm with him, as you would have done, if the light of the Spirit had been with you, "but he that gathereth not with us, scattereth abroad."

Pres Young by his persevering industry, untiring energy, and unexampled faithfulness, has been enabled to gather the Saints into the mountains, to the very place that Joseph had organized a company to explore; sent the Elders to almost every nation; translated the book of Mormon, and the revelations into many languages, and published them to the four quarters of the earth; and been enabled to defend the Saints from the unconstitutional aggressions of our Chief Magistrate. The God of Heaven hath done this that his servant Brigham, and his faithful brethren who have stood by him while those who led away factions, have wasted & are forgotten; many from your State and even one of your own posterity have found their way to Zion.

You complain that Orson Hyde, W. W. Phelps, and T. B. Marsh have been received into the Church: Hyde and Phelps were received and endowed by Joseph Smith, and we have yet to learn that even you objected to it in his life time. Marsh lived upon husks for more [than] a score of years, and finally wandered a miserable object of pity, poor, naked, destitute and disconsolate, and appeared before a congregation of 8000 Saints, and humbly asked them to forgive him, and let him at least dwell in our midst; they did forgive him, and permitted him to be baptized, and he remains a member, a living, palsied, limping spectacle of the fruits of apostacy, had you have been in the midst of Zion, he would have asked you, as he did all the Saints, to forgive him.

You remind us that in Jackson Co., in Zion's camp, and in Caldwell, you were called upon to lead the Armies of Israel, when they were surrounded by their enemies, the hosts of hell; the reason you was called upon was, you was at your post, *then*, you was *there* in the midst of Israel, valiant in the testimony of Jesus and the defence of Israel; but when the tremendous power of one great man

James Buchanan goaded on by the clamor of the people, was hurling his legions upon the Children of Zion, to crush from the Earth, the Priesthood; and when the nerve of every faint hearted member trembled to the Center, and the bloody war cry was reiterated from every corner of Christendom "wipe out Mormonism", where was its old defender? was he in the midst of the trouble; was he the foremost to defend the innocent; to lift the Standard of Zion; to face the monster; fearless, and determined to encourage the Saints in the dread encounter? or was he reclining at his ease in the sunny plains of the far famed Elysium of bliss, Texas, writing to me and my brethren the Twelve, as if in bitter irony "I thought you was too popular to think of an old codger like me."

You was cut off from the Church in the latter part of 1848, the subject was brought up on the receipt of a pamphlet which you published against the Authorities of the Church.

Brother Lyman come home to Zion, mingle in our midst, confess and forsake your sins, and do right, as we all men have to do, in order to enjoy the favor of God, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, and have fellowship with the Saints, then, and not till then, will your path be lit up so that you can walk in safety, and be filled with the power of God, and the fire of Zion burn in your bosom, until that time you will not be in a situation to build up Zion or defend her interests. We all feel interested in your welfare; you have no enemies here; the longer you stay away from us, the more alienated your feelings become, the Lord dwells in Zion; His Spirit and power is in our midst; He had delivered us and given us the victory up to the present day and we acknowledge his hand in all these things.

Brothers Geo. Smith, Amasa Lyman, C. C. Rich, and your nephews Ephraim and Stephen Wight all wish to be remembered to you with the best of feelings. We all respect you for your gallant course in defending your brethren against their persecutors in times past, and trust that the day is not far distant when we may again see you a humble man, with your brethren in Zion building up the Kingdom of God.

We shall be pleased to receive a letter from you at any time.

Yours truly
W. Woodruff³

Lyman Wight died on 31 March 1858 and never received Wilford Woodruff's letter. In September, O. L. Wight, Lyman Wight's son, wrote to Elder Woodruff informing him of the death of his father. Woodruff received the letter the following April.⁴

³Woodruff to Wight, 30 June 1858, Historical Department Letterbooks, Church Archives.

⁴Journal of Wilford Woodruff, 4 April 1859, Church Archives.

GEORGE CATLIN, BRIGHAM YOUNG, AND THE PLAINS INDIANS

Larry C. Coates

During his lifetime, Brigham Young received a number of letters from prominent people on such topics as mining, colonizing, religion, polygamy, and Indians. One of his most famous correspondents was George Catlin, the great American artist, naturalist, and author who on 8 May 1870 wrote an impassioned plea to the Mormon prophet asking him to forge the Saints into a fighting force to protect the Plains Indians from extinction by the government. Catlin's letter was motivated by newspaper accounts of the military campaigns waged against the Indians. He was infuriated by reports that Civil War generals George Crook, Philip Sheridan, and George Armstrong Custer were slaughtering the Plains Indians and confining survivors to small reservations to protect telegraph lines, railroads, and wagon routes to mining camps from Indian depredations. Feeling great compassion for his many Indian friends who had modeled for him while he painted them in their native dress, Catlin sent military authorities a circular aimed at convincing them that the government's Indian policies were wrong and inhuman. It was at this time that Catlin wrote to Brigham Young suggesting that he join forces with the Indians to repel federal troops from their tribal domain.

President Young was sympathetic to Catlin's concern for the Indians and agreed that government policies were misguided. In his reply to Catlin, Young predicted that "our country must answer for their bad faith, broken treaties, and great crimes in Indian matters." But the Mormon prophet rejected Catlin's suggestion that the Mormons form military alliances with the Indians. Instead, Young restated a philosophy that had guided his relations with the Indians for some thirty years when he told Catlin:

We have found it cheaper to feed than to fight them at the same time we do not believe in descending to their degraded level to do them good, but to raise them to be industrious, orderly, honest, and peaceful. Thus we shall gain their love, and by keeping our word with them hold their respect.

The letters that follow are verbatim copies of the correspondence exchanged between George Catlin and Brigham Young.¹

Larry C. Coates is professor of history at Ricks College.

¹Both letters are located in the Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

May 8 1870
To Brigham Young,
President, Latter day Saints.
Great Salt Lake City.

Sir,

The long life which I have devoted to visiting the various tribes of North American Indians, with the view to perpetuate their looks and customs, has rendered me cognizant of most of their habits, & also of their misfortunes growing out of the encroachments of civilization with its deceptions—its vices, diseases, bayonets and babies; and through recent events, (& events that are being clearly foreshadowed) I have a clairvoyance that dates from the recent horrible & disgraceful massacres, pointing to the contemplated destiny of your Institutions, and which, as a lover of Liberty in Religion, as in all other human affairs, I feel it my duty to disclose to you.

In General Sheridan's recent letter which you no doubt have seen, and in which he says he has command over more than 5,000 miles of Indian frontiers, he justifies his assassination of the Piegan Indians, and proclaims that the Indians are "*fiends*", and that all the tribes must be removed by *military force*, into the Reservations, which are the *Indian's last ditch*; and that by *the troops* they must be held there to be tangible to civilization."

By this heartless proclamation and the cruelty of the Piegan affair, it is easy to see that his object is to excite the Indians to a general war on the whole Indian frontiers, authorizing him to call for a vast army of Soldiers, and after the complete extermination or expulsion of the Indian tribes, (with his troops in the country on all sides, and practised in butcheries) to concentrate his forces on the peaceable and successful Institutions which God has helped you to build up in the wilderness.

I was at the Salt Lake when your Temple was building at Nauvoo, and I was an eye witness to some parts of your shameful persecutions in Missouri. I have admired the perseverance and the industry of your people, and God, who has supported you in your weakness and in your tribulations, will not desert you in your strength and your greatness.

Your people have been the friends of the poor Indians, who have now, no other efficient friends on the earth. You will easily see that their extermination is resolved upon, and *I* see, (not only in *conjecture*, but *know*, from more reliable sources) that the destiny of your Institutions is resolved on, to follow that of the Indian tribes.

The example which your people have shown to the world, of civilizing the Indians around you, is an honour to your Religion; and amongst the Indian tribes will have its good effects in drawing the Indian tribes around you in a grand fraternity which I am here to suggest, for their civilization, and your mutual protection against the invading military forces which are entering the great Far West on every side, and which are now marching on you both.

The State that the poor Indians are now in, in all directions

—driven from their hunting grounds and the graves of their parents and children, and being butchered indiscriminately by the monster who wields the army of the Great West, is so alarming & so terrifying to those defenceless people, that the hand of friendship—of brotherhood, extended by the Mormons, would be grasped by them all, and a compact could be formed around you, furnishing some 30, or 40,000, efficient and ready warriors; and taking the field, (and holding it) together, for a common defence, would do more for the civilization and fraternization of those dying races, than all the missionary teaching of the world coul[d] do; and in my opinion that method, and none other, will save your own Institutions and the poor Indians from the exterminating storm, the Electricity for which is gathering around, and preparing to burst upon you.

I have visited nearly every tribe and remnant of tribes now existing in North America, & gathered (not the people, but) their looks and customs, in a compact which sabres and revolvers cannot annihilate, I have made more than 12,00 paintings in oil, containing 600. portraits from the life, & more than 20.000. full length figures in action, in their various games, Religious Ceremonies and other Customs; and if I were a younger man, I would go again to those tribes, as your Emissary, & show them that their deliverance from robbing and death was at hand. I would go to the Cherokees, of 18.000. the Choctaws, of 21.000. the Creeks, of 16.000. already civilized and agricultural, who have been several times removed, and who told me their next move will be into the Rocky Mountains.

I would go to my friends the Apachees, who, when brought together, can muster 8,000. cavalry, and who cannot be removed to the South, as they are on the borders of Mexico. I would go to the Blackfoot—the Crow—the Sioux—the Pawnee, and to all the remnants of tribes partially civilized, and thrown out (and still being kicked out) on the borders of civilization.

The American Indians all have the elements for civilization within them, which require but a confidence in white man's honour and real friendship, with consolidation for their protection, and the requisite time for its accomplishment. They are intelligent, and can easily be made to see the security of fraternization and concentration, and the danger and certain death of dispersion; and they want but such a compact, based on a civilized community with an unity of interest ready to arm and fight by their sides if necessary, rather than against them, like all the civilized people with whom they have previously come in contact.

You have been the first pioneers of the Great West, and you occupy its very centre; you have nobly shown to the world what industry & perseverance, (independant of political strife) are able to accomplish; and by your sympathies for, and kindness to, the poor Indians around you, and your successful efforts to civilize them, you have gained a confidence in the minds of those people (even the nimblest [?] tribes, as I have learned in my conversations with them) as well as conviction in the minds of the people of the old

and the new world; and in the sudden alliance which I have suggested, I can see a chance (and the only chance) for the Salvation and Civilization of the Indian tribes, and the existence and future growth of your own Institutions, in your present position: & in the accomplishment of a work so noble, and a Fortress so strong, I believe you will have the applause of the whole world: and with it, the hand of God, to protect you.

With high Respect, and a profound anxiety for the welfare of yourself and people,

I remain truly yours &c.

Geo. Catlin

8. Rue de Brabant, à Bruxelles

Belgique. 8th May 1870

Salt Lake City, Utah Ter.

27 June 1870

Geo. Catlin Esq.

8 Rue de Brabant

a Bruxelles. Belgique.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of 8th ult has reached me safely and been perused with great interest and pleasure. I sincerely thank you for the good feelings therein expressed to the people of Utah, and the native tribes, and should have answered it at an earlier date had I not been absent from Salt Lake City, visiting our citizens in Northern Utah and Southern Idaho, amongst whom I have passed the last three weeks.

I am well aware of the truth of the declarations made in your letter with regard to the treatment of the poor Indians and ourselves. I am also satisfied that the Red men of the forest are beginning to learn that we are their friends, and are seeking their good. We have proved in our intercourse with them, that there are as fine men amongst the native tribes possessing as noble and generous natures and feelings as amongst any people on the face of the earth, still there are bad men amongst the Indians, as amongst all other people, made so no doubt by contact with worse white men, whose ways and habits they have not been slow to follow, but we make the best we can of them and teach them to be better. We have indeed at times been considerably annoyed by the vagrant habits and degraded course of these sons of the forest and desert, but still we bear with them, and think that they will become better by and bye, and we have not been forward to condemn, nor hasty and vindictive in scourging them in the wontonness of our supposed strength for their real or supposed crimes, as has been too often the case with our neighbors in the surrounding States and Territories.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Military commanders and their subordinates, who in response to the clamor of the border set-

tlers and political demigogues of the great West, who make the extermination of the Indian one of their watch cries, I have no idea that they will succeed in their bloodthirsty and iniquitous designs. The "great Spirit", has a future for the Red men, and that not in their grave, I as sincerely believe as the Indians do themselves, but how much they may suffer, or how much they may be despoiled and wasted, before the tide of His providence turns fully in their favor is not for me to say. But I do know, and that in sorrow, that our country must answer for their bad faith, broken treaties, and great crimes in Indian matters, that they have perpetrated in the name of Christianity, civilization and progress, which in this case means the inordinate lust of reckless and unprincipled men for riches and power.

Whilst on my late trip, I visited a camp of about eighteen hundred Indians principally Utes, Yampa-utes, Snakes and Bannocks who had assembled in the vicinity of our settlements in Bear Lake Valley to hold council according to their usual annual custom. Most of their big chiefs were there, and they had brought their squaws and papooses with them, and quite a flock of goats and a large band of horses. Whilst I was at their camp the squaws, for the amusement of myself and company went through a characteristic dance and monotonous chant, whilst the braves played on a sort of tamborine. The people living in the neighborhood told me they had had no trouble with them, that they had been peaceable and friendly, and had not interfered with the stock or property of the settlers.

The course of the people of Utah have pursued towards the Indians can be recommended not only on the score of humanity, but of economy. We have found it cheaper to feed than to fight them, at the same time we do not believe in descending to their degraded level to do them good, but to raise them up to our standard, and little by little teach them to be industrious, orderly, honest and peaceable. Thus we shall gain their love, and by keeping our word with them hold their respect. By this means we hope, with the help of the Lord to accomplish much good for the original owners of the soil of this continent. Again thanking you for the many kind expressions of regard and sympathy which your letter breathes, I remain,

Very Respectfully Yours.
Brigham Young

Book Reviews

ARRINGTON, LEONARD J. *David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University, 1975. Illus., appendixes, biblio., and index, 294 pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed by Lee Scamehorn, professor of history, University of Colorado.

Leonard J. Arrington's biography of David Eccles is the first book-length study of the pioneer western businessman who became Utah's first multimillionaire industrialist-financier. Eighteen chapters focus on Eccles' youth, marriages, family activities, religious experiences, and death. Some attention is also given to the reasons for Eccles' extraordinary success as a stimulator of economic enterprise and as an accumulator of wealth. His estate, appraised in 1913, amounted to nearly \$7 million.

David Eccles' business career began with a partnership that owned and operated a small sawmill in the Monte Cristo Mountains and a retail outlet in Ogden. He bought out his associates in 1881 and immediately expanded operations in Utah and Idaho. Six years later, he extended his activities into Oregon, erecting several small plants that were combined in 1887 as the mammoth Oregon Lumber Company. Railroads were corollary ventures, transportation being a prerequisite for commercial development of large timber tracts in a three-state region.

Sugar beets gained Eccles' attention in 1890 when he contributed to the Mormon Church's effort to open a factory at Lehi. The success of the Utah Sugar Company prompted Eccles to organize similar plants as community projects in Ogden and Logan. Another facility was established at LaGrande, Oregon. All three firms were consolidated in 1902 as the Amalgamated Sugar Company, in which the American Sugar Company and H. A. Havemayer owned controlling interest. However, Eccles remained the manager. He also joined Jesse Knight and E. P. Ellison in erecting a sugar factory in Canada. Eccles was the prime mover behind the plant opened in Lewiston, Utah, and, in 1912, relocated the LaGrande factory—which had suffered perennially from an inadequate volume of beets—to Burley, Idaho.

In the midst of the depression that followed the Panic of 1893, Eccles assumed control of the Corey Brothers Construction Company in order to save it from insolvency. That firm was subsequently reorganized as the Utah Construction Company. In 1903 it won a contract for building 700 miles of main-line track for the Western Pacific Railroad. At the time of Eccles' death in 1912, the enterprise was a leader in the heavy construction field, with projects underway throughout the United States and in many other parts of the world.

By the early years of the twentieth century, Eccles was recognized as a highly successful capitalist. His wide-ranging investments included, in addition to lumbering, railroad, sugar, and construction enterprises, food processors, banks, an insurance company, land schemes, livestock projects, coal mining ventures, electric light plants, retail stores, and the Grand Opera House in Ogden. "Hardly an industry," Arrington observes, "could be found which did not at one time or another interest David Eccles" (p. 117). His activities touched nearly every type of commerce or production.

Although Arrington's volume is subtitled "Pioneer Western Industrialist," his emphasis is on Eccles as an enterprising youth, husband, father, family man, and devout Mormon. Business interests, particularly what must have been strenuous efforts to create and control a far-flung industrial and financial empire, receive relatively little attention. Indeed, most of the information about Eccles' numerous enterprises—what they were, why they were organized, how they grew, and functions they performed—is found in the appendixes. This lack of integration is a serious shortcoming of the book, for it deprives the reader of an understanding of the interactions between Eccles' private and public lives, his roles as a Mormon and a family man, and his activities as the region's leading businessman.

Almost no attention is directed to Eccles' administration of business enterprises, his relations with employees, and his perceptions of markets or pricing policies. Many important questions are ignored or remain unanswered. For example, how did Eccles accumulate a personal fortune of several million dollars over a period of about forty years? Was he a robber baron who exploited natural resources, labor, and consumers for personal greed, or was he an enlightened industrial statesman who erected, in the form of a vast business empire, a monument for the benefit of Mormonism in particular, and mankind in general? Did he show compassion for employees and competitors, as well as honesty toward those who purchased

the goods and services generated by the many companies that functioned under his supervision?

Historians of the lumbering industry and public land policies have documented the widespread use of fraud by which private enterprises acquired timber land from the public domain in the late nineteenth century. Arrington recognizes the existence of these practices, suggesting that they resulted from "unreasonable and shortsighted" federal regulations governing public timber lands (p. 93). Blame for the plundering of natural resources, the author seems to say, rests not with individuals and corporations, but with faulty public policies!

Arrington implies Eccles, through his lumbering enterprises, engaged in fraudulent practices to obtain titles to timber lands. If, indeed, this was the case, the author should be more explicit. He does admit, however, that the Oregon Lumber Company, like its competitors, deliberately committed illegal acts in cutting trees from public land, and regularly bribed federal inspectors in order to avoid prosecution. The firm was eventually sued by the government, but escaped punishment on a legal technicality.

David Eccles: Pioneer Western Industrialist is not a business history. Arrington offers the reader little information about Eccles' activities as an industrialist-financier. The author appears to have written the volume for Eccles' descendants. Perhaps for that reason, the book is little more than a Mormon family history.

WARNER, JAMES A., and STYNE M. SLADE. *The Mormon Way*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976. 173 pp. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Todd A. Britsch, chairman of the Department of Humanities and Comparative Literature at Brigham Young University.

The most common reaction of LDS readers to *The Mormon Way* will probably be one of surprise. Few would expect to see a full-fledged coffee-table book on the subject of Mormon history and modern-day Mormon life. It seems even less likely that two non-Mormons, one of them black, would work on such a book. But author/photographers James A. Warner and Styne M. Slade, along with the editor of Prentice-Hall, have produced a high-priced, artistic volume, with excellent binding, high quality paper, and seventy full-page color pictures. It is a little difficult to assess the

authors' intended audience. The book is a national publication, but the text reads much like the material that is found in such books as *Meet the Mormons*. Indeed, it would be hard for Mormon authors to lavish more praise upon the Church than do Slade and Warner.

The book has the following format: A two-page introduction that tells how the authors became interested in Mormons; a beautifully set copy of the Articles of Faith; and two major sections of text and photographs. The first section is entitled "The Way West," and contains a six-page essay on the history of the Church and twenty-nine photographs relating to the progress of the Church from Sharon, Vermont to Salt Lake City. The second section is entitled "The Ways of the Mormons." It consists of a ten-page essay on current Mormon life-style and practices and forty-one photographs. The book is concluded with a two-page glossary of Mormon terms that defines such words as "prophet," "sustain," and "Deseret." Facing each of the photographs is a page with an extended title and a quotation—generally from one of the Church scriptures or leaders. The leaders quoted include General Authorities, BYU leaders (including Dallin Oaks and Chauncey Riddle), and one or two men and women whose names I do not recognize. The text of *The Mormon Way* seems to be the work of Ms. Slade; the photographs are by both authors.

As is typical of picture books, the text is very limited and speaks largely in generalities. The statements made about Church history and doctrine, however, are almost always accurate and unfailingly approving. The history section covers some of the major events from the First Vision to the entrance into the Salt Lake Valley. Its space limitations make it somewhat elliptical and may cause a little confusion for nonmember readers. (Another problem is the use of Mormon terminology which is so thorough and accurate that even the glossary will not entirely satisfy those who are not acquainted with special Mormon terminology. It is striking to think that a nonmember could so completely adopt Mormon ways of speaking.) The text of the history section could be strengthened by leaving out two long lists, one of buildings, businesses, etc., in Nauvoo, and one of supplies that Brigham Young recommended for pioneers. The space might have been used to discuss Mormon history from 1847 until the present—a period that is completely ignored.

The text of the "Ways of the Mormons" centers its discussion on the Mormon family, welfare and compassionate service, mis-

sionary work, and temples. Ms. Slade is particularly pleased with family home evening, genealogy work, and the concept of eternal marriage. She is impressed by the way Mormons face contemporary problems:

With all the different problems plaguing our country today, it's quite clear to me that the Mormons do have some answers for a lot of things—welfare, prison reform, juvenile delinquency and a lower cancer rate (or, rather, generally better health), to name but a few. Our nation would do well to take a look, a serious look, at all that the Mormon Church has done and will do in the future. This Church and these people are dedicated to setting the world in order, and their world is our world. Whether or not we join them, we must look at them. They do have answers. (p. 87)

Ms. Slade only twice brings up issues that might reflect negatively on Mormons and then it is to defend the Mormon point of view. She reports that some people accuse Mormons of clannishness, but she explains that when a group has been misunderstood and rejected, it is natural for its members to stick together. On the black issue she never mentions the priesthood, but reports that she feels more at home with Mormons than she does with many other groups. Her feelings about Mormons and blacks are reinforced by two slightly disingenuous photos, one of which shows two missionaries at an NAACP picnic and the other which shows a black in front of the Salt Lake Temple with the caption "A Mormon in front of the Salt Lake City Temple." The quote on this same page is from LeGrand Richards: "With our concept of universal brotherhood it is untenable that we as a people should entertain prejudice and ill will against any of our Father's children."

It is the photographs that form the body of the work, and they produce a mixed reaction. Several of them are very beautiful and well composed. The framing and balance of "The 'martyr's window' at Carthage Jail" (p. 63) fit their subject masterfully, and produce a moving work of art. A view of the Salt Lake Temple at sunset (p. 91) and another of missionaries walking through a field (p. 125) show excellent treatment of color. Some of the other photographs are not as successful. Part of the problem comes from a strange mixture of photojournalism and art photography. A large number of the photographs are consciously posed and thus those photographs that are in a reporter's style seem out of place. To some, this mixture of styles will not be readily apparent, because Warner and Slade have chosen to finish almost all of their pictures in a hazy "impressionistic" style. But the style really does not fit

such pictures as "Missionaries visit a picnic" (p. 127), or a photograph of the First Presidency seated in the Tabernacle (p. 99). Most of the art photos work quite well. My personal taste does not lean toward a whole book in the granular finish of these photographs, but one cannot question the artists' skill with the camera.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of the book is its least obvious characteristic. Even though a major portion of the photographs deal with modern-day Mormonism, the general tone of the book is surprisingly rural. When such subjects as the information center at Lincoln Center or a bride and groom outside of a modern temple are shown, the photographic techniques tend to lend a nineteenth-century flavor. This feeling is even stronger in photographs of homemade wheat bread or of a bottle of tomatoes set by a small spring. Mr. Warner has previously produced a book on the Amish and a little of the feeling of those photos carries over into the present volume. Perhaps the essay on modern Mormon life will dispel some of the tone of the photographs, but I suspect that despite the text, a casual reader of *The Mormon Way* would receive the impression that the Mormons are farther outside of modern American society than is the case.

WILKINSON, ERNEST L., and W. CLEON SKOUSEN. *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1976. xvi, 925 pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed by Marvin S. Hill, associate professor of history at Brigham Young University.

The prevailing assumption among educators who direct universities that are recognized as truly great is that a university must be a community of scholars whose predominant concern is free inquiry, the pursuit of truth, regardless of any by-products which may or may not bring desired social goals. The aims of Brigham Young University are somewhat different, according to Ernest L. Wilkinson, a former president of the university, and W. Cleon Skousen, a member of the religion faculty, in their recently published history, *Brigham Young University: A School of Destiny*. The authors indicate that the school's policymakers have had a strong sense of destiny for the institution, a belief that one day their school would gain recognition among the peoples of the world as a leader, if not *the* leader in matters educational (pp. 289,

433). Throughout the history of the school its board, made up of Church authorities, and its administrators "were in favor of seeing BYU become a leader in secular fields" (p. 451). Nonetheless, the primary goal has been to encourage Mormon students to "live up to the high moral standards implicit in the Mormon faith," which is "more important to educating the soul than the mere accumulation of facts." The authors maintain that very early Brigham Young University became a "training ground in obedience and soul-building as well as in traditional academics" (p. 116). Thus, it has sought to educate the whole man spiritually and intellectually, believing that "spiritual objectives could be combined with the pursuit of scientific, intellectual and artistic excellence without detriment to either" (p. viii).

Despite the authors' affirmations to the contrary, their study shows that there have been recurring tensions between the two goals. They provide considerable evidence that on occasions students and faculty have been curbed in expressing certain attitudes freely. They recount the resignation of prominent faculty members following the evolution controversy in 1911 and the negative influence this incident had upon the maintenance of a qualified faculty (pp. 199-209, 216, 217, 221, 243). They relate how in the 1950s and 1960s members of the Economics Department said they were not free to teach other than conservative economic theories without suffering administrative disapproval (pp. 514, 584). They also tell us that accrediting teams have complained of restraints on academic freedom at BYU (*Ibid.*). They come perilously close to admitting that Wilkinson himself was responsible for student spying on the faculty in the late 1960s (p. 753). They acknowledge that on one occasion in the 1960s the student newspaper was "re-organized" so that open discussion of controversial issues would be eliminated (pp. 622-23). Can an institution which upon occasion resorts to such measures, which seeks so hard to promote obedience and social tranquility, establish an atmosphere on campus sufficiently free to encourage significant scholarly inquiry? By reading this revealing work one gets an ambiguous answer, an impression of the very difficult task which Mormon leaders have set for themselves in administering an educational institution where dual objectives seem so often to be in conflict.

The volume traces in detail the evolution of BYU from an ungraded school that would admit all kinds of students regardless of preparation, to a normal school for training teachers, to a "uni-

versity,” with numerous departments, colleges and programs, including graduate work in schools like the law school established in 1973. The study is an enormous cataloging of the physical growth of the university. We are told that as late as 1951 university property was worth only 4 million dollars but that by 1971 it was worth in excess of 100 million; we are told of increasing enrollments and improving faculty salaries. With this kind of evidence of financial commitment the Mormon people give convincing proof of their high degree of determination to advance their special kind of education.

The study is impressive for the immense amount of research it reflects, but it is marred by the fact that too frequently it is used to justify the personal political views of the authors, or the policies and style of leadership of former President Wilkinson. At the same time it exhibits great discomfort with criticisms levied at Wilkinson’s administration and with policy changes made by the subsequent administration.

There are many places where the subject matter seems egocentric. An example is Wilkinson’s recollection that as a student he was able to get a scoop for the school newspaper on the selection of Franklin S. Harris as the new university president (p. 235). Another is the comment that what progress has come under the Oaks’ administration “may have been rooted more in the structure of the school itself rather than in the new leadership” (p. 837). Since it is maintained elsewhere that when Wilkinson took over, BYU was in the doldrums, that it was his own creative energy that made it into a university (p. 759), that he established a “well-oiled machine” to handle all university affairs even after his resignation (pp. 771, 772), this comment seems like an attempt to claim for Wilkinson most of the credit for what Oaks has achieved. The authors maintain that from 1951 to 1971 it was “Wilkinson’s University,” that he was the dominant force on campus (pp. 770-71). Be that as it may, it is bad taste for Wilkinson to allow in the text stories about himself that bestow lavish praise (e. g., pp. 112, 224, 340, 440-41, 446, 452-68, 765).

Excessive length is given to treatment of Wilkinson’s personal life before coming to BYU, 36 pages (pp. 432-68), while too little attention is given to the early lives of other presidents. Karl G. Maeser receives 8 pages, Benjamin Cluff 3 pages, George H. Brimhall 4 pages, Franklin S. Harris 2 pages, and Dallin Oaks 9. Furthermore, only 111 pages (pp. 231-343) are taken to cover

Franklin S. Harris' administration of 24 years, while 320 pages (pp. 429-759) cover Wilkinson's 20 years. As a consequence, what we have here is more nearly a memoir of a president than a history of an institution.

There are still weightier, although not unrelated difficulties. In part because neither author is a trained historian, they tend to perceive the task of writing a history of a university too narrowly. That part of the text which is actually history is administrative history: largely a parading of presidents and deans. There are two sections on student life but none on the work of the faculty. While something is said about the evolution of curriculum in the early years, as BYU moved away from being a grade and secondary school, there is nothing said about curriculum during the Wilkinson years. What were the students being taught? How well? Had the curriculum and the point of view of the faculty broadened sufficiently by 1971 for BYU to be more than a Church seminary? What of the quality of the work in the graduate program? These are questions that require treatment. As Samuel Eliot Morison informs us in his superb study of Harvard College in the seventeenth century, the curriculum is "more important" than the administration, the physical plant, or student life. Without "knowledge of what the scholars studied, we should be constructing a mere temporary shell, ignoring the kernel from which a university sprouted."

This seems to me to point toward a fundamental weakness of the Wilkinson-Skousen history. They obviously believe, as the selection of material suggests, that the controlling influence in a university is the administration, that its functions constitute the only really significant activity. In an admission that seems devastating, coming as it does from a professor and a former university president, the authors state that "what a faculty actually does to develop a truly great university is hard to capture on paper." The context of this statement (p. 778) suggests that they see the only contribution of the faculty coming in the classroom. They say almost nothing about student or faculty scholarship, their work on important articles, books, or in editing important scholarly journals, or participation on significant national committees, or their role generally in the discovery of new truth. When the authors describe "institutional research" they talk about a fact-finding group established to investigate what was happening at BYU, not a scholarly institute (p. 714).

Reflected here is an inability to understand the very sensitive

thing that a university is, the vital part that community and culture play in encouraging capable men and women to produce worthwhile scholarly work. This may have something to do with the failure of the university (which Wilkinson and Skousen acknowledge [p. 798]) to achieve the desired excellence in the field of learning to which its leaders have aspired. Most of the presidents of great universities would hold that their primary role is to develop an atmosphere where faculty and students might pursue their learning freely, with confidence and security, knowing that when the work is done recognition and rewards will be forthcoming. The book acknowledges, and well documents, that Wilkinson's administration was otherwise. If it was "Wilkinson's University," then he must assume a large share of the responsibility which goes with the admission that the university has not measured up to its goals. Perhaps those university heads, faculty, students, and Mormon people who shape what the university is and ultimately will be have yet to live up to the ideals of the Prophet Joseph Smith, who said that he would teach his people correct principles and let them govern themselves. When that spirit prevails at BYU the greatness that is sought may one day come to be. There are signs that the new administration perceives this and in that there is reason to hope.

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