

B R I G H A M

Y O U N G

U N I V E R S I T Y

Cover by Tom Pratt, Graphic Communications, BYU Press.

Editorial Board

JAMES B. ALLEN	R. GRANT ATHAY
HAYLE BUCHANAN	JOE J. CHRISTENSEN
BRUCE B. CLARK	DAVID L. CLARK
PETER L. CRAWLEY	W. FARRELL EDWARDS
RICHARD G. ELLSWORTH	R. JOHN EYRE
F. MELVIN HAMMOND	FRED HOLMSTROM
WILLIAM CLAYTON KIMBALL	KAREN LYNN
TRUMAN G. MADSEN	ROBERT J. MATTHEWS
EARL E. OLSON	ERNEST L. OLSON
BRUCE M. RICHARDSON	CHAUNCEY C. RIDDLE

CHARLES D. TATE, JR.

EDITOR	CHARLES D. TATE, JR.
ASSOCIATE EDITOR	RICHARD G. ELLSWORTH
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR	DAVID WHITTAKER
HISTORIANS CORNER EDITOR	JAMES B. ALLEN
UNIVERSITY EDITOR	ERNEST L. OLSON
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT	LINDA HUNTER ADAMS
EDITORIAL INTERN	ANDREW F. EHAT
	KEITH LAWRENCE
	RICHARD Y. DURDEN

Volume 20

Summer 1980

Number 4

Brigham Young University Studies, 020170, is published quarterly, Fall, Winter, Spring, Summer, by Brigham Young University Press, Provo, Utah 84602. Second class postage paid, Provo, UT 84601.

Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 20

Spring 1980

Number 4

CONTENTS

- Sealed in a Book: Preliminary Observations
on the Newly Found "Anthon Transcript"
DANIEL W. BACHMAN 321
- And Yet Another Copy of the Anthon Manuscript
BUDDY YOUNGREEN 346
- One of the Martin Company
DIAN SADERUP 348
- Times of Refreshing: 1820
ALLIE HOWE 350
- Sons of the Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion—1860
BUDDY YOUNGREEN 351
- The Xanthines: Coffee, Cola, Cocoa, and Tea
CLIFFORD J. STRATTON 371
- "I Have Sinned Against Heaven,
and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence,
But I Cannot Live without a Reconciliation":
Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church
LYNDON W. COOK 389
- The Historians Corner
JAMES B. ALLEN, EDITOR 401
- A Letter Regarding the Acquisition
of the Book of Abraham
CHRISTOPHER C. LUND 402
- Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa
DAVID J. WHITTAKER 404

Mormon Bibliography 1979	
CHAD J. FLAKE	417

Book Reviews

DAVID J. WHITTAKER

R. Paul Cracroft, <i>A Certain Testimony: A Mormon Epic</i>	
CHARLES D. TATE, JR.	431

Truman G. Madsen, ed., <i>Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels</i>	
SCOTT KENNEY	433

Blaine M. and Brenton G. Yorgason, <i>The Bishop's Horse Race</i>	
Blaine M. Yorgason, <i>The Windwalker</i>	
JACK A. NELSON	438

Index for Volume 20	
GARY P. GILLUM	441

The opinions and statements expressed by contributors to *Brigham Young University Studies* are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Brigham Young University, the editor, or editorial board.

Published Quarterly by
Brigham Young University Press
Provo, Utah 84602

ISSN 0007-0106

1980 Brigham Young University Press. All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

9-80-48044-6M

SUBSCRIBER NOTICE

Subscription is \$8.00 for four numbers, \$14.00 for eight numbers, and \$19.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are \$3.00. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is \$6.40 for four numbers. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless subscriber requests otherwise. Send subscriptions to Brigham Young University Press Business Office, 205 UPB, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

If you're moving, PLEASE let us know four weeks before changing your address. A Change-of-Address Postcard available at all post offices, sent in advance, will aid us in getting your magazine to you promptly. Your courteous compliance with this request will help us to solve a serious and costly problem.

Sealed in a Book: Preliminary Observations on the Newly Found “Anthon Transcript”

Danel W. Bachman

Among the many fascinating and problematical stories of early Church history is the Anthon transcript episode. The outline of that story is generally understood by both Latter-day Saints and non-Latter-day Saints interested in Mormon history. Following Joseph Smith's reception of the gold plates from the angel Moroni in September 1827, persecution increased, forcing the Smiths to move to Harmony, Pennsylvania, the home of Joseph's wife Emma, where the couple initially found the peace and quiet required to begin the translation. Joseph tells us that while in Harmony he spent his time from December 1827 to February 1828 “copying” the characters off the plates, and that he transcribed a considerable number, and translated some with the aid of the Urim and Thummim.¹ Sometime in February, Martin Harris, a farmer and a benefactor of Joseph Smith, visited the Smiths at Harmony. One source says that Martin came to Harmony in obedience to a revelation.²

Martin obtained a copy of some of the characters from Joseph Smith and took them to New York for evaluation. His account of this trip is sketchy, but historians believe he visited at least three important scholars—Luther Bradish, Dr. Samuel Mitchill, and Professor Charles Anthon. Professor Anthon, at Columbia College, is the only

Danel W. Bachman is an instructor at the Logan Institute of Religion at Utah State University. An earlier version of this article was presented 1 May 1980 at the Mormon History Association Convention at Canandaigua, New York.

¹Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1932–1951), 1:19–20; hereafter cited as *HC*.

²Paul R. Cheesman, “An Analysis of the Accounts Relating to Joseph Smith's Early Visions” (M. A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1965), Appendix D, p. 131.

[Illegible handwritten text]

Courtesy of Buddy Youngren

one who concerns us, because he left the only known description of the document Martin Harris exhibited.³

Until recently, historians have had only one manuscript copy and two printed versions before 1845 of this document to work with. The manuscript copy (see Figure 1), owned by the RLDS Church, came into their possession at the turn of the century through the heirs of David Whitmer, who owned it along with a manuscript of the Book of Mormon. Students of this document have been puzzled because it does not fit Anthon's description. Yet, without a better document, most scholars have been content merely to question Anthon's memory or motives, or to ignore the problem altogether. Most have assumed that the Whitmer text was the original. David Whitmer thought that it was. But in April 1980 a new document was discovered that challenges that priority.⁴

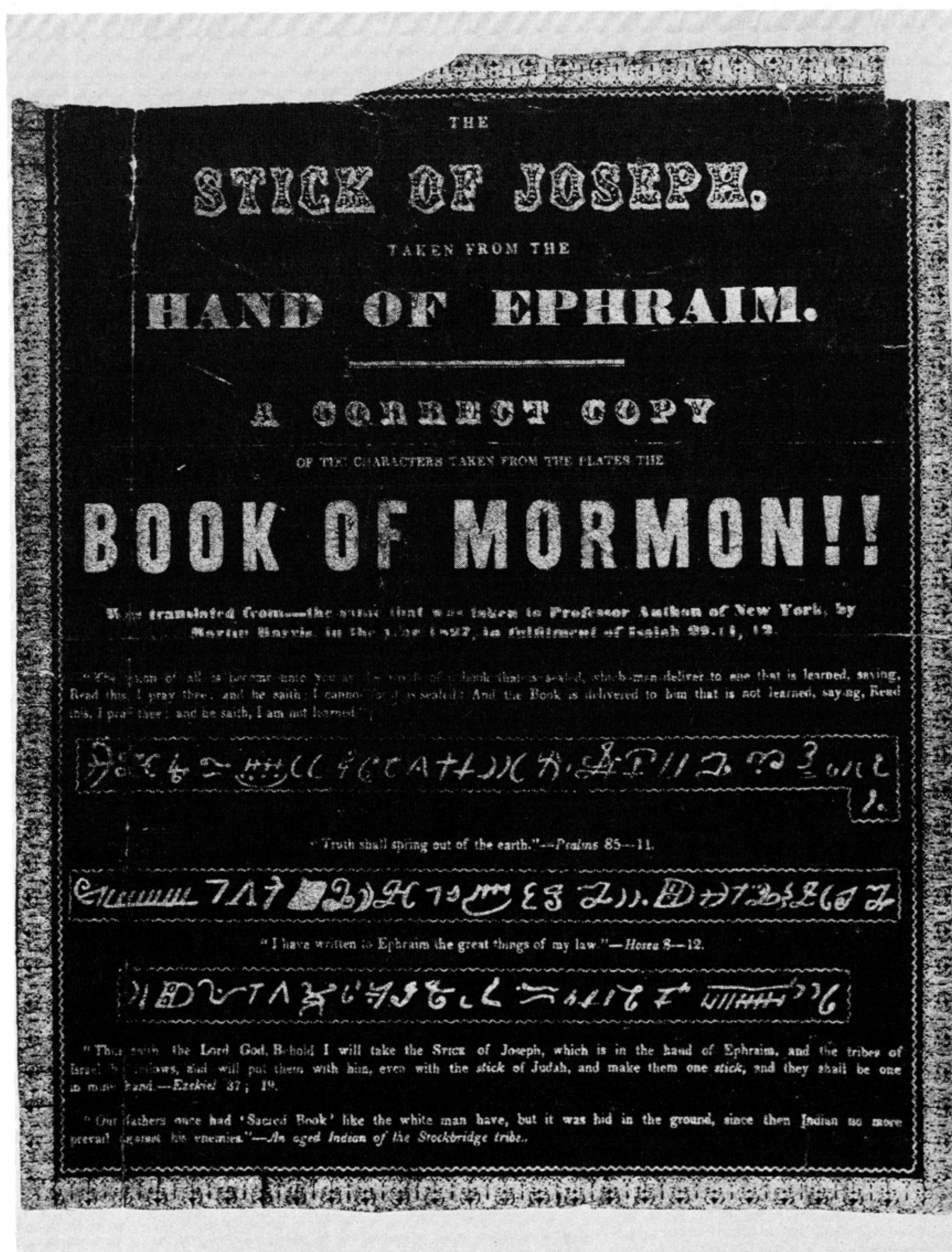
The two published versions of portions of the document Martin Harris took to New York both appeared in 1844. The first version is a broadside or placard printed in gold on black stock, exhibiting three lines of characters (see Figure 2). Among the few known copies of this version are two copies in the LDS Church Archives and a copy in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University. A statement in the hand of Thomas Bullock written on the back of the broadside in the Church Archives reads, "1844 placard Stick of Joseph. This was formerly owned by Hyrum Smith and sent to the Historian's Office March 22, 1860, by his son, Joseph Fielding Smith."⁵ What appears to be the pencil signature of Mary Fielding Smith, who died in 1852, is also on the back. The title of the broadside reads: "The Stick of Joseph, taken from the Hand of Ephraim. A correct copy of the characters taken from the plates of the BOOK OF MORMON!! Was translated from⁶—the same that was taken to Professor Anthon of New York, by Martin Harris, in the year 1827 [*sic*] in fulfillment of Isaiah 29:11, 12." This placard contains characters

³Stanley Kimball has provided excellent research on the background of the earlier manuscripts and on Martin Harris's trip to the East. See his "The Anthon Transcript: People, Primary Sources, and Problems," *Brigham Young University Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 325–52; "I Cannot Read a Sealed Book," *Improvement Era* 60 (February 1957): 80–82, 104, 106; and "Charles Anthon and the Egyptian Language," *Improvement Era* 63 (October 1960): 708–10, 765.

⁴David Whitmer thought both manuscripts—the Book of Mormon and the Anthon—were originals. The Book of Mormon manuscript proved to be the printer's copy, and if the present discovery is the original Anthon transcript as this paper asserts, then he did not possess the originals he thought he did. For details about the donation of the Whitmer manuscript to the RLDS Church, see Frederick M. Smith to John A. Widstoe, 9 May 1941, quoted in Ariel Crowley, *About the Book of Mormon* (Idaho City, Idaho: n.p., 1961), pp. 9–10.

⁵"The Stick of Joseph," broadside, Library Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), and Special Collection, Harold B. Lee Library, BYU, Provo, Utah. See also Kimball, "The Anthon Transcript," p. 347.

⁶The punctuation here is confusing, but the sense is "A correct copy of the characters taken from the plates the Book of Mormon was translated from. The same that was taken . . ." An example of how the punctuation can be misleading can be seen in Kimball's reproduction with an insert of the word *of* after the word *plates* (ibid.).



Courtesy of Harold B. Lee Library, BYU

Figure 2. 1844 Placard Stick of Joseph

which are on the Hofmann document but not on the Whitmer text.

The broadside most likely was published in early December 1844 by Samuel Brannan, editor of the *The Prophet*, a Church-owned newspaper in New York City. The following announcement appeared in *The Prophet* on 14 December 1844:

We have published a very neat specimen of the original characters or hieroglyphics that were copied from the plates which the Book of Mormon was translated from, and were presented by Martin Harris to Professor Anthon for translation.—We have been to some trouble in having it en graved [*sic*] by Mr. Strong: one of the most skillful engravers in the city of New York; those who wish to obtain a copy to preserve as a memorial, can procure them by applying to the Prophet Office, New York.⁷

The second version was published on 21 December 1844 by Brannan in *The Prophet* (see Figure 3). It duplicates the same three lines of characters as the placard, but the last half of the third line is inverted, or upside down and backwards. The text printed with the characters on the broadside was also printed in this second version.⁸

THE DISCOVERY

In early March 1980, Mark Hofmann, a student at Utah State University and a collector of Smithiana and other Mormon materials, acquired a 1668 Cambridge edition of the Bible from a gentleman in Salt Lake City. Hofmann's interest in the book was aroused by the fact that the owner said he had purchased it from Catherine Smith Salisbury's granddaughter, who lived in Carthage, Illinois, in the 1950s. Mrs. Salisbury was Joseph Smith's sister, and her granddaughter was Mrs. Mary Hancock, who assisted Cecil McGavin in the preparation of his volume on the Smith family.⁹ Hofmann's interest was further excited by evidence in the Bible that it was a Smith family

⁷*The Prophet* (New York), 14 December 1844.

⁸*The Prophet* (New York), 21 December 1844. The conclusion that the placard was the source for Brannan's reproduction was first suggested by Kimball ("The Anthon Transcript," p. 347) and is here based on a comparison of the texts. The symbols are very similar, but of particular note is the unique feature that both documents break off reproduction of the characters of the Hofmann (and Whitmer) texts in the middle of line three after the "L"-shaped character and skip over to the fifth column and include the characters between the vertical rectangle and the circles. Brannan's version, as is noted in the text later, inverts this portion which comprises the last half of line three.

⁹E. Cecil McGavin, *The Family of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1963), pp. 96–97. On 27 June 1980, Mark Hofmann visited Dorothy Dean of Carthage, Illinois, the daughter of Mrs. Hancock, in an attempt to verify the purchase. Miss Dean was very helpful in checking a handwritten ledger kept by her mother of some of the sales transactions. Miss Dean did find an entry for 13 August 1954 that fits the description. She provided photocopies of the ledger page and a written affidavit to Mr. Hofmann concerning the transaction. (Dorothy Dean, Affidavit, 29 July 1980. Original in possession of Mark W. Hofmann; copy in possession of author.)

Supposition of some Smith family members in Carthage is that Catherine Smith Salisbury inherited the Bible from Lucy Mack Smith. The author speculates that the document may have been given to Mother Smith by Joseph as part of her museum collection and thus was in her possession and became part of Catherine's inheritance.

address the Saints in
abbath morning, Elder
and evening.

klyn.

ress the Saints in Brook-
ning upon the authenti-
non and Elder Miles in

d for the visit made us
New Bedford, but we
nted in his not tarrying

sts.

eived intelligence of the
Philadelphia by the pros-
ster, for acting as agent.
phet" that contained an
Wm. Smith, in which he
language: "It is a well
chester was engaged in
Nauvoo," the truth of
until the matter of fact
that Elder Smith must
making the assertion or
ned the article for publi-
n confidence in him as a
he does with the rest of
of the kingdom, is the
offer for its publication.
d any malicious feelings
or that we wished to in-
g those who placed con-
say against this Church:
that he was guilty as
m the position and stand
Church, truly demanded
me; and that too for the
n heart. We are sorry
n called to suffer for any
l; but as we have ever
esent aware that Elder
in the rise and progress
was called to suffer, and
amid the toil, calamity
came upon the Saints
the least doubt but that
e consequences be what
me time rejoice in God
y to suffer for his breth-
ur choice, we should pre-
upon ourselves. The

this I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot for it is
sealed: and the book is delivered to one that is
not learned, saying, "I pray thee, and he
saith I am not learned of br

Handwritten text in three columns, likely a transcription or commentary on the adjacent text. The script is cursive and appears to be in English, though some characters are stylized or possibly represent a different script. The text is written vertically, reading from top to bottom.

has not been regarded, ne-
ed to hear our voice; but
who would plunder and di-
minish us, and hide their
not their yoke from us, but
slay us; who conceal our
that they have lifted up
I swear to you, ye righte-
angels record your good
the Mighty one. Wait
erly you have been di-
affliction; but now you
naries of heaven. You
gates of heaven shall be o-
have cried for judgment;
you, for an account of all
required from the prince
who has assisted your
patient hope, nor relinqui-
great joy shall be yours
heaven. Consider yours
you shall not be concealed
judgment. You shall no
and eternal condemnation
as long as the world exists
righteous, when ye see
prospering in their ways
them, but keep yourselves
oppression, be ye associa-
ven. You, ye sinners sa-
shall not be taken accou-
but all your transgression
And be assured by me t-
day and night, behold all
Be not impious in your
render not the word of up-
the word of the Holy an-
not your idols; for all y-
impiety is not for righte-
crime. Now will I poin-
sinners shall turn and tra-
of uprightness. They s-
they shall utter falsehood
takings, and compose boo-
But when they shall writ-
in their own languages, t-
nor diminish them, but sh-
ly; all of which, from the
cerning them. Another r-
To the righteous and the
of joy, of integrity, of g-
shall books be given, in-
and in which they shall r-
eous shall be rewarded, wh-
the knowledge of every
days, saith the Lord, they
of the earth and make the
Show them that you are
muneration shall take pl-
—for I and my son will
with them in the paths of
are still alive. Peace s-
children of integrity, in t-
just remark that whoever
read the history of the p-
of Jesus Christ of Latter

The Prophecy of Enoch, the Seventh

Figure 3. Published Version in *The Prophet*, 21 December 1844

heirloom. The front flyleaf has several initials written on it which appear to be "S. S.," "I. S.," and perhaps "J. S."; inserted in the center of the Bible is a handwritten copy of the entire book of Amos with the signature of Samuel Smith at the end¹⁰ (see figures 4 and 5). Hofmann's supposition was that this Samuel was either the great-grandfather or the great-great-grandfather of the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Although the Bible was purchased in March, the document in question was not discovered until 16 April 1980. As Mr. Hofmann leafed through the Bible on that day, he noticed two pages at the beginning of Proverbs were partially stuck together. The leaves were open only along their top edges. His wife Doralee noticed a separate piece of paper appeared to be pocketed between the pages. Mr. Hofmann carefully separated the pages and removed the paper.

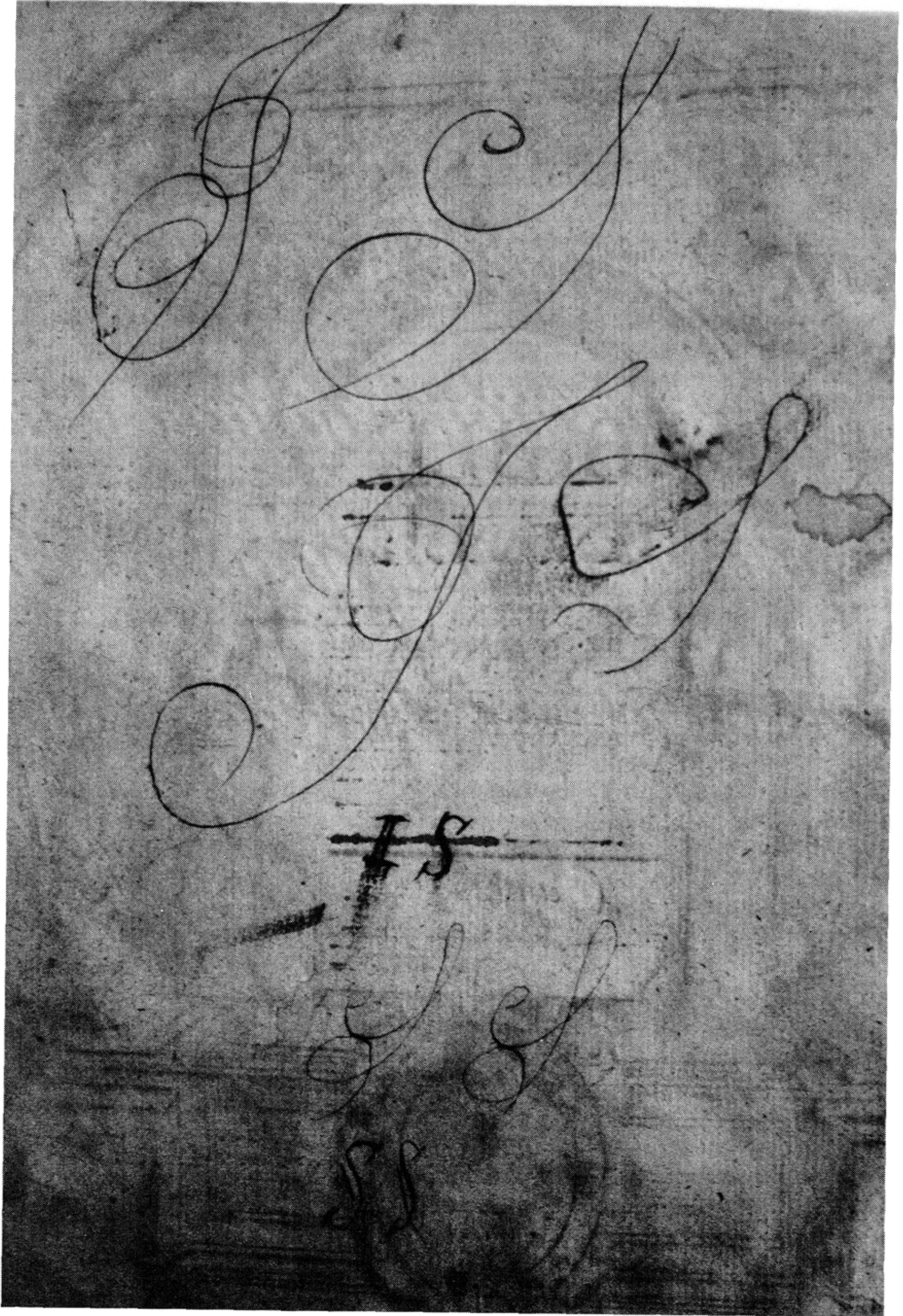
It appeared to be a normal-sized page, "folded in fourths with some black, gluelike substance holding the document together at the folds and sticking it to the pages of the Bible."¹¹ The paper was folded in such a way that the signature of Joseph Smith Jr. could be seen on the outside. When the paper was removed from the Bible, the paper broke at the middle fold. To avoid the risk of damaging the document further, Mr. Hofmann took it the next day to the office of A.J. Simmonds, curator of the Utah State University Special Collections and Archives, who helped him separate the glued edges.¹² Shortly thereafter, the document was brought to my office, and we arranged to have Dean Jessee, an expert on Joseph Smith's handwriting, examine it. On Friday, 18 April, Dean Jessee gave a preliminary opinion that it seemed to have the features of a Joseph Smith holograph. By Tuesday, 22 April 1980, he was confident

¹⁰The Bible is presently housed in the Church Archives Vault.

¹¹Mark William Hofmann, "Finding the Joseph Smith Document," *Ensign*, July 1980, p. 73. This author is uncertain whether the black substance was glue or sealing wax or something else. Perhaps we may never know, for Don Schmidt, Church archivist, said that the substance will be cleaned off when the paper is deacidified.

¹²Jeff Simmonds, who assisted Mr. Hofmann in opening the document the day after it was removed from the Bible, has left an erroneous impression in his published account of the matter. He said: "The paper was carefully folded and one end had been tipped-in to the binding. Originally it was so glued that it could be easily folded out. But over the years the glue which had been used to insert the Book of Amos pages into the binding had oozed through the stitching and had solidly welded the free end of the inserted page to the glued end, making a neat little package." ("Being There at the Moment of Discovery . . . A Historian's Dream," *Herald Journal/Valley*, 5 May 1980, p. 3.)

However, Simmonds was not with Hofmann when the document was removed and apparently was not aware that the glued side was not in the spine of the Bible but in the middle of the page. There is no evidence in the Bible or on the document itself that glue from the rebinding seeped out and caused the edges of the document or the pages of the Bible to be sealed. Examination of the document shows that the two edges of the paper were intentionally sealed. However, whether they were glued into the Bible intentionally or whether over the years the glue from the document eventually adhered to the pages of the Bible is not certain at present. Evidence seems to suggest that the latter is the case. It is not likely that someone would ruin an heirloom simply to preserve the document. Moreover, the glue was not stuck along the entire edge of both the document and the page in the Bible. It was stuck only at certain points where it appears there was an excess of glue.



Courtesy of Mark Hofmann

Figure 4. Front Flyleaf of 1668 Bible Showing Initials
"S.S.," "I.S.," and (Perhaps) "J.S."

of Jacob, saith the Lord.
I will command
and I will sift the house
of Israel among all na-
tions, like as corn is sifted
in a sieve, yet shall not
the least grain fall upon
the earth.

10 All the sinners of my
people shall die by the
sword, which saith the
Lord, which shall not overtake
nor prevent us.

11 In that day will I
raise up the tabernacle
of David that is fallen,
and close up the breaches
thereof; and I will raise
up his ruins, and I will
build it as in the days of
old.

12 That they may possess
the remnant of Edom,
and of all the heathen,
which are called by my
name, saith the Lord that
doeth this.

13 Behold, the days come,
saith the Lord that the
plowman shall overtake
the reaper, and the treader
of grapes him that soweth
seed; and the mountains
shall drop sweet wine;
and all the hills shall

again the captivity of my
people of Israel, and they
shall build the waste
cities, and inhabit them;
and they shall plant vine-
yards, and drink the
wine thereof; they shall
also make gardens, and
eat the fruit of them.
15 And I will plant them
upon their land, and they
shall no more be pulled
up out of their land,
which I have given them,
saith the Lord thy God.

Samuel Smith

Courtesy of Mark Hofmann

Figure 5. Handwritten Insertion of Book of Amos Signed by Samuel Smith

enough to provide a written declaration which said, "I have carefully inspected the document . . . and conclude that [it] is a Joseph Smith holograph."¹³

Meanwhile, Mr. Hofmann was concerned about the preservation, authentication, and housing of the manuscript, as well as handling the growing publicity and speculation. On Tuesday, 22 April, he showed the manuscript to several General Authorities, including the First Presidency of the Church, and decided to loan it to the Church and to leave it in the custody of the LDS Church Archives. On Monday, 28 April, at a press conference in the conference room of the Church Historical Department, the announcement of the discovery was made.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENT

The Hofmann manuscript (see Figure 6) is a single sheet that measures 11 1/4 by 7 7/8 inches. Side one contains characters arranged in five vertical columns. The symbols in the first four columns are large, carefully drawn, and quite legible. The fifth column is unique with a long vertical rectangle enclosing two parallel rows of characters, smaller than those in the previous four columns. Below the characters are several intricately drawn figures and below these are concentric circles. Characters occupy the space between the outer and inner circles and fill the four compartments of the inner circle. The fifth column ends with a small horizontal rectangle filled with characters.

A handwritten note signed by Joseph Smith on the reverse side of the document (see Figure 7) reads as follows:

These caractors were dilligently copied by my own hand from the plates of gold and given to Martin Harris who took them to New York Citty but the learned could not translate it because the Lord would not open it to them in fulfillment of the propscy of Isaih written in the 29th chapter and 11th verse.¹⁴

Judging by the style and shape of the letters, the note was written with a quill pen or an equivalent. The paper and ink seem to be of a vintage similar to the original Book of Mormon manuscript owned by the Church; they also match the description of the Whitmer text owned by the RLDS Church.¹⁵ The ink has seeped or "bled"

¹³Dean Jessee, Statement, 22 April 1980. Original of statement in possession of Mark W. Hofmann; copy in possession of author.

¹⁴Manuscript of Book of Mormon characters; hereafter referred to as Hofmann document. Original in the Church Archives Vault; copies in possession of the author. I am indebted to Mr. Hofmann for allowing me to quote from and use this document.

¹⁵Smith to Widstoe, 9 May 1941, in Crowley, *About the Book of Mormon*, pp. 9-10.

through the paper from one side to the other but not so as to greatly hinder the readability of the text. Chemicals in the paper and the glue have discolored both the manuscript and the Bible.¹⁶ Discoloration and fading have made the Joseph Smith note difficult to read. Apparently, the manuscript was in the Bible for decades; it is brittle and in danger of breaking into fourths at the folds.

EVIDENCE THAT IT IS THE ORIGINAL ANTHON TRANSCRIPT

In addition to paper, ink, and script comparisons, there are other indications that the document is authentic and is the original "Anthon transcript" that Martin Harris carried from Harmony, Pennsylvania, to New York in the spring of 1828.

Foremost is Dean Jessee's judgment of the handwriting of the Joseph Smith note. Among the details that are characteristic of Joseph Smith's handwriting, Jessee has noted:

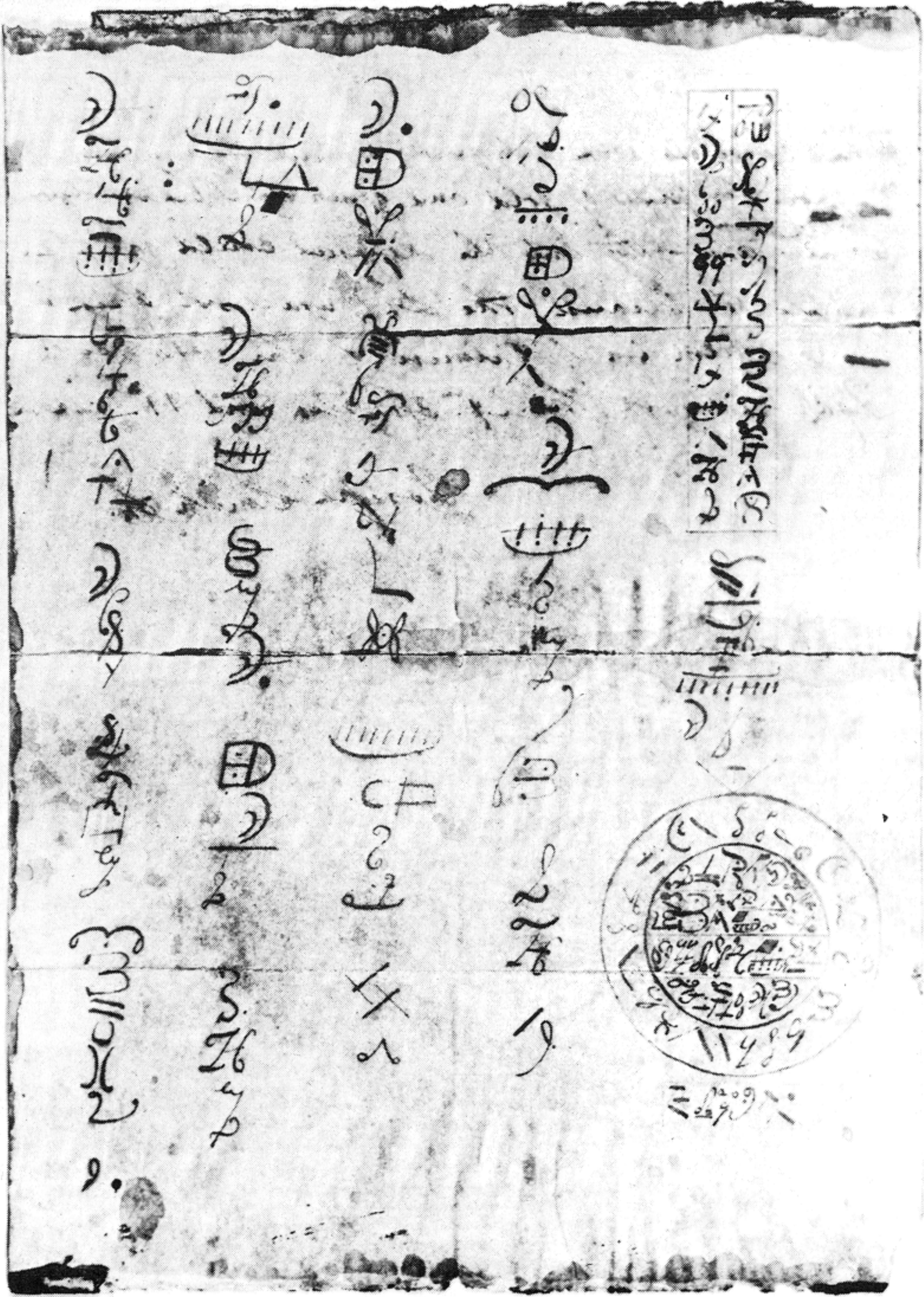
1. The signature appears to be authentic.
2. There are typical misspelling of words, such as "caractors," "coppied," "Citty," "propscy," and "Isaih."
3. There are unique separations of words at the end of a line; for example, the word *han-d* at the end of the first line.
4. There is a characteristic formation of certain letters and words.
5. There are also distinctive pen lifts, done out of habit as the writer moved his hand across the page.¹⁷

Second, the document corresponds closely with Charles Anthon's description. Professor Anthon wrote two accounts of Martin Harris's visit. Both accounts are in general agreement, and both contain descriptions of the document Martin Harris showed him. The first account was written to E. D. Howe, 17 February 1834.

This paper was in fact a singular scrawl. It consisted of all kinds of crooked characters disposed in columns, and had evidently been prepared by some person who had before him at the time a book containing various alphabets. Greek and Hebrew letters, crosses, and flourishes, Roman letters inverted or placed sideways, were arranged in perpendicular columns, and the whole ended in a rude delineation of a circle divided into various compartments, decked with various strange marks, and evidently copied after the Mexican Calender [*sic*] given by

¹⁶Discoloration of the pages in Proverbs has left a distinct outline of the position of the transcript in the Bible during the last several decades. This is perhaps another important evidence for the authenticity of the document, as it would be difficult to forge the discoloration in the Bible.

¹⁷This list was compiled by the author from notes taken in several conversations with Dean Jessee during the meetings involving the discovery, evaluation, and public announcement of the document.



Courtesy of Mark Hofmann

Figure 6. Hofmann Document

Humbolt, but copied in such a way as not to betray the source whence it was derived.¹⁸

In 1841 Professor Anthon wrote the second account to the Reverend T.W. Coit:

The characters were arranged in columns, like the Chinese mode of writing, and presented the most singular medley that I ever beheld. Greek, Hebrew, and all sorts of letters, more or less distorted, either through unskilfulness, [*sic*] or from actual design, were intermingled with sundry delineations of half moons, stars, and other natural objects, and the whole ended in a rude representation of the Mexican zodiac.¹⁹

The Hofmann manuscript and the Anthon descriptions coincide. First, characters are arranged in vertical or “perpendicular columns,” as Anthon notes. Second, Anthon’s “Mexican zodiac” or “Mexican calendar” matches the circle in the lower right corner of the Hofmann sheet. Third, there are more “flourishes” and Roman-styled letters on the new document than on the Whitmer text. In fact, a cursory look at the Whitmer text gives the general impression that numerous characters are Arabic numerals. This is not the case with the Hofmann manuscript. Professor Anthon’s critical eye certainly would have caught this impression had he been looking at the Whitmer script.²⁰

Also noteworthy is the phrase “plates of gold” in the Joseph Smith note. Phrases such as “plates of brass,” “altar of stone,” “river of water,” and “plates of gold” are found throughout the Book of Mormon.²¹

Another phrase contained in the note which bears on the genuineness of the manuscript is “diligently copied.” The Hofmann document appears to have been executed with much greater care than used in any of the other three sources; there is a marked deterioration of quality in the Whitmer text and the two published versions. Individual characters often lack detail, particularly in the reproduction of the smaller and more dense characters from the fifth column. In the Hofmann document, note the hash marks at the top and bottom, and the dots within the “3”-shaped figures in both columns in the vertical rectangle at the top of the fifth column. Compare also line

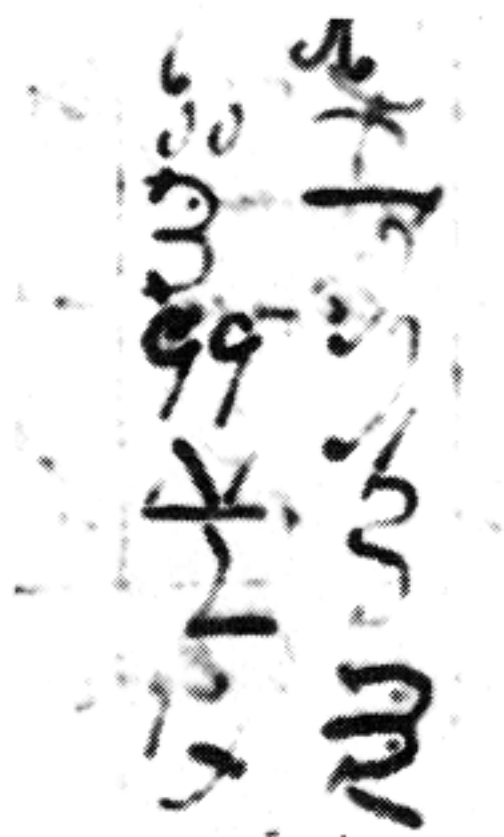
¹⁸Charles Anthon to Eber D. Howe, 17 February 1834, quoted in E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled* [*sic*] (Painesville, Ohio: Published by author, 1834), pp. 271–72. Incidentally, B. H. Roberts took some editorial liberty in reproducing these quotes in *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Century 1, 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 1:100–101.

¹⁹Charles Anthon to the Rev. T. W. Coit, 3 April 1841, quoted in John A. Clark, *Gleanings by the Way* (Philadelphia: W.J. and J.K. Simon, 1842), pp. 232–38.

²⁰Note that Charles A. Shook did notice this about the Whitmer transcript (see Charles A. Shook, *Cumorah Revisited* [Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1910], pp. 12–13).

²¹See 1 Nephi 2:7, 5:14, 8:13, 19:22, 22:1 and 30; 2 Nephi 4:2; and Mosiah 21:27, 28:11.

five of the Whitmer text with the Hofmann manuscript. The last two or three characters in line five and all of line six of the Whitmer text correspond to the symbols within the four compartments of the inner circle in the Hofmann manuscript. Much detail is lost in the Whitmer text, not to mention loss in elegance and style in the characters themselves. (See Figure 8.)



From Columns 5 and 6 of the Hofmann Document



From Line 5 of the Whitmer Text

Figure 8

Equally clear is the elimination of the clustering of characters so obviously noticeable in the Hofmann text. In addition to the constellations created by the rectangles, circles, and compartments of the circle, there seems to be an intentional grouping of symbols in the first four columns. In the first column, for instance, one can see five (perhaps six) sets, five or six in column two, four in column three, and two or three in column four. These groupings have been ignored in the Whitmer text and the published versions. These groupings may prove to be critical to the translation process.

Finally, several complex or compound characters in the Hofmann text have been transformed in the other versions into two or three and sometimes more individual characters. Three examples stand out. First, the third character in the second column is clearly a unified symbol in the Hofmann manuscript but is dismembered into four

separate elements in the other sources. (Compare characters three through six in line two of the Whitmer text and the same in the



Hofmann Document



Whitmer Text

published versions.) A second example is the butterfly-shaped figure in column three just above the center fold of the Hofmann manuscript. In the Whitmer text this figure has less detail and has been divided into three elements that look like the number 206. If the 2 and the 6 were moved over and attached to the 0, the figure

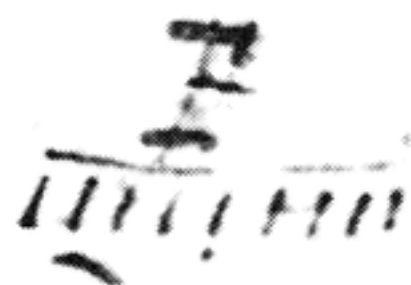


Hofmann Document

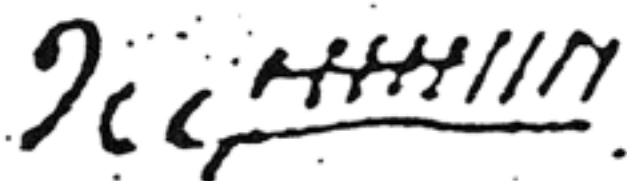


Whitmer Text

would more nearly match the Hofmann version. A third example includes the series of elegant symbols between the vertical rectangle and the circle in column five. These are not reproduced at all in the Whitmer text, but they are in line three of the printed versions. (See Figure 9.) The graceful symbol at the top has been segmented into three or four parts. In the Hofmann manuscript the “F”-shaped character above the long horizontal line with the nine hash marks below it is attached to that line, forming one large figure. However, in the published versions it is split into two. This series is upside down and backwards in the reproduction in *The Prophet*.



Hofmann Document



1844 Placard
Stick of Joseph



The Prophet
21 Dec. 1844

Figure 9. Comparison of Symbols

It is not clear whether this fragmentation process is a case of poor copying, or whether it was someone's attempt to study the individual components of the marks. Regardless, there is a unity to them that was not known until the new discovery. In summary, when compared with the other available versions, the Hofmann document is its own proof that it was "diligently copied"; it also becomes its own best witness that it is the manuscript described by Professor Anthon and consequently the original made by Joseph Smith. It should be much more useful in solving the mysteries of translation.

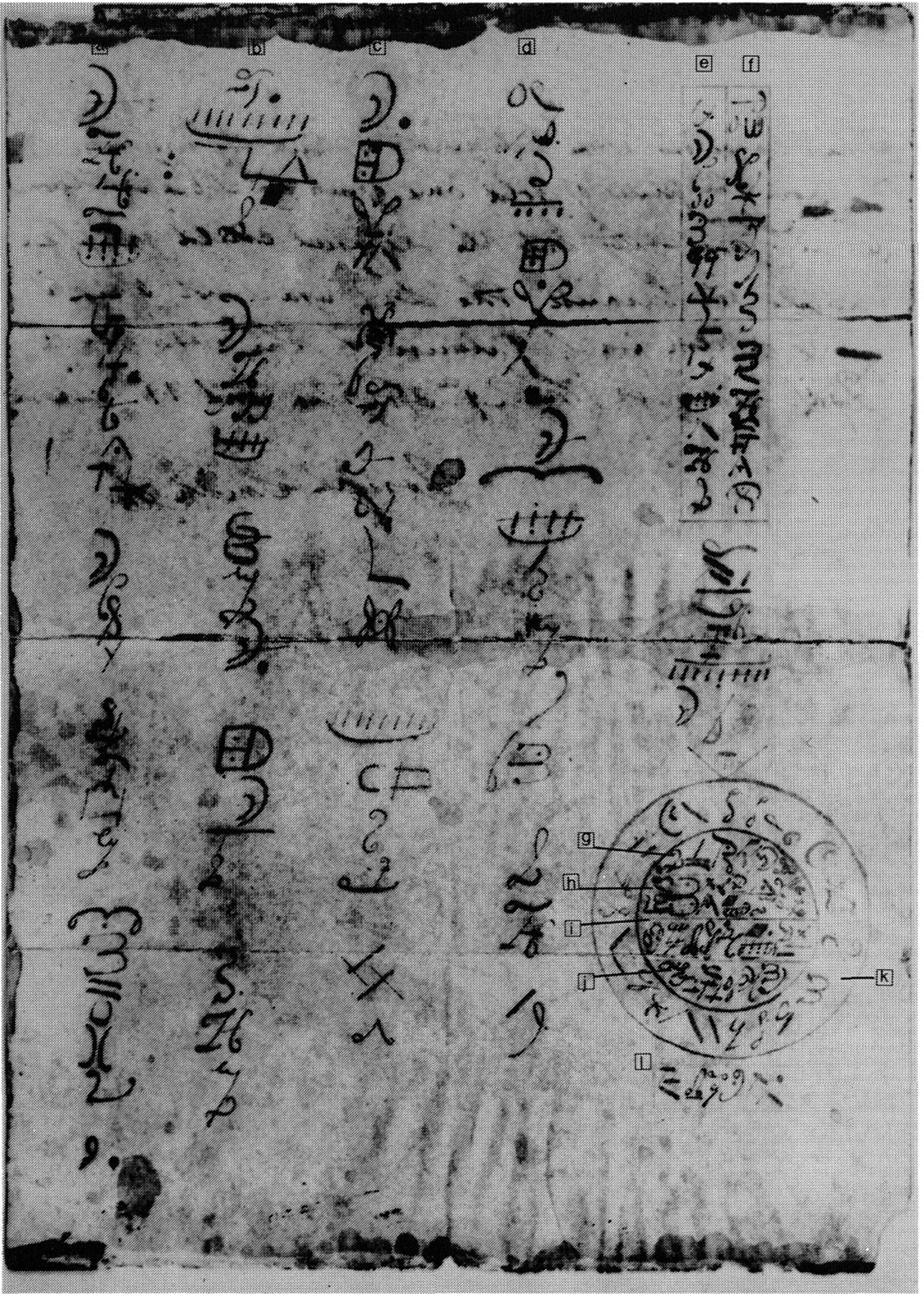
The new manuscript also appears to be a source for the other copies. With two exceptions the same symbols appear line for line in both the Hofmann and Whitmer manuscripts. At the top left of the Hofmann document and on down the column are the same characters that appear on the top row from left to right of the Whitmer text. This pattern holds for the first four columns and rows of the two documents.

Scholars have observed that the last three lines of the Whitmer manuscript are much smaller than the first four lines. Some thought this was simply a matter of available space. However, the change in size is more likely due to the fact these figures are copies of those in the fifth column of the new document which are proportionately smaller than most of the other characters on it. (See Figure 10.) The two texts match up in the following order for the fifth column: (1) The material in the vertical rectangle matches all but the last two characters of the fifth line of the Whitmer text. (2) Those in the compartments of the inner circle beginning at the top and reading from left to right are identical with the last portion of line five, all of line six, and about one-sixth of line seven of the Whitmer text. (3) The figures from between the circles beginning with the first one to the right of the fourth (bottom) compartment and proceeding clockwise coincide with nearly half of line seven of the Whitmer text. (4) The characters in the horizontal rectangle are the same as the remainder of line seven.²² Note that the large figures between the vertical rectangle and the circle were not included in the list because they are not on the Whitmer text; however, they are in line three of both 1844 published versions.

Other details of the Hofmann document that are missing are the last two-and-one-half characters on the bottom of column one.²³ These figures are found in the unique "L"-shaped configuration on

²²The author is indebted to Mark W. Hofmann for sharing the results of his research comparing the documents.

²³In July 1980 Hofmann visited the RLDS Library-Archives and was permitted to examine the Whitmer text. He concluded that the characters had not faded or been broken off but simply were never there.



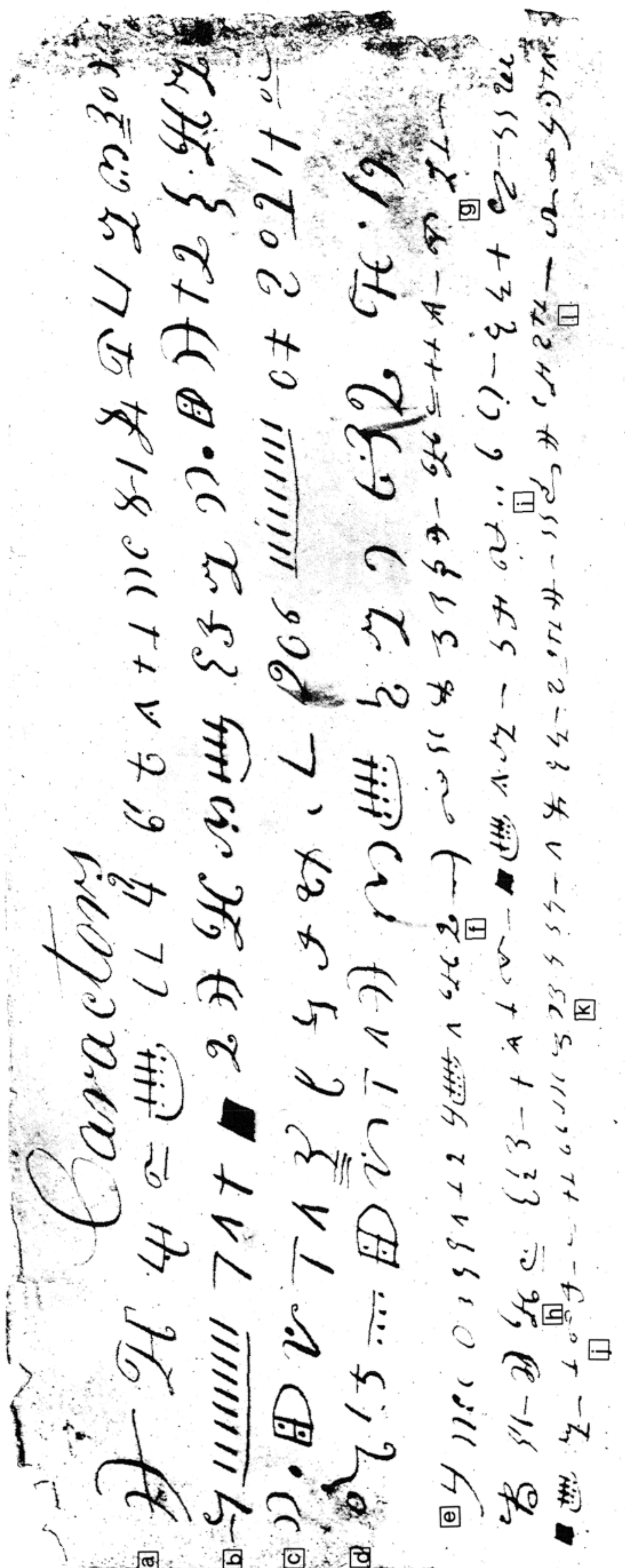
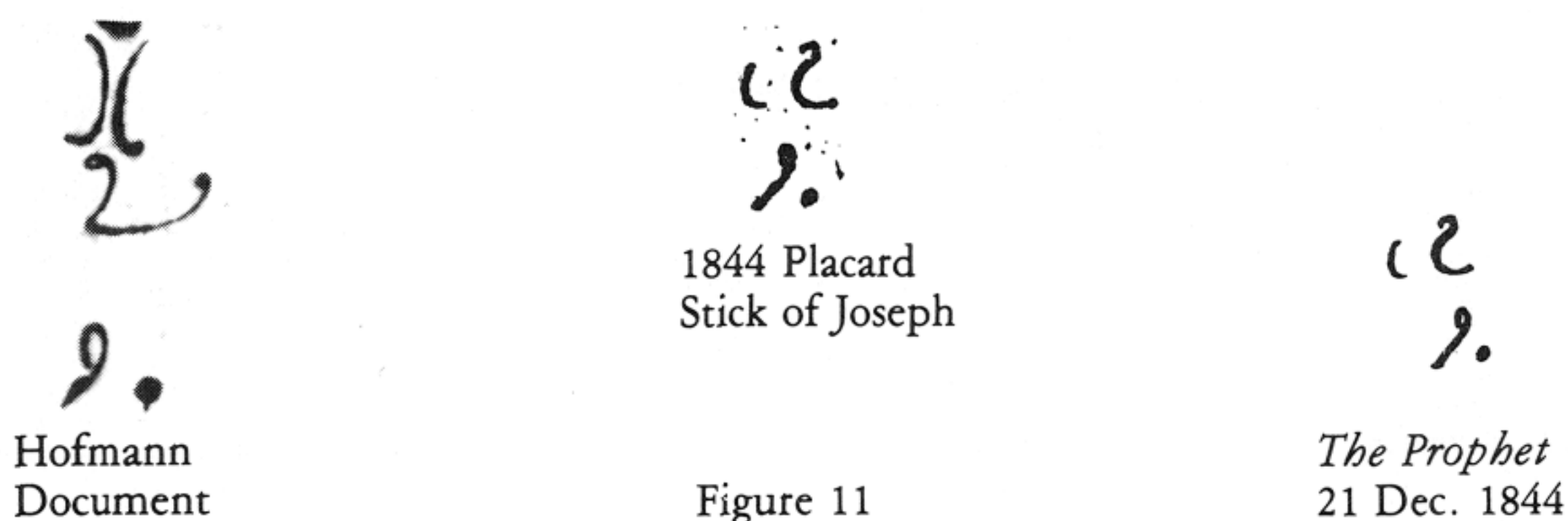


Figure 10. Comparison of Characters on the Hofmann and Whitmer Manuscripts

The characters between each of the superimposed letters on the Hofmann document and the same letters on the Whitmer text indicate corresponding characters. For example, from *a* to *b* or row 1 on the Hofmann document is the same as from *a* to *b* or line 1 on the Whitmer text. The Hofmann document reads up and down; whereas, the Whitmer text reads across.



both published versions at the end of line one (see Figure 11). Finally, it is evident that the characters of the printed versions generally resemble the Whitmer text more closely than they do the new manuscript, except for a few details on specific symbols and the nonrepeated elements mentioned earlier. In summary, this evidence points to the conclusion that the Hofmann document was the ancestor of both the Whitmer text and the published renditions. The unique features in the printed texts which are not found in the Whitmer text can be explained only by the Hofmann document.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CHARACTERS

The language in which the characters are written has long been of interest to students of the history of the Book of Mormon. Joseph Smith was inclined to allow the book to speak for itself on the matter. Moroni said: “We have written this record according to our knowledge, in the characters which are called among us the reformed Egyptian, being handed down and altered by us, according to our manner of speech.” He said that Hebrew was not used because the plates were too small, and he made it clear that “none other people knoweth our language; therefore he [God] hath prepared means for the interpretation thereof.” (Mormon 9:32–34.) This theme was often repeated. In a note accompanying his publication of the title page of the Book of Mormon in June 1829, E. B. Grandin said the book was “written in ancient characters, impossible to be interpreted by any to whom the special gift has not been imparted by inspiration.”²⁴ This message was implicit in D&C 9 and explains why Oliver Cowdery failed in his efforts to translate. In 1835 Oliver wrote that the language “cannot be interpreted by the learning of this generation.”²⁵ In 1843 Joseph Smith explained to James Arlington

²⁴*Wayne Sentinel*, June 1829, quoted in Robert Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism: Why Joseph Smith Wrote the Book of Mormon* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1979), p. 87.

²⁵*Messenger and Advocate* 2 (October 1835): 198.

Bennet that he “translated the Book of Mormon from hieroglyphics the knowledge of which was lost to the world.”²⁶

Nevertheless, scholars, students of the Book of Mormon, and naysayers alike have theorized about the origin of the characters. Martin Harris asserted that Professor Anthon told him they were Egyptian, Chaldaic, Assyriac, and Arabic.²⁷ Anthon, on the other hand, described them in his correspondence as “anything but Egyptian hieroglyphics”: to him they looked more like Greek, Hebrew, and Roman letters.²⁸

Since the early days, numerous other hypotheses have appeared. In the early 1940s Ariel L. Crowley found 121 parallels between the characters on the Whitmer text and various forms of Egyptian writing, but some were not convinced by his work.²⁹ Crowley and others also observed parallels with Mesoamerican scripts such as Mayan. One writer even found similarities between Phoenician writings and the characters.³⁰ More recently some Mormon scholars have compared them with a Nubian corruption of Egyptian called Meroitic.³¹

In 1910, Charles A. Shook critically described the symbols as “deformed English” rather than “reformed Egyptian” and concluded that the Book of Mormon was a fraud pawned off by Joseph Smith. His conclusion was based on his claim that he had found in the Whitmer text all the Arabic numerals from one to zero as well as sixteen parallels to the English alphabet. He wrote, “The fact is that Joseph Smith, in drawing the transcript, employed different kinds and styles of English letters, changing a few of them to make the imposture less observable.”³²

Contemporary critics have abandoned linguistics for the occult. Dr. Asael Lambert, a longtime student of Joseph Smith and of magic, believes that certain books of magic and astrology were the inspiration for the transcript.³³ Lutheran minister Robert Hullinger argues that there are parallels between the characters and a “secret alphabetical code” of the Masons. The Reverend Hullinger would have us believe that Joseph Smith’s connection with such writing

²⁶Joseph Smith to James Arlington Bennet, 13 November 1843, cited in *Reply of Joseph Smith to the Letter of J. A. B. of A--n House* (New York: R. Hedlock & T. Ward, 1844), p. 12.

²⁷HC, 1:20.

²⁸See fns. 18 and 19.

²⁹Crowley, *About the Book of Mormon*, pp. 16–26. Originally published as a three-part series in the *Improvement Era* from January through March 1942 (45: 14–15, 58–59; 76–80, 124–25; 150–51, 182–83).

³⁰J. M. Sjodahl, “Book of Mormon Characters,” *Improvement Era* 27 (December 1923): 146–48. Sjodahl quotes Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon, who believed the characters bore resemblance to Phoenician.

³¹Daniel Ludlow, professor at BYU, prepared a handout entitled “A Comparison of the Anthon Transcript with a Type of Reformed Egyptian,” in which this parallel is drawn. Copy in possession of author.

³²Shook, *Cumora Revisited*, pp. 538–39.

³³Asael C. Lambert Papers, Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

came when he supposedly visited the home of George and Lucinda Morgan Harris in Far West, Missouri, in 1828. Not only has the Reverend Hullinger not demonstrated that the Harrises had the book or that Joseph saw it there, assuming Lucinda Morgan Harris had a copy because she was the widow of the famous anti-Mason William Morgan, but also he makes a mistake in the date of Joseph's visit, predating it by a decade. Joseph Smith was not in Far West until 1838. There is another problem of dates. The book which Joseph Smith is supposed to have seen in 1828 and used in obtaining inspiration for the characters was not published until 1829.³⁴

The most recent effort to identify the language of the script has emerged since the discovery of the document. Soon after its discovery, a copy of the Hofmann document was sent to Barry Fell, professor emeritus at Harvard University. Within weeks he reported that the language is from Arabic and that he had found the key to the decipherment of the text in ancient North African Lybian code books. His study and translation are to be published in Volume 9 of *Occasional Papers of the Epigraphic Society* (Arlington, Mass.).

To accept all the theories put forth, one would be compelled to believe that the book was derived from the writings of Solomon Spaulding, Ethan Smith, and a host of other source books. Similarly, the candidates for the language of these symbols include various forms of Egyptian, Mayan, Phoenecian; books on necromancy; Masonic alphabets; "deformed English"; Lybian code books; and Egyptian texts supposedly available in the Manchester, New York, library. It is unthinkable that the "Anthon transcript" was inspired by all of these, and it is equally unlikely that unanimity will be reached on any of these theories. Certainly Church critics will continue to try to prove that the characters were derived from some source other than that which Joseph Smith said they were, and proponents will likewise continue to seek verification of Joseph Smith's claim.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DOCUMENT

Doubtless the significance of the document will increase with time. Its importance is likely more historical than theological;

³⁴Hullinger, *Mormon Answer to Skepticism*, pp. 91, 94, 98, 99, and fns. 104 and 105 on p. 99. Even if the Harrises had the book, the burden of proof that Joseph actually looked at it is on Hullinger. Alfred L. Bush, curator of Collections of Western America at Princeton University, has graciously provided me copies of David Bernard's *Light on Masonry: A Collection of All the Most Important Documents on the Subject of Speculative Free Masonry . . .* (Utica, N.Y.: William Williams, Printer, 1829), the book in question. I have examined it and found only superficial parallels in a few instances.

however, it will provide additional evidence for some theological-historical problems. For instance, considerable debate has centered on why Martin Harris went to New York with these characters in the first place and exactly what documents he took with him. Unfortunately Martin Harris's and Professor Anthon's accounts differ at critical points, but the new document substantiates Anthon's description and demands that new consideration be given to his story.

The prophecy of Isaiah 29:11–12 has long been associated with the visit to Charles Anthon:

And the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I cannot; for it is sealed: And the book is delivered to him that is not learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee: and he saith, I am not learned.

Scholars have asked the question, did Joseph Smith want Martin Harris to go to New York with the express purpose of fulfilling this prophecy, or did he even know of it at the time? In the 1838 published version of the story (JS 2), which has become part of the official LDS history, Joseph does not mention the prophecy specifically but quotes Martin, who uses the language of Isaiah. According to Martin, Professor Anthon doubted the existence of divine aid in bringing forth the gold plates and demanded the return of his certification of the authenticity of the characters. Joseph quotes Martin's description of what followed:

I accordingly took it out of my pocket and gave it to him, when he took it and tore it to pieces, saying, that there was no such thing now as ministering of angels, and that if I would bring the plates to him, he would translate them. I informed him that part of the plates were sealed, and that I was forbidden to bring them. He replied, "I cannot read a sealed book."³⁵

At this point there is some confusion because Oliver Cowdery, Lucy Smith, and Edward Stevenson all state that Joseph sent Martin Harris to the East to fulfill the prophecy. Oliver even said that Moroni so directed the Prophet.³⁶ But in an 1832 account Joseph Smith says that Martin Harris received a revelation in which he learned that he must make the trip to fulfill the prophecy.³⁷ Regardless of who

³⁵HC, 1:20.

³⁶For Cowdery, Smith, and Stevenson respectively, see Oliver Cowdery, *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (February 1835): 80; Lucy M. Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother Lucy Mack Smith* (Salt Lake City: Stevens & Wallis, 1945), p. 119; Edward Stevenson, *Reminiscences of the Prophet Joseph Smith and the Coming Forth of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Published by author, 1893), pp. 28–29, as cited in William E. Berrett and Alma P. Burton, *Readings in LDS History from Original Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1953), 1:43.

³⁷Cheesman, "Accounts Relating to Joseph Smith's Early Visions," Appendix D, p. 131.

originated the mission, the question remains, why was it necessary? Opponents of Joseph Smith claim that it was just a scheme to satisfy Martin's doubts so that he would finance the publication of the Book of Mormon.³⁸ Others say the mission was to give "the learned" a chance to translate it, and if they failed, the world would be left without excuse for not accepting the divine inspiration of the book once the untutored farm boy had translated and published it.³⁹ The Hofmann document does not resolve these questions, but the note on the reverse side, if it were written shortly after the trip as it seems to have been,⁴⁰ would be the earliest connection between the trip and the prophecy.

For now it may simply be enough to suggest that the importance of the document lies in the fact that it is the earliest known Mormon document and also the earliest known Joseph Smith holograph.⁴¹ Caution must be taken in assessing what it does and does not say about the Book of Mormon, but it is one more piece of the puzzle, a piece that suggests that Joseph Smith did what he said he did—copy some characters and give them to Martin Harris to take to New York.

While the new discovery does answer some important questions, like most other discoveries of this nature, it also raises a plethora of new questions that demand answers: Why were the characters between the vertical rectangle and the circle left off the Whitmer transcript but included in the published versions? Why was the format changed from a vertical one to a horizontal one in subsequent copies? Why were the groupings of characters, the details of the characters, and the rectangles and circles ignored in the copies? Why was the Whitmer transcript produced? Was it a copy for a printer, or does it represent the copy made by Mr. Dikes, a suitor of Miss Lucy Harris, to assuage her mother's opposition to their marriage as told by Lucy Smith?⁴² Or is it a second generation copy? This discovery also raises the question about the existence of a second document, the supposed translation of these characters which Martin Harris said he took with him to New York. Moreover, it would be nice to know the

³⁸Reverend Wesley P. Walters asserts that Joseph Smith added the same prophecy of Isaiah to the Book of Mormon so that it would appear to refer to Joseph as the translator of the record (Wesley P. Walters, "Whatever Happened to the Book of Mormon?" *Eternity* [May 1980], pp. 32–34).

³⁹This was Oliver Cowdery's view. He said, "For thus has God determined to leave men without excuse, and show to the meek that his arm is not shortened that it cannot save" (*Messenger and Advocate* 1 [February 1835]: 80).

⁴⁰That the note was written shortly after Martin Harris returned is Dean Jessee's opinion, based on the similarity of ink in the note to that of characters on the front of the document, and Joseph's style of signature and script.

⁴¹Again on the authority of Dean Jessee. He also feels that all indications are that Joseph Smith wrote the word *Caractors* at the top of the Whitmer text and that this manuscript is in the Prophet's hand. However, it is very difficult to be positive of a sample of handwriting when it contains only one word.

⁴²Lucy M. Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, p. 120.

provenance of the 1668 Bible and the document beyond Salt Lake City and Carthage, Illinois. Where did the characters come from? The big question, of course, which is beyond the historians' pale, is, What do the characters represent and mean? Mormons and non-Mormons alike will continue to search for the answers and to learn more in the years ahead of the significance of this amazing discovery.

And Yet Another Copy of the Anthon Manuscript

Buddy Youngreen

When Mark Hofmann announced his find of an Anthon manuscript, I remembered seeing in the Eva Grace Smith Madison photograph collection a small photograph of another Anthon manuscript. The photograph collection was given to me in 1973 by Forrest P. Madison, her grandson. Eva Grace was the sixth child of Alexander Hale Smith, who was the sixth child born to Joseph and Emma Smith.

This print was made by Warnky's Art Studio in Independence, Missouri, sometime between the fall of 1879 when F. C. Warnky moved to Independence and 26 March 1892, the day Eva Grace died at age eighteen.

We do not know the whereabouts of the original document from which this print was copied, but a comparison of the print with texts discussed and photocopied in the Bachman article in this issue of *BYU Studies* shows significant differences, particularly in composition and arrangement of the traditional characters. Also, there is a paraphrasing of Isaiah 29:11–12 rather than a direct quote from the biblical verses.

We have not been able to determine whose handwriting appears at the top and bottom of this print, exactly when Warnky printed it, or the real importance of the item itself. However, the very presence of this additional copy of the ancient characters in a collection of photographs from Independence tells us that the chapter on the Anthon manuscript is not completed.

Buddy Youngreen is the executive-secretary of the Joseph Smith, Sr., family organization, although he is not a blood relative of the family. Formerly an associate professor at the Pasadena Playhouse College of Theatre Arts, he has produced and directed over one hundred stage productions in California, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, and Idaho. He is a charter member of the Association of Latter-day Media Artists (ALMA).

One of the Martin Company

Dian Saderup

The cart was green timber that warped,
split, spilled her home on the silt
north bank of the Platte, the iron
cookpan, tentcloth, Mama's Welsh carved
music box tinkling in the mud
"flow gently sweet . . ." Then it stopped.
Herricks took the soiled stiff bedding;
hundred pounds weevil rotted grain,
fifty of beans, a shank of salt beef
she put in a company supply wagon,
carried the baby Etta
in a makeshift sling on her waist.
When the sand wore through her
thin-soled ankle shoes, rubbed the balls
of her feet raw, at night she tied
rags on them, tight to squeeze the pain,
whispered: "I'm going there, I'm going there,"
pulled the rags tighter. September
the air went frost. At night
the tarpaulin and three blankets
did not stop the cold; Etta cried
from cold. She kissed the baby
with cracked lips, warmed the forehead,
pressed the body tight between her breasts,
and listened to wolves. The first snow
came in skifts thin-crusts over frozen
wagon ruts and three opened graves
of summer immigrants, scattered
broken bones white with brittle snow.

Then the snow came hard. She walked on
clubbed-numb ankles, Etta tied
to her waist, small fingers blue then
white, then hands, feet, the frost crawled
into knees, into infant thighs;
she rubbed the baby with a blanket,
with snow, wrapped her in arms
that night beneath the tarpaulin
beside the Sweetwater and listened
to the wolves cry till light when
Anna Herrick came, pried away the stiff body,
spooned the snow with a soup ladle,
buried Etta. Wagons jolted her
over frozen October Wyoming,
her mind in gentle spasms:
Going there, going there; down
the willow gullies of the Wasatch
to a desert not gone yet to roses,
where a City Creek midwife
and her husband sawed the white feet
turned black, wrapped the stumps in linen
that did not squeeze the pain;
“It is all right now,” the midwife said,
“Over.” And she sat close by for some days,
touching the woman’s hair, forehead,
spooning her tea and milk-sopped bread;
listening one morning she first spoke
whispering hoarse with voice cords raw
from that time in bitter air:
I lost my Mama’s music box.

Times of Refreshing: 1820

Allie Howe

A wisp of the new morning
Washes across his face
And turns him
To wooded temples.

The way along,
Winged harbingers lighten above,
Through, among, back and before,
As alert, anxious buds
Await nativities.
Under his boot, and on,
Dark leaf-mold, dew-dampened, patient,
A teeming earth secures.
Hearing his step,
The stone beside quickens
To its rolling,
And the showered-clean air,
Ecstatic,
Freshens millennia past,
Whispers everlastings.

Ancient in days, the awakening mother
Lifts
Against his suppliant knees;
And a breath above,
Reigning all the space around,
The Holiest of Holies
Unveil

And Joseph sups from Their Presence . . .

Sons of the Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion—1860

Buddy Youngreen

O God let the residue of my father's house . . . ever come up in remembrance before thee and stand virtuous and pure in thy presence, that thou mayest save them from the hand of the oppressor, and establish their feet upon the rock of ages, that they may have place in thy house and be saved in thy kingdom, even where God, and Christ is, and let all these things be as I have said, for Christ's sake. Amen.

Joseph Smith, Jr.
December 18, 1833¹

That the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, were martyred by a mob at Carthage Jail in June 1844 is a well-known fact. A lesser-known fact is that their brother Samuel Harrison Smith, first missionary for the Church, also died a martyr's death as a direct result of his attempts to aid his brothers while in Carthage.² The Joseph Smith, Sr., family had always stood together in their efforts to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion. In her writings, Lucy Mack Smith, mother of the Martyrs, clearly demonstrates that members of the Smith family not only possessed close family ties, strengthened by the gospel, but they also recognized in themselves a divine destiny.³

Buddy Youngreen is the executive-secretary of the Joseph Smith, Sr., family organization, although he is not a blood relative of the family. Formerly an associate professor at the Pasadena Playhouse College of Theatre Arts, he has produced and directed over one hundred stage productions in California, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona, and Idaho. He is a charter member of the Association of Latter-day Media Artists (ALMA). The author is indebted to Lyndon W. Cook, instructor of Church history at Brigham Young University, for valuable assistance in the writing of this article.

¹Prayer by Joseph Smith, Jr., 18 December 1833, Kirtland, Ohio, as recorded by Oliver Cowdery, 1 October 1835, in Patriarchal Blessing Book, 2:18, Library-Archives of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives. See also Joseph Smith Diary, 27 November 1832–5 December 1834, entry for 18 December 1833.

²B. H. Roberts, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1951), 7:213, 221–22; see also Dean Jarman, "The Life and Contributions of Samuel Harrison Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1961), pp. 102–108.

³See Lucy Mack Smith, *Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and His Progenitors for Many Generations* (Liverpool: For Orson Pratt by S. W. Richards, 1853). A summary of Lucy's opinions concerning family solidarity for the "Cause of Zion" is made clear in her application for copyright of her book in 1845: "an account of the many persecutions, trials and afflictions which I and my family have endured in bringing forth the Book of Mormon, and establishing the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints" ("Copyright Records, Illinois, Vol. 18, August 1821–September 1848"; copy in possession of the author). This same view is expressed by William Smith, brother of the Martyrs, in "Patriarchal," *Times and Seasons*, 15 May 1845, pp. 904–905.

Sharing his mother's perspective, the Prophet Joseph Smith viewed the Smith family as the nucleus of latter-day Israel and perceived his family solidarity as an essential supporting pillar of the Restoration. Joseph despaired at the notion of disunity. A family disagreement in 1835 prompted him to declare:

My heart is pained within me because of the difficulty that exists in my fathers family. . . . The powers of darkness . . . cast a gloomy shade over the minds of my brothers and sisters, which prevents them from seeing things as they really are, and the powers of Earth & hell seem combined to overthrow us and the church by causing a division in the family.⁴

The Prophet's fear concerning a family division proved prophetic, when the deaths of the Martyrs removed the essential stabilizing element from the flock.

The western exodus of the Mormons in 1846 resulted in a physical separation of members of the Smith family. The wives and children of Hyrum and Samuel Smith went west under the direction of Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles. The Prophet's family, his brother William, and his sisters Sophronia, Katherine, and Lucy, and their families, chose to remain behind. Because of ill health, his mother also decided against joining the western migration, remaining in nearly deserted Nauvoo, Illinois.

Following this 1846 physical separation of the Smiths, a theological split made itself manifest in the family—chiefly among the sons of the Martyrs. The reality of this split would come into sharp focus in 1860.

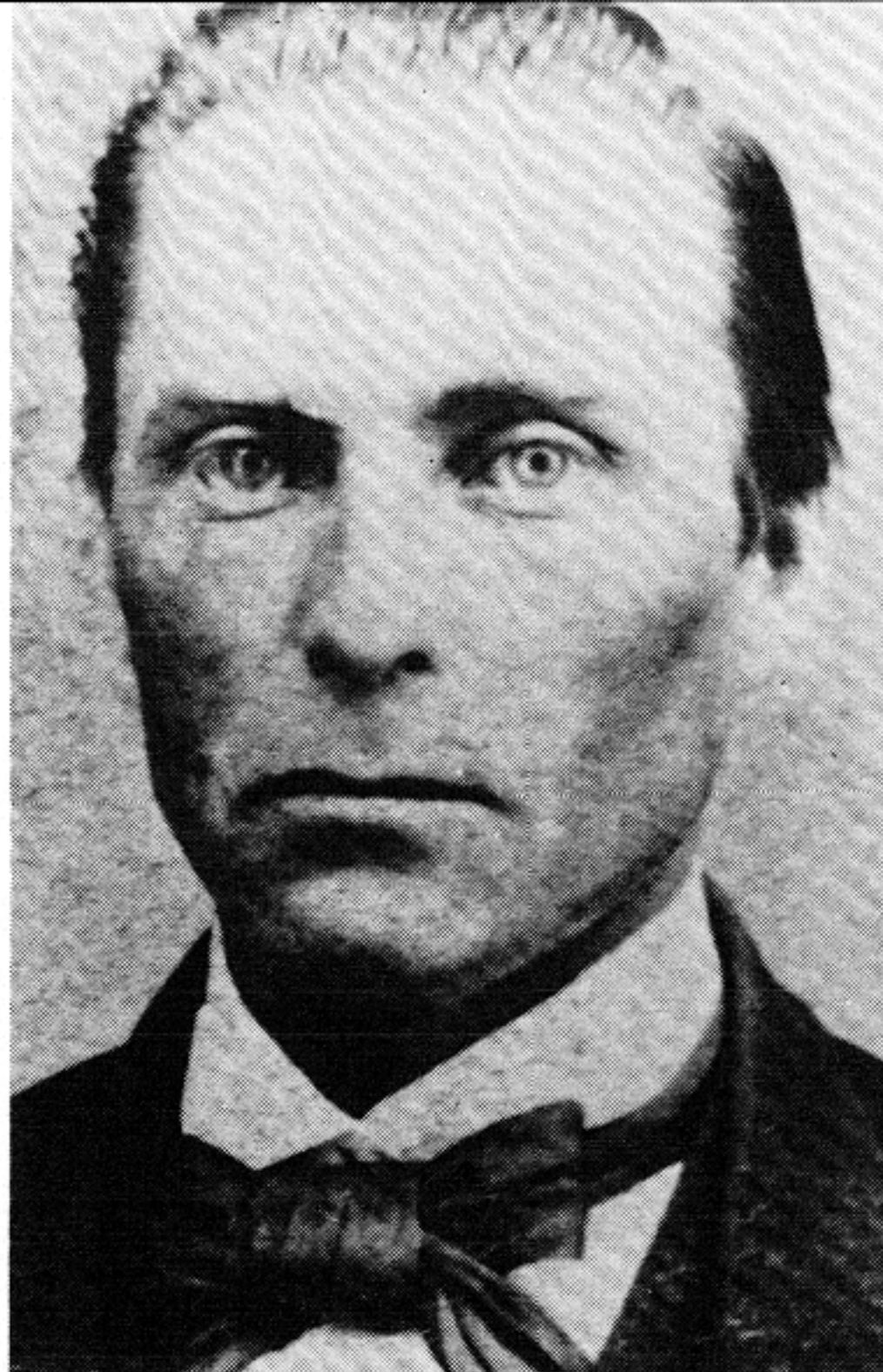
In many ways 1860 was a critical year. Up to that year, the primary reason for the division in the Smith families had been the eastern Smiths' refusal to join the western movement. But in 1860 Joseph Smith III assumed the presidency of the "Reorganized" Church, and this involvement in the Reorganization sealed the separation of the Smith families for more than a century.

The year 1860 also brought about temporary reuniting of the east and west branches of the Smith family. In 1860 the seven living sons of the Martyrs met each other in Nauvoo. In February, John (Hyrum's eldest son) went to Nauvoo and met with his cousins Joseph III, Alexander Hale, Frederick Granger Williams, and David Hyrum (the sons of Joseph, Jr.). Then in June, Joseph F. (Hyrum's youngest son) and Samuel Harrison Bailey (Samuel H.'s only son) stopped at Nauvoo on their way to England and met with these same cousins.

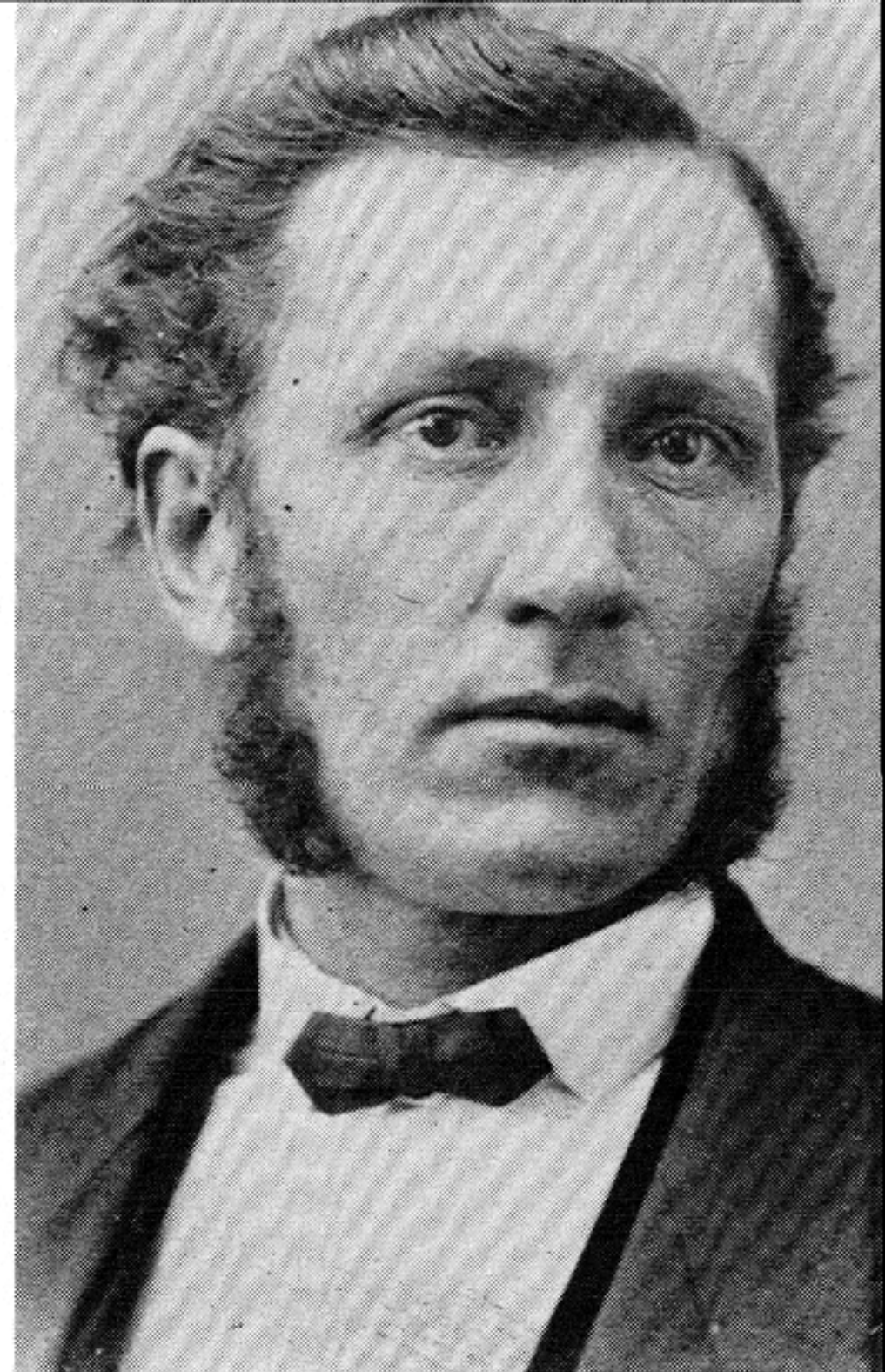
⁴Joseph Smith Diary, 22 September 1835–3 April 1836, entry for 1 January 1836, pp. 94–95, Church Archives.



Samuel H. B. Smith
(1838–1914)



John Smith
(1832–1911)



Joseph F. Smith
(1838–1918)

SONS OF THE MARTYRS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

David H. Smith
(1844–1904)

Alexander H. Smith
(1838–1909)

Frederick G. W. Smith
(1836–1862)

Joseph Smith III
(1832–1914)



It is the purpose of this article to show how these seven sons of the Martyrs reacted to meeting each other again after a fourteen-year separation.

NAUVOO REUNION OF 1860

Hyrum Smith's eldest son, John, left Salt Lake Valley 16 September 1859, with intentions of bringing his sister Lovina Walker, her husband Lorin, and their children to Utah from Florence, Nebraska. After his arrival in Florence, the young Presiding Patriarch of the Church proceeded to Nauvoo and vicinity in February 1860 to visit other family members. How long he remained and the particulars of that visit are not known.

But from memoirs we do know that Joseph III made his cousin welcome at his Nauvoo residence, the Prophet Joseph Smith's "Old Homestead." Their conversation undoubtedly centered around the Saints in Utah, the Reorganization, and plural marriage. Remembering the occasion, young Joseph said:

I recall clearly a conversation which took place between us in 1860 on the day before he started back West. . . . In soberness of spirit that day, he invited me to come out to Utah and make them a visit. I was cutting wood in my yard at the time he made this request, he standing nearby and chatting with me.

For a while we talked rather idly about the possibilities of such a visit, and then I asked him if he thought I should be safe in making it. He answered that he thought I would be, and that I would be courteously treated by the leaders out there. Then I asked him if I would be free to express my opinions to the people, to which he replied that he thought that would depend largely upon the circumstances and places. Then I put this direct query:

"Cousin John, suppose I should visit Salt Lake City and should be invited to speak from a public stand. Would I be safe in expressing my opposition to the doctrine and practice of polygamy and plural marriage, and in freely stating my opinions in reference to them and their origin?"

"Well, Cousin Joseph, I do not think you would be so foolish as to speak against the doctrine in so public a place and manner as that, and in the presence of those who would be likely to be on the platform with you."

I dropped the axe I was using, and with all the force and fire, and love of freedom which I had inherited from my New England ancestors, at once awake and alert in my soul, I exclaimed: "Cousin John, I am a free man—was born free—and my opinions and my tongue are my own, and I am telling you that if I should be asked my opinion about polygamy and stood in a pulpit along with Brigham Young himself I

should speak it out, plainly and unmistakably, as I would to you here and now!”

He looked at me steadily and thoughtfully a moment, and then said, soberly: “I think you had best not go out to Utah yet!”⁵

As he made his way back across Iowa, John heard rumors of plans to place his cousin, Joseph III, at the head of the Reorganization. After a few days of meditation, John was filled with forebodings concerning the step Joseph was about to take. He sensed that profit-making designs had motivated the advocates of the Reorganization and that these ambitious promoters were using his cousin for unrighteous purposes. Cousin John wrote this warning to young Joseph on 3 April 1860:

I have lerned something about that matter which we talked about while I was there it is in the mouth of every body all most and I have seen some of the parties and by what I can learn it is all a speculation and they do not [care] a d_____ for you only to make a tool of you to carry out there schemes that they may get gain and I hope you will not take a step in the matter without fully considering the importance of such [a] step as for my part I cannot sanction any such thing for I fear it will leade us in a difficulty that will bring a stain upon us [the Smith family] wherein we might suffer loss.⁶

Had John’s letter reached Joseph in time it is unlikely that it would have had its desired effect. But, as it was, the letter arrived too late and its warning went unheeded.

Although Joseph III himself retained some reservations, by 5 March 1860, he had made a decision to become his father’s successor. On that date he wrote to William Marks that he had determined to take his “father’s place as the head of the Mormon church.”⁷ On 4 April 1860, Joseph III, accompanied by his mother, Emma, left Nauvoo for Amboy, Illinois. There, on the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Church, he was chosen and sustained President of the High Priesthood and Prophet, Seer and Revelator to those assembled.⁸

⁵“Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832–1914),” ed. Mary Audentia Smith Anderson (his daughter), in *Saints’ Herald* (6 November 1934–31 July 1937), 28 April 1936, p. 528. Bound copy of original in possession of author.

⁶Joseph Smith III Papers, Box P15, Library–Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri; hereafter cited as RLDS Library–Archives. See also conversation between George A. Smith and John Smith regarding this letter in Historian’s Office Journal, 8 October 1860, Church Archives.

⁷Inez Smith Davis, *Story of the Church*, 7th ed., 2nd rev. (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1964), p. 440.

⁸Early Minutes of the Reorganization, Book 1, under date of 6 April 1860, RLDS Library–Archives.

Simultaneous with the proceedings of the April 1860 Amboy conference, the 30th Annual General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was in progress. About forty missionaries were called to labor in Great Britain and Europe. Among them were two of the Martyrs' sons: Joseph F. Smith, youngest son of Hyrum Smith, and Samuel H. B. Smith, the only son of Samuel Harrison Smith. They left Salt Lake Valley for England on 27 April 1860.⁹

Prior to leaving the Rocky Mountains, Joseph F. wrote to his brother John in Florence for information concerning Nauvoo. Joseph F. was planning to visit that city of his youth and felt that any advance information concerning his kinsmen and the city would be of value.

John's return letter dated 18 April 1860 gave particulars concerning his recent visit at Nauvoo. Of major importance is John's perception concerning the Nauvoo Smiths—although fourteen years had separated them, John felt the Prophet's family were basically still Mormons except for their rejection of polygamy:

Well Nauvoo is a desolate looking place the front or west end of the temple is standing yet. . . . I had a tolerable plesent visit with the folks altho I did not talk much I was very well treated they all appeared very glad to see me and exprest themselves sorry to see me gone away again they all profess Mormonism except poligamy there is considerable excitement in Bluff city [Council Bluffs] about Joseph [III] they are expecting him to come out there to take the leadership of a branch of the church I do not know whether he will come or not. I will know before I leave here to go home.¹⁰

After six weeks of traveling east, the England-bound missionaries reached the Missouri River. Arriving in Florence on 8 June 1860, Joseph F. wrote in his journal:

I met my Brother John who came down to the States last fall for the purpos of visiting Uncle Josephs Family and our Relatives generally and returning with our Sister Lovina Walker and Family this spring. He was in tolarable good spirits as also our Sister whom I had not seen for 14 years. Samuel and I stoped over night here with John.¹¹

Taking ten more days to cross the state of Iowa, Joseph F. and Samuel arrived in Montrose on 19 June, and the following morning ferried across the Mississippi River to Nauvoo. Of their arrival Samuel wrote: "We crossed the river to Nauvoo where we saw our Cousin

⁹*Life of Joseph F. Smith*, comp. Joseph Fielding Smith, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1969), pp. 196–97.

¹⁰John Smith to Joseph F. Smith, 18 April 1860, Church Archives.

¹¹Joseph F. Smith Diary, [retrospective survey], 13 April 1861, Church Archives.

Joseph and the rest of the folks Frederick, Alexander & David [other sons of Joseph and Emma Smith].”¹²

With the arrival of Joseph F. and Samuel H. B. in Nauvoo six of the then seven living sons of the Martyrs were momentarily reunited after a separation of more than fourteen years. Details of this 20–21 June visit are preserved in the following letters written by Joseph F. and Samuel shortly after the events transpired:

JOSEPH F. TO HIS WIFE, LEVIRA, 28 JUNE 1860

When we rose in the morning I went down to the River and took a good long look at poor old Nauvoo. It looked as natural to me as tho’ I had lived there my life time. There stood our old Barn and Brick Office as they did 14 years ago. Uncle Josephs’ Big Brick store looked as it did when I saw it last, in fact I could pick out nearly every spot that I had known in Childhood. and you may well suppose that thoughts rose to my mind that are “easy felt than discribed.”

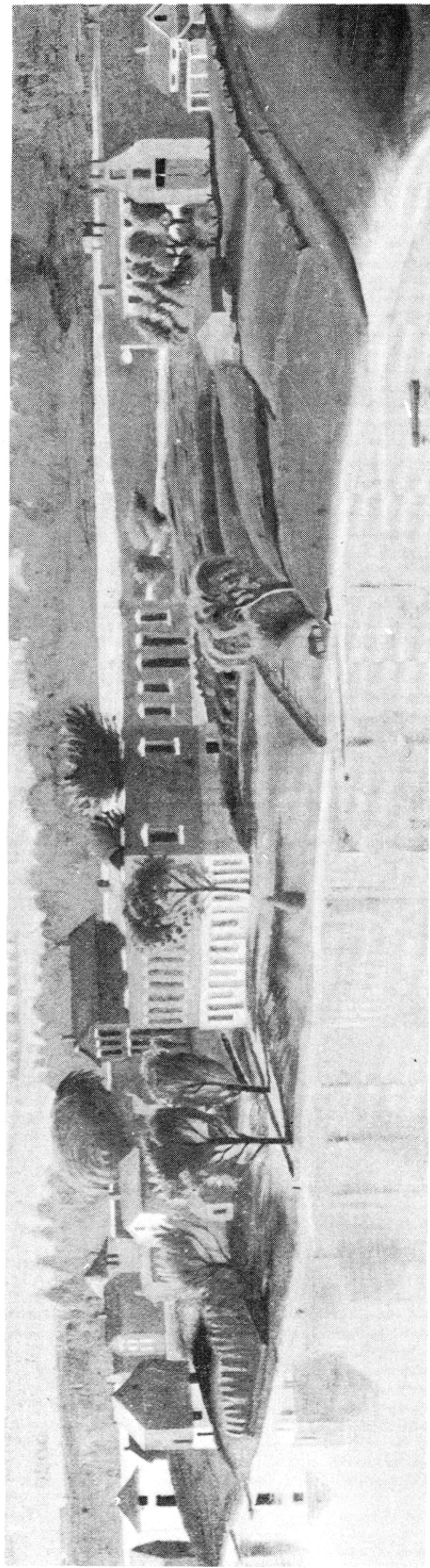
We crossed the river about 9 O’clock a.m. and landed just in front of the old “stone house” which stands yet and I could not see that it is very much impaired by neglect and long standing.

We walked down the River past the old steam mill. took a good look at the old printing Office where uncle Don Carlos lived. Stoped a moment in front of where our old house stood and looked at the Office, the Barn, and the little Brick out house where I shut myself up to keep from going to prison—as I supposed you have heard me speak of it, I think, often—went to unkle Josephs’ old house where Joseph is living. found him at home. he shook us warmly by the hand and I think felt unfeigned pleasure at seeing us. he welcomed us, and enquired after the wellfair of the saints in the Valley and of the health and prosperity of all the relations. after chatting a few minutes we went over to the mansion, where we found Fredrick & Allicksander who greated us as cordially as did Joseph. Old man Bidema[n]¹³ seemed to feel no great pleasure at seeing us, which we had expected of him. after having goan through with an introduction to those presant & answard some questions and made some enquiries &c. &c. we were envited in to dinner. after dinner Fredrick took us in to his mother. shee appeared to have forgotten Samuel¹⁴ but me She said she would have known any where because I looked somuch like Father!! aunt Emma seemed very cold and distant. we had some little conversation tuching the situation of the people in Utah and the disposition manifested by Government toward them.

¹²Samuel H. B. Smith Diary, [mission departure synopsis], 20 June 1860, Church Archives.

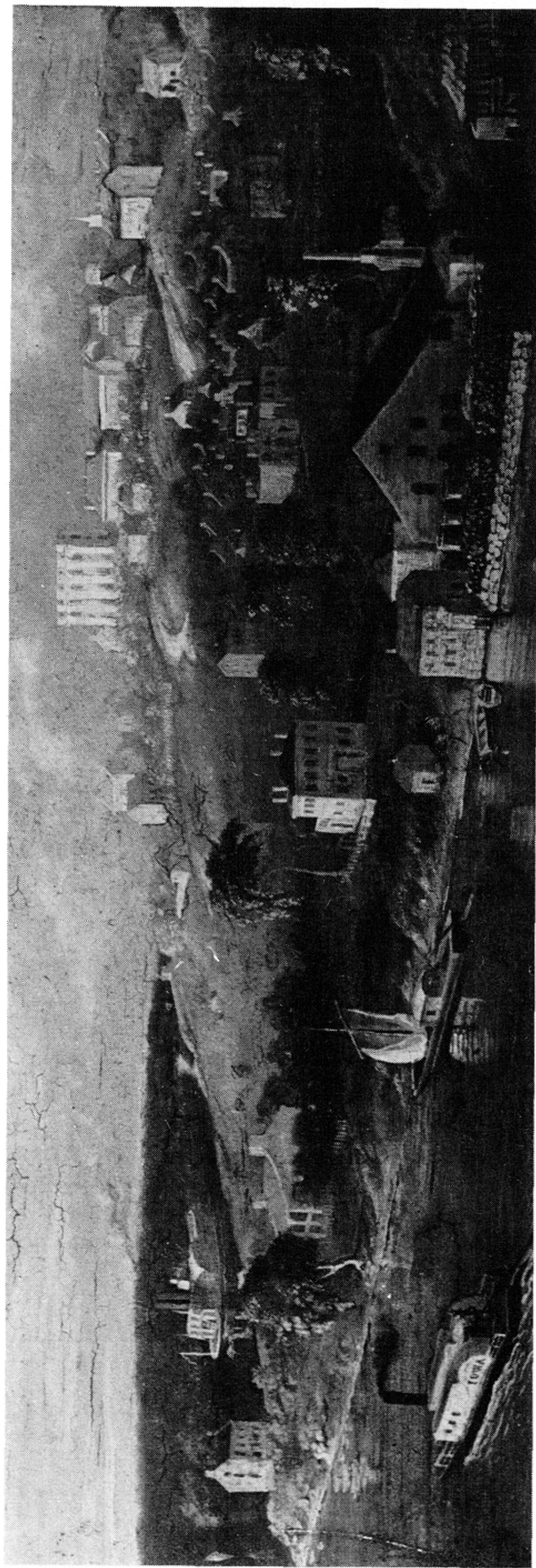
¹³Emma Hale Smith, widow of the Prophet Joseph Smith, married Lewis Crum Bidamon, 23 December 1847 (see Hancock County Marriage Record Book, Carthage Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois, Book A1, 1829–49, p. 105, entry 1242).

¹⁴It is strange that Emma would not have recognized Samuel since he had been in Nauvoo sometime during 1856–1857 on an eastern states mission and had visited her at that time.



From a Painting of Nauvoo by David Hyrum Smith, circa 1860 (looking northwest)

Courtesy of RLDS Church



“Icarian Community”: Nauvoo, 1859, from a Painting by Joh. Schröder (looking northeast)

Courtesy of Historical Dept., LDS Church

We then, in company with Fredrick and Alexander, walked up to the ruins of the Temple. and where the old Buerying ground was. some traces are left of it. the old Masonic Hall stands alone, and looks deserted. Bro. [Heber C.] Kimballs House looks fresh and good. we did not learn who were living in it, also bro. Brighams house. I remembered it as soon as I saw it. it looks old. We returned and went thro' our old Barn and talked freely with the Boys of times gon by. after supper we had some conversation with Cousin Joseph on mormonism and the step that he is taking [i.e., the Reorganization]. We expressed ourselves freely to him and in return, he did the same. it being late however we did not continue long our conversation. Joseph received a letter from Uncle William [Smith] from which we learned (?) that he had sowen his wild oats (?) &c. and that he was farming now for a living!—¹⁵ When we went to bead Joseph lighted us up stairs, and before going down related to us a couple of visions which he had, had, and wished us to remember what we dreamed that night. I dreamed—altho' I was very tyerd and sleepy—of catching a great lot of fish. some were large and some were small. I had "trot lines" set. and some one tryed to steal them from me, but I caught them in the act, and for fear they would steal them I took them up and fished with a rod & line. I told Joseph my dream in the morning but he said nothing.¹⁶ after Breakfast Joseph envited us out, and said if we wished to a[s]k him any questions, he would answer them if he could and if he could not, he would wait till he could. we asked him what his feelings were toward the people at salt Lake. he said his feelings were good toward them and he wished them well. but he believed they were in darkness on some things, owing to the teachings they have had, & the influances that surrounded them. we asked if he believed the doctrines they taught were right. he said he believed they were,—but one,—but that they were abused by those holding authority. We told him our feelings in regard to the authorities of the Church and bore our testimony to mormonism. he was glad we felt so well but hoped that we should think differuntly before long on some things. He sais that he is not concerned at all as to the result of the step he is taking. he does not claim to have had any thing of importance revealed to him. still he sais he has something to reveal in the proper time and place, that is very singular to him, but did not speak to us, as tho' there was any great importance attached to it. he spoke of the defileing of the temple. believed it was defiled by the authorities, and in conciquence of their sins and transgressions they

¹⁵William Smith, brother of Joseph Smith, Jr., was rebaptized into the LDS Church in 1860 by J. J. Butler. In a letter to Brigham Young, William Smith talked about joining the Saints in Salt Lake. (See Brigham Young Office Journal, 14 May 1860, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives; see also D. Michael Quinn, "Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844," *BYU Studies* 16 [Winter 1976]: 205, fn. 54.) It was not until 9 April 1878 that William Smith was received into fellowship in the RLDS Church (*History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* [1873–1890], 4:212). Until his death on 15 November 1893, he was affiliated with that group.

¹⁶For additional and varying accounts of this dream, see Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Published by author, 1887), 6 (May 1887): 190; Joseph F. Smith quoted in letter of John R. Young to Mrs. Vesta Pierce Crawford, undated, Crawford Papers, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City; Young letter quoted in Raymond T. Bailey, "Emma Hale: Wife of the Prophet Joseph Smith" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1952), appendix 4.

were driven from Nauvoo, and brought "Coursings, wrath, indignations, and judgment upon them. believes the people to be in bondage, and oppressed by the Authorities.

He sais he is not afraid but what he will come off right, and that he will take no counsel but from God, for the Lord, if he has a work for him to do—will make his will known to him, before he will to any body els[e].

As Samuel is writing to Cousin Geo. A. [Smith] the particulars of our visit with Joseph, I will proceed with a short discription of our visit farther ahead when we returned to the mansion to bid the folks "good by,"— Aunt Emma came to me and said, "Joe—you are going a wandering are you?"

I thought a moment, and said, I suppose we will wander some before we ged home again."— she said, "I suppose you have done conciderable of it?—I told her I had done some. she asked me then if I liked it better than I did to stay at home. I told her my natural feelings would be to stay at home.— and she turned away, and as she went towards the house said "I hope the time will come when we can all stay at home!" giving me no time to say any more.¹⁷

SAMUEL H. B. TO HIS COUSIN, GEORGE A. SMITH, 11 JULY 1860

We visited Nauvoo and saw the young Prophet, for I suppose that is the name he goes by, having been ordained by his Father previous to his death and called by the Spirit (of late) he steps forth to do a work but what that work was to be we didn't find out, only he intends to be dictated by the Spirit in all things and whether the work was grate or small it mattered not with him he intends to "leave the result with the Lord." he sais he holds to every principle in the church but one [plural marriage] and that he sais he cannot uphold and sustain with the knowledge that he has, and said that he didn't believe his Father ever taught and practised that principle, (which would do to talk to someone else better then to us, for any one that knows any thing about mormonism at all knows better then that, by the testimony of thousands whose testimony no one has a right to deny according to the way that I understand it, it is evident that Joseph has been under the influence of his mother altho he sais that his mother has never tried to influence his mind one way or the other, but has let him take his own course, that may be to and her influence work[s] in a nother way, so that it would have as much weight as though She was to converse with him personally on the subject, and I don't know but a great deal more, he sais that the Spirit has been working on his mind dering the last two years and he has felt all the time as though he had a work to do, but it appears that his mind has been so formed against the principle of Polygamy that the Spirit has failed in removing its fromation [formation], but he told us that if he should come to understand it to be a true principle that he

¹⁷Joseph F. Smith to Levira A. Smith, 28 June 1860, Church Archives. Joseph F. Smith married his first cousin, Levira A. Smith, half-sister of Samuel H. B. Smith, on 5 April 1859 (*Life of Joseph F. Smith*, p. 196).

would imbrace it, but untill then he could not, he further Stated that one day as he was pondering over in his own mind why he didnot go to Salt Lake that he felt his Father's hands upon his head, and then he thought the reason why he dident go, and he told us a circumstance of his seeing his Father, he said that one day he went up sta[i]rs to show some person's his Father's likness and after they had all turned, and stepped out the door, he turned around towards the likness and he saw his Father, [?] he then told us of two or thre other visions he had had, and give us to understand that he had something else to reveal, in its proper time and place, but spok as though he didn't atach any very great importance to it, but he said it was very strange to him, we found him to be affable and kind, we found no truble in getting him to converse with us freely and he expressed himself in a very candid manner, he said he didn't feel like blaming us for the corse we were persuing, and said he thought we would come out all right, and spoke as though he thought we would view things different some time. I think he is sincer and, I have some faith in his coming out strait in the end, that is in seeing his position more clearly then he does at the present, altho I dont know how clear he can see, but I have a great deal more Faith in him then I have in some of his followers, for instance Marks. . . .¹⁸ it appears that Uncle Joseph was suspicious of jest such men as Marks when he said if he should reveal some things that had been revealed to him that jest as good a man as Marks would cut his throat, I shouldent think that Joseph [III] would have any thing to do with such men it must be that he is not aware that they are such, for if he was I can hardly think that he would, without he intends to mold them over and make better men of them, but then it seams to me that it is us[e]less for him to undertake, to accomplish what his Father failed in accomplishing, well to cut it short it seems to me as though Salt Lake was the place for him to go, but I suppose he knows his own business best, Aunt Emma was pretty much the same as she use to be, She has that same way about her which is very strange. I think, we all have our ways and especially her. . . .¹⁹

JOSEPH F. TO HIS COUSIN, GEORGE A. SMITH, 22 AUGUST 1860

After stoping overnight with Joseph we came out to McConnah [McDonough] Co. and spent a week with Arthur, Sophrona and Catherine, and a small branch of the Saints, held two meetings with them and did some tall preaching to them. and before we left we got them to think very differantly of a great many things. they all seem'd to feel very shy about Josephs' Step [i.e., assuming the presidency of the Reorganization]. at the same time they seemed to want it to be right. I could see that they were very fearful of his success, tho' I believe they did hope earnestly that he would proove successful in the undertaking. and I do most earnestly hope and prey that what he is now doing may prove a guide-board to mark the error of the way and turn him to the right course. My feelings never were worked upon as they were after

¹⁸William Marks was a former president of the Nauvoo Stake.

¹⁹Samuel H. B. Smith to George A. Smith, 11 July 1860, Church Archives. George A. Smith was a first cousin to the Martyrs. He was an LDS apostle and Church Historian at this time.

parting with Joseph. I felt grieved to think he was so determined in his opinions about the people of Utah that he could not look at them as they were, and shake off the influences of evil reports and pre-concieved notions and Ideas, yet I felt that surely God would remember him for he seemed sincere and earnest. he did not tell us much in regard to what he was going to do, nor what he had done, he seemed sanguine of success & was perfectly resigned. said he would do all he could and leave the result with God. and farther he felt sure that he would accomplish the work he has begun, I hope he may and It will prove to him the Right-way! . . .

I am inclined to think that they all thought[t] better of me when I left them than they did when I came. and that is a source of satisfaction to me, and I thank god that I have been privileged to see them all, and instrumental in doing them some little good.²⁰

OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE 1860 NAUVOO REUNION

Joseph F. left Nauvoo with many impressions regarding his visit, impressions that would linger with him throughout his life. In his own words, they were “easier felt than described.”²¹

Samuel made one of the most astute observations of that 1860 reunion when he noted that his Aunt Emma had played a major role in influencing the doctrinal concepts of her children. He observed that the sons of his Uncle Joseph had had their minds formed to a greater degree by the silence his aunt had maintained than by what she had actually said. He recorded, “We all have our ways and especially her [Emma].”²²

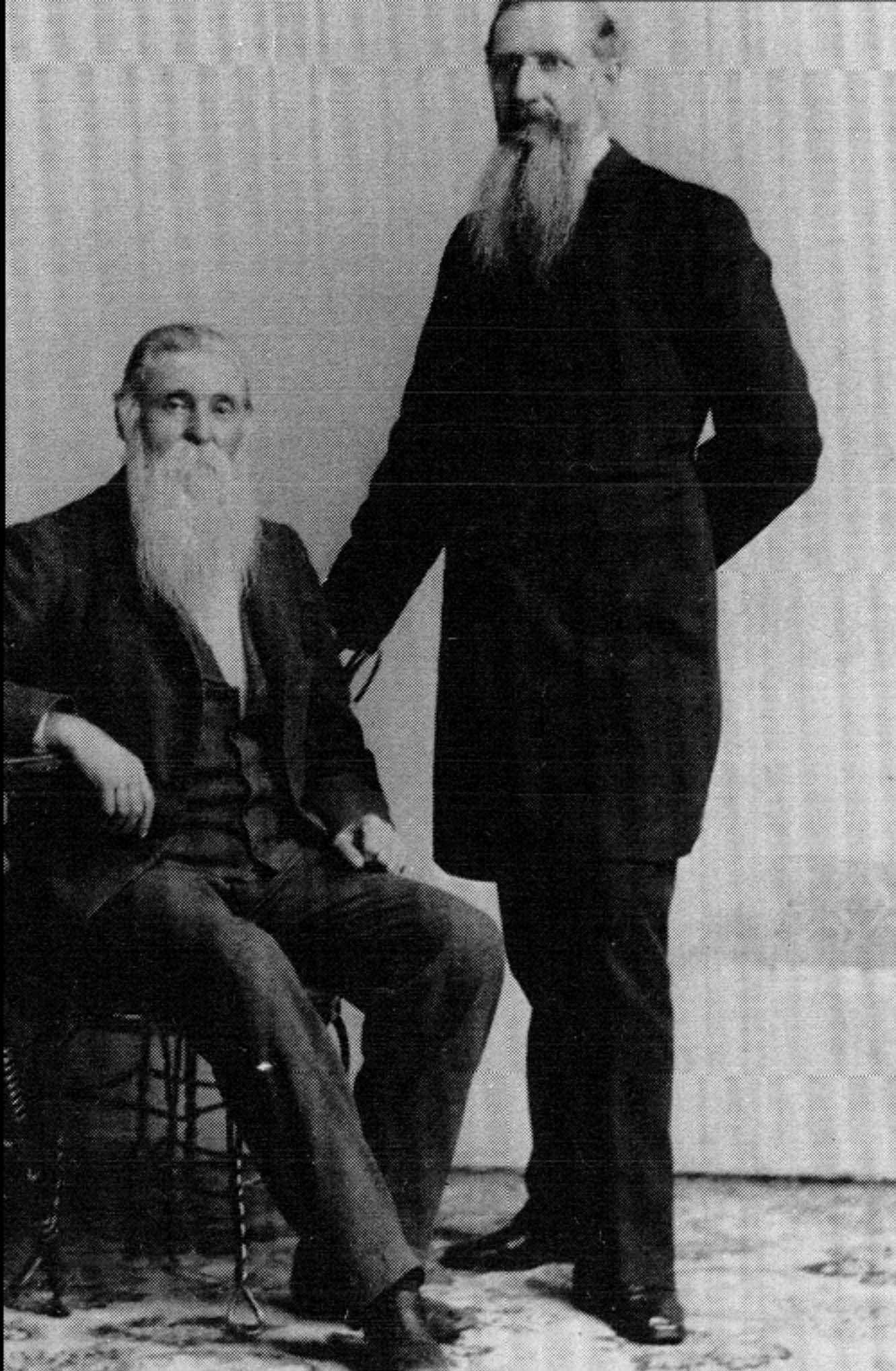
Joseph F. and Samuel made little mention of visiting with their cousins David, Alexander, and Frederick. This is especially surprising since their 20 June visit was Frederick’s twenty-fourth birthday. Since none of Joseph III’s brothers had affiliated with the Reorganized Church in 1860, it is probable that the cousins’ conversations amounted to the usual kind of small talk that makes no lasting impressions.

During John’s visit to Nauvoo earlier in 1860, he enjoyed a closer relationship with his cousin Alexander than did either his brother Joseph F. or his cousin Samuel. After extending an invitation to Joseph III to come out to Utah, John invited his cousin Alexander to do the same. “Alexander Smith was willing to come West with [me],” John reported, “if he could obtain his mother’s consent.” However Emma, breaking her usual silence declared that “no child

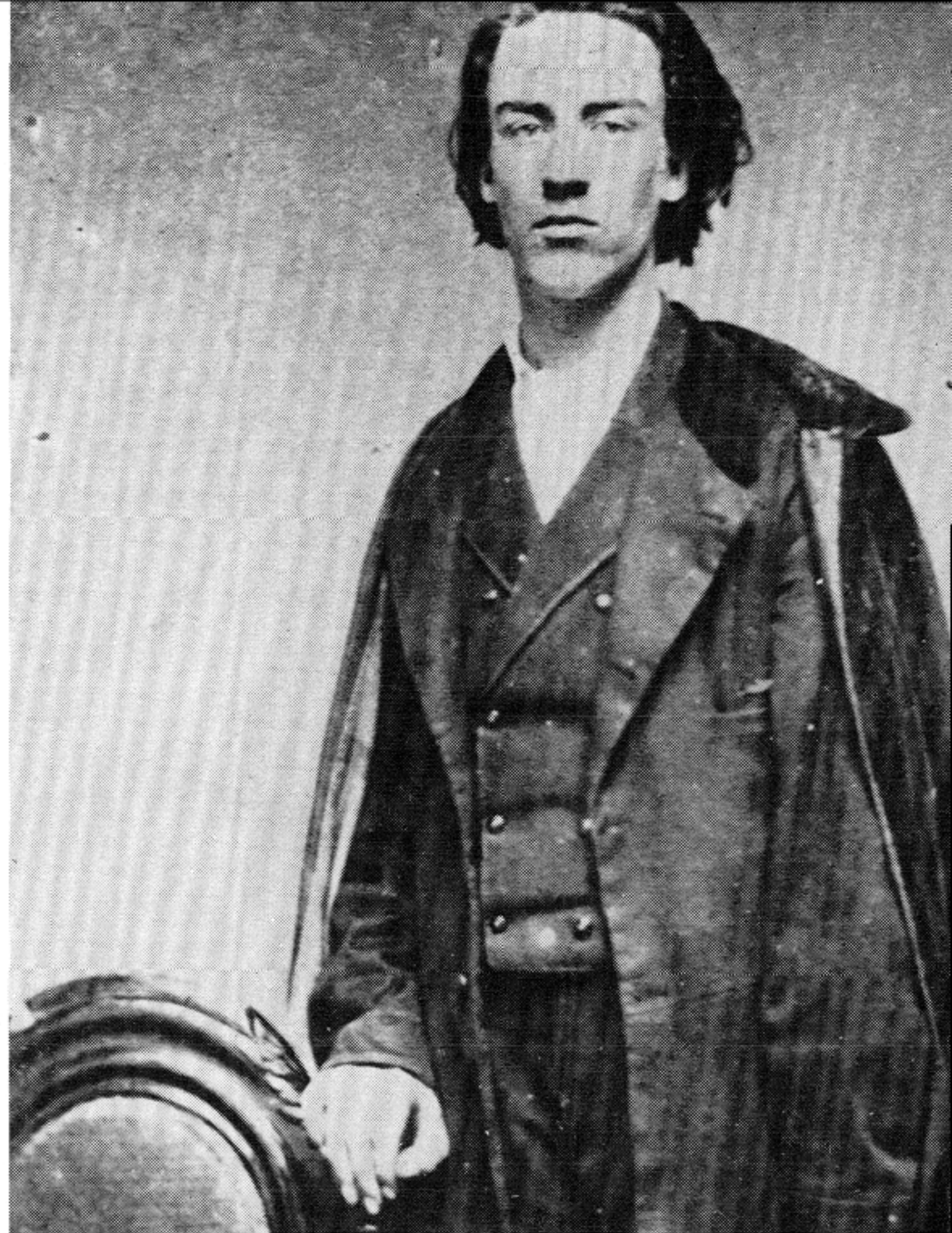
²⁰Joseph F. Smith to George A. Smith, 22 August 1860, Church Archives.

²¹Joseph F. Smith to Levira A. Smith, 28 June 1860, Church Archives.

²²Samuel H. B. Smith to George A. Smith, 11 July 1860, Church Archives.



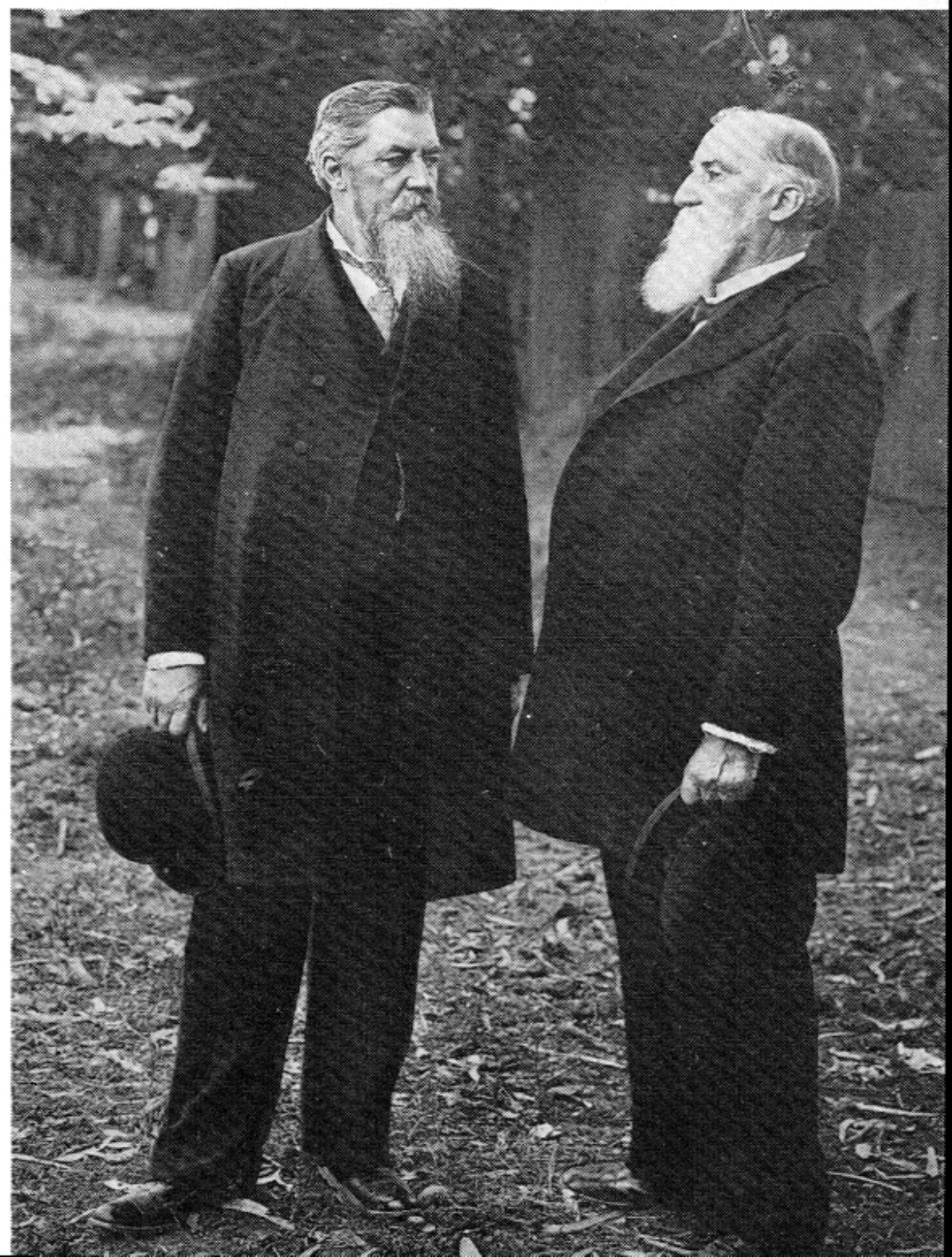
John and Joseph F. Smith
Patriarch and President
Circa 1896



David H. Smith
Missionary
Circa 1862



Samuel H. B. Smith
Missionary
Circa 1874



Alexander and Joseph Smith III
Patriarch and President
Circa 1901

of hers should ever be permitted to go to Salt Lake.''²³ In spite of the factors that kept them apart, John and Alexander had much in common. They were kindred spirits indeed, for each would be the Presiding Patriarch of his church.

Years of separation, before and after 1860, would also bring about a paradoxical bond between the cousins Joseph F. and Joseph III. This bond was destined to place an almost unbearable strain upon their relationship, for each would be the President of his respective church. But despite increasing problems between them, Joseph F. retained a favorable recollection of his cousin Joseph and their Nauvoo visit. In September 1860, Joseph F. wrote of Joseph III:

He is determined and resolute he evinces a strong and immutable mind and will, and is calm & thoughtful, he is well spoken of and much respected by all that know him, in his moral, (and political) Character he is unspotted.²⁴

Joseph's reaction to his cousin Joseph F. during their 1860 reunion remains somewhat of a mystery. In his extensive memoirs, dictated the last few years of his life, Joseph III mentions only that he saw and had an interview with Joseph F.²⁵ Extant diaries of Joseph III also fail to record any reference to Joseph F.'s or Samuel's 20–21 June visits.²⁶ The only clues we have to the true feelings Joseph III formed towards his Utah cousins in 1860 are found in letters and statements he made later.

LATER REACTIONS

John was serving a mission in Denmark in 1863 when his brother Joseph F. and cousin Samuel returned home from their missions in Great Britain. Joseph F. and Samuel retraced their 1860 route east as they made their way back to the Salt Lake Valley, but they did not see their cousin Joseph III on this journey. In a 14 August 1863 letter to John, Joseph III told of the return of his missionary cousins and shared personal feelings with John regarding family and destiny:

When the bonds of natural affection have swayed in our minds we find that we are all more or less alike and that differences of opinion if any exist, are not such differences as to create a sundering of natural ties.

²³Conversation between John Smith and George A. Smith as recorded in Historian's Office Journal, 8 October 1860, Church Archives.

²⁴Joseph F. Smith to F. A. H. F. Mitchall, 22 September 1860, Church Archives.

²⁵"Memoirs," *Saints' Herald* (24 March 1936), p. 367.

²⁶Diaries kept by Joseph Smith III while serving as President of the RLDS Church are located in the RLDS Library-Archives.

. . . Joseph and Samuel both have passed on their way to the valley and I saw neither and had of course no opportunity to talk with them.

Joseph's health is not good but Samuel is as I am told a stout hearty strongman.

. . . I am told that you are studying and trying to make up for the neglect with which you in common with the rest of the Smith family have been visited. God help you John stick to it read, study, learn to weigh things for your self, assert your manhood and I warrant me the spirit of your father will burn in your bosom. Open your eyes John look all around you and extend charity to all who do not think just as you do. I am so well pleased by what I have heard of Jos[eph] and Samuel since I came out here last night that I am led to rejoice for I can see the dawning of the day when the sons of our fathers will stand shoulder to shoulder in the war of truth with error as stood our Fathers in bygone days.²⁷

Fifty-one years later, in 1914, a blind, deaf, and eighty-one-year-old Joseph III was living out his last few months as the only surviving child of Joseph and Emma. He sent a poignant and prophetic letter to his cousin Samuel that echoed the same kind of sentiments regarding kinship contained in his 1863 letter to John:

By letter . . . I learn of your extreme illness which seems to be the premising of your early departure from this life. I use the word early departure with the idea that it is nearer than the years you may have passed would seem to indicate. . . . Notwithstanding we may have differed in regard to religion touching the faith and personal conduct, my love and regard for you as a member of my father's family has never wavered. I have always regarded you with affection and relationship love and you still hold that position in my affections and will under divine Providence whatever may be the issue.

. . . I seem to know for some reason that the Providence that has looked over us both so long will not permit a much longer continuance of life for either and that you will proceed me.²⁸ My prayer is, therefore, that you may retain your faculties to the last and trustful in divince [sic] mercy you may pass into the beyond as it is written of some of the old time fathers.

. . . With malice toward none and charity for all, I am,
Your cousin and friend,
Joseph Smith
IAS²⁹

²⁷Joseph Smith III to John Smith, 19 August 1863. Original in possession of LDS Patriarch Eldred G. Smith, Salt Lake City.

²⁸Samuel H. B. Smith died 12 June 1914; Joseph Smith III died 10 December 1914.

²⁹Joseph Smith III to Samuel H. B. Smith, 29 May 1914, written by his son, Israel Alexander Smith. Copy of original in possession of author.

Ironically, after concluding his letter to Samuel “with malice toward none and charity for all,” Joseph III, President of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, had somewhat uncharitable last words for his cousin Joseph F., President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

“I haven’t an enemy in the world that I know of—unless it be one, and some might consider him my enemy.” (He referred to his cousin of similar name, then president of the church in Utah.) And after a pause, added, “And deep down in his heart, he knows I have been right in this controversy, all along!”³⁰

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY

The sons of the Martyrs’ Nauvoo reunion during February and June of 1860 involved seven young men, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-seven. The sons of Hyrum Smith—John and Joseph F.—were twenty-seven and twenty-one years old respectively. The only son of Samuel Harrison Smith—Samuel H. B.—was also twenty-one years old. The sons of Joseph Smith, Jr., were Joseph III, age twenty-seven; Frederick G. W., age twenty-four; Alexander Hale, age twenty-two; and David Hyrum, age fifteen.

Hyrum’s Sons

The sons of Hyrum were deeply involved in church work by 1860. John Smith was ordained the Presiding Patriarch of the Church in Utah on 18 February 1855 and as such functioned as a prophet, seer, and revelator for fifty-six years, dying on Joseph Smith III’s birthday, 6 November 1911.

Joseph F. was a veteran missionary for the Church, having spent nearly four years on an assignment to the Hawaiian Islands during his first mission and in 1860 was on his way to his second mission, this time to Great Britain. Joseph F. was called to the apostleship and as a Counselor in the First Presidency 1 July 1866, when he was twenty-seven years old. He served the Church in those callings during the administrations of Brigham Young, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow. In 1901, he was sustained as President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and served seventeen years until he died in 1918.

³⁰Mary Audentia Smith Anderson, *Ancestry and Posterity of Joseph Smith and Emma Hale* (Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1929), pp. 576, 578.

Samuel's Son

By 1860, Samuel H. B. was also a veteran missionary. His first mission took him to the states in the East in 1856 when he was eighteen years old. After being transferred to England, he was called home from that mission in 1857. In April 1860 he was called with his cousin Joseph F. to serve a second mission in Great Britain.

Joseph Jr.'s Sons

The only son of the Prophet officially engaged in church work in 1860 was Joseph III. He was president of what became known later as the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. He, like his cousin Patriarch John, was called that year to function as a prophet, seer, and revelator, but in a different church.

Frederick Granger Williams Smith died on 13 April 1862. He was twenty-five years old. His brother Alexander was grieved and perplexed that Frederick had died without baptism but found comfort in the doctrine of baptism for the dead that his father had taught.

"Satisfied of the necessity of baptism for the living, and comforted by the evidence of its possibility for the dead," Alexander Hale Smith was baptized on 25 May 1862 by Joseph III.³¹ After Alexander was baptized, he functioned alternately as missionary, apostle, Counselor in the First Presidency, and Presiding Patriarch in a long life of service to his church.

David Hyrum Smith was baptized into the Reorganization, 26 June 1861. He served his church first as missionary and then as Counselor in the First Presidency. David was a prolific poet and chastised his brother Frederick for failing to stand up with his brothers and be counted in the cause of the Reorganization. He entitled his poetic chastisement, "An Apeal to my Brother Frederick When on his sick bed." David was seventeen years old at the time.

Remember Brother dost thou not
What Mother used to say
Or are her consels all forgot
Her teachings thrown away.

³¹There is evidence that Alexander believed in baptism for the dead as taught by his father and that this belief motivated his own baptism. See "Biography of Alexander Hale Smith," ed. Vida Elizabeth Smith (his daughter), *Journal of History* 4 (January 1911): 14.

Remember O how innocent
Our early years were passed
Shall we when Mother's life is spent
Neglect our god at last.

Remember how she taught us five
In faithfulness to pray
That God would guard us through the night
And watch us through the day
Oh did we think when ere we read
The bible! holy book
In after years that in to it
We'd be ashamed to look.

O! Shall we stand above her grave
And in our conscience say
That on life's road we have not walked
As Mother showed the way.
You know how righteous she has been
Through all her weary years
Let's turn to her example then
Lest we repent with tears.³²

David became ill, and after several years of physical and mental illness, Joseph III committed him to the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane in January of 1877.³³ David spent the last twenty-eight years of his life there.

CONCLUSION

The sons of the Martyrs were at once heirs of promises and victims of circumstances set in motion at the deaths of their fathers. It was obvious to all believers in the Restoration that God had not brought about the great work of the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times simply to have his purposes thwarted. However, the objective of the adversary, to divide and conquer, seemed for a time to find its best expression in the activities of these same Martyrs' sons.

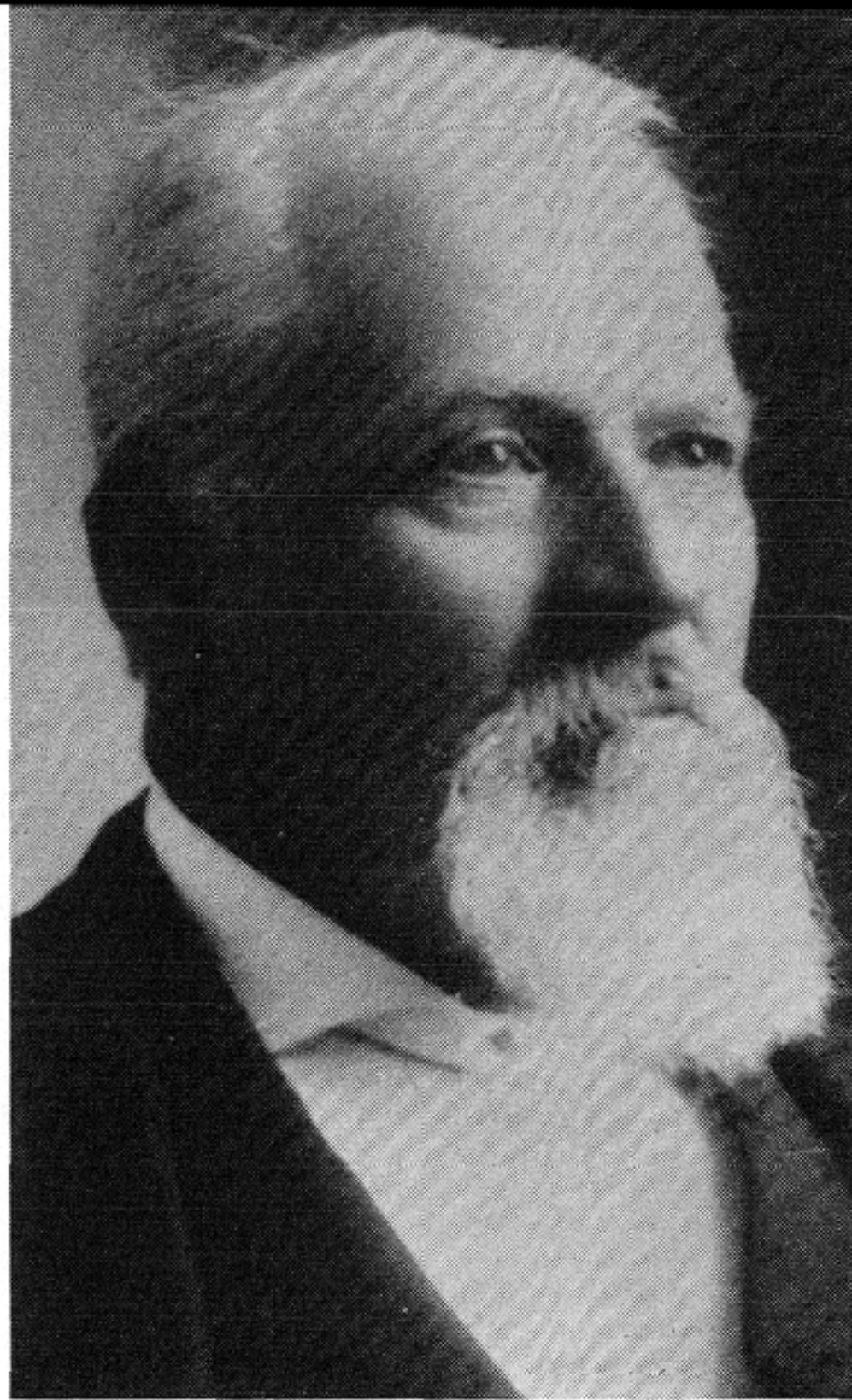
It seems unthinkable that men who died for a cause could have sons that would not live up to the principles of that cause, and yet there appears to be reason to rejoice, even in that. George Q. Cannon, a member of the LDS First Presidency, best summed it up in 1884:

³²David H. Smith Diary, 1853-1864, entry for 17 February [1862?], RLDS Library-Archives.

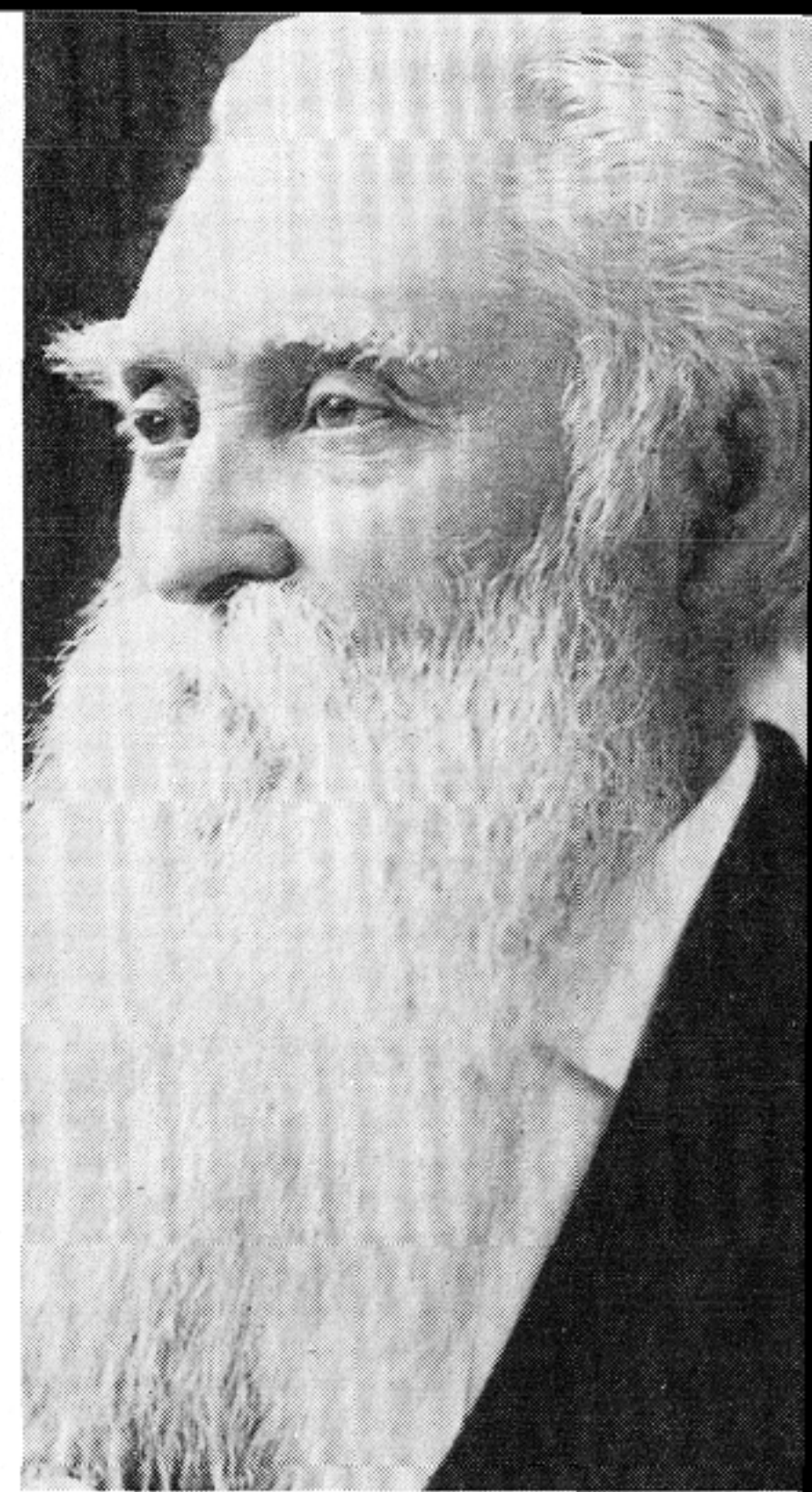
³³"In the Matter of David H. Smith an Insane Person," Warrant to Commit David H. Smith to the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane, 17 January 1877. Documents located at Kendall County Courthouse, Yorkville, Illinois. Copy of original in possession of author.



Joseph F. Smith



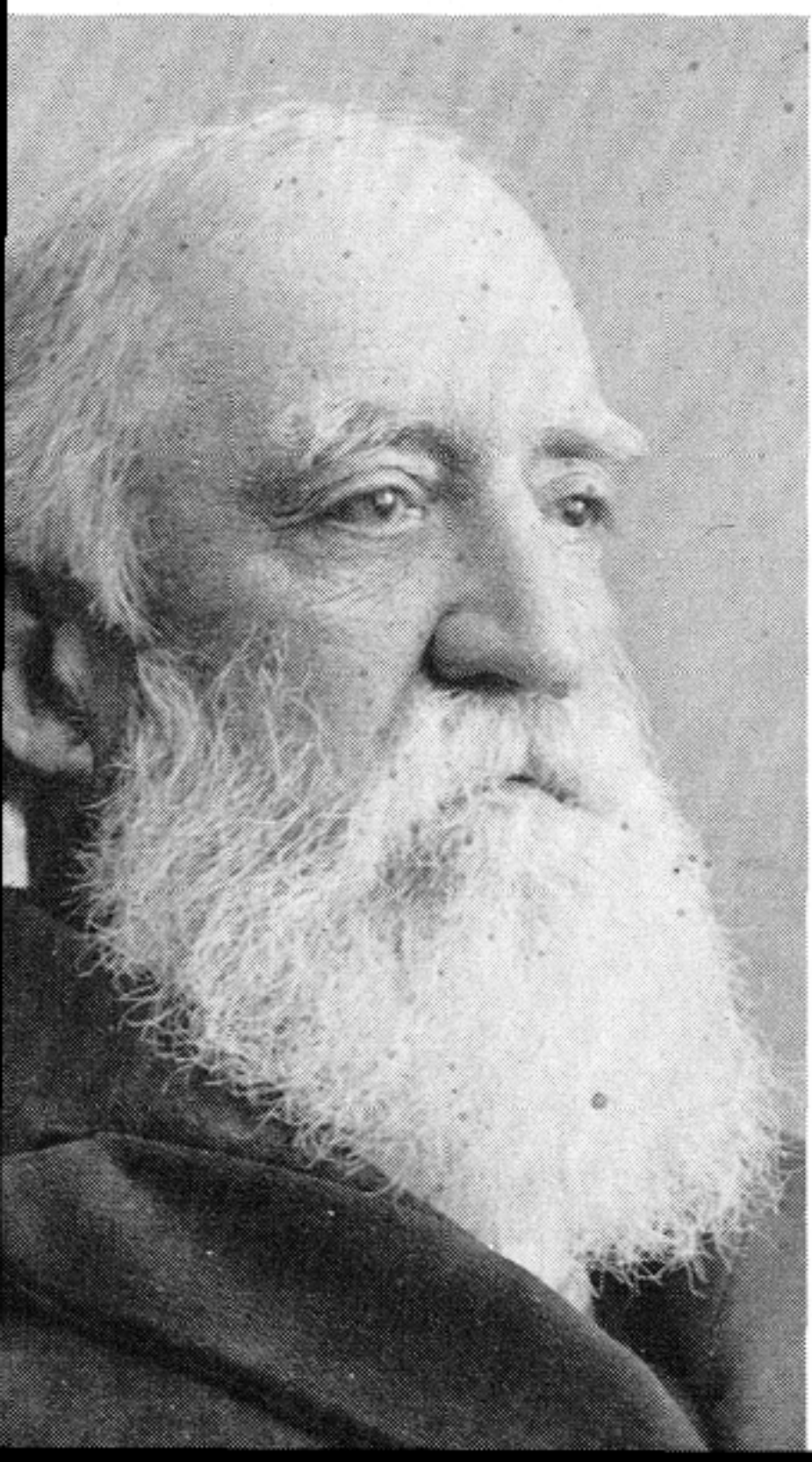
Samuel H. B. Smith



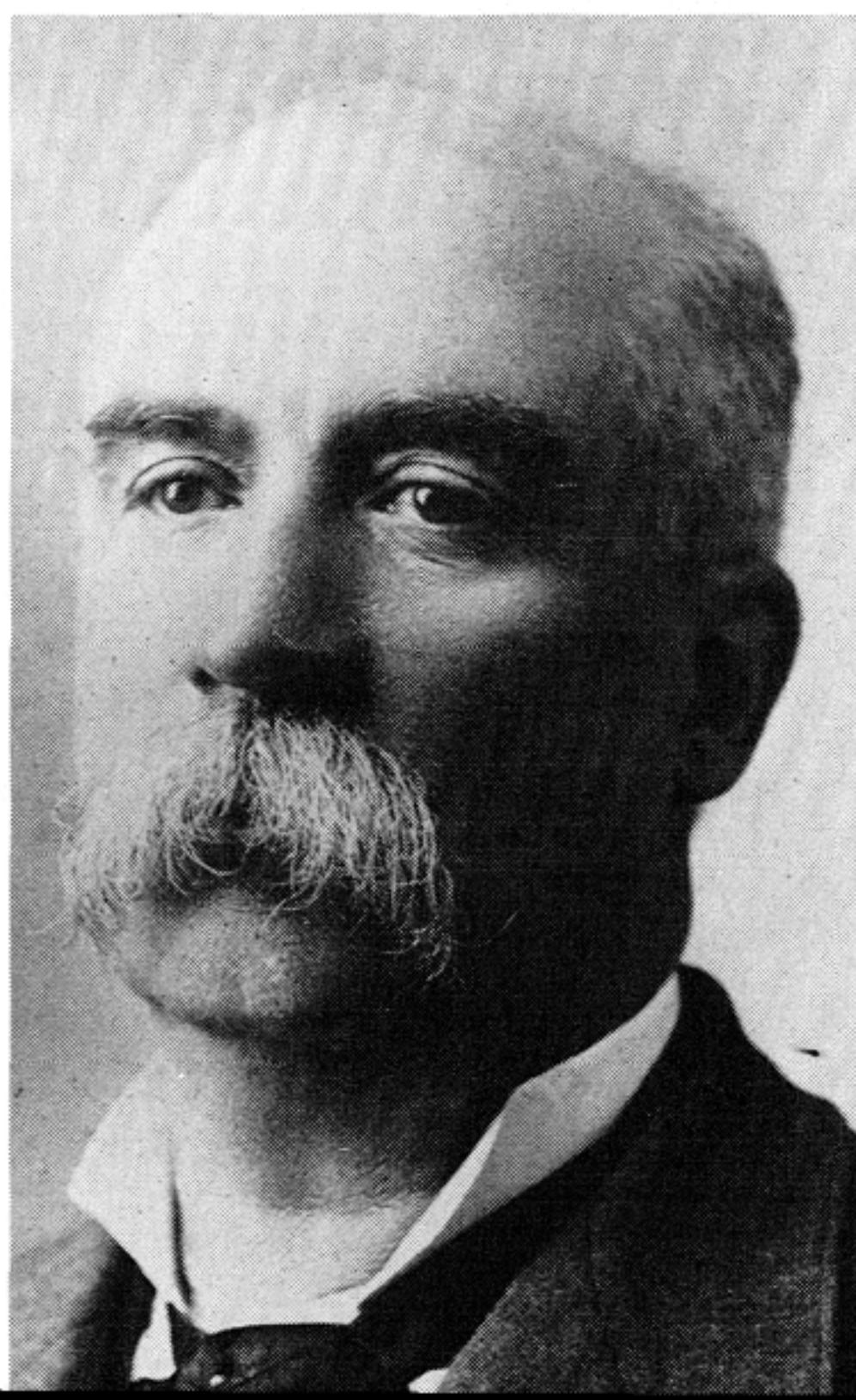
John Smith

SONS OF THE MARTYRS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

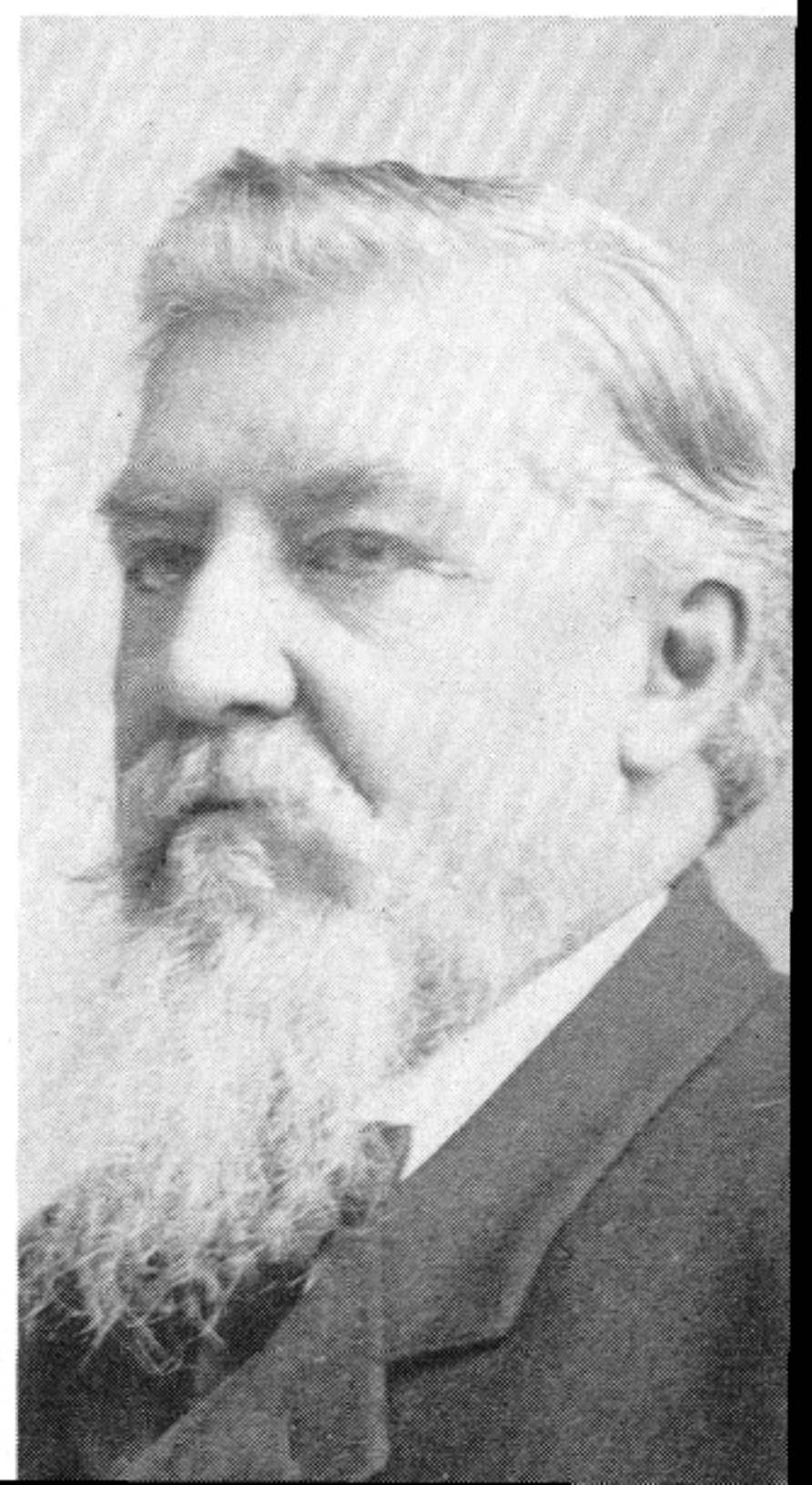
Joseph Smith III



David H. Smith



Alexander H. Smith



There may be faithful men who will have unfaithful sons, who may not be as faithful as they might be; but faithful posterity will come, just as I believe it will be the case with the Prophet Joseph's seed. To-day he has not a soul descended from him personally in this Church. . . . But will this always be the case? No. Just as sure as God lives, just as sure as God has made promises, so sure will some one of Joseph Smith's posterity rise up and be numbered with this Church. . . . It may be delayed in the wise providence of our God . . . but these promises are unalterable; God made them to Joseph during his lifetime; and they will be fulfilled just as sure as God made them."³⁴

There are no parallel promises concerning the descendants of Hyrum or of Samuel Harrison found in the history of the Reorganized Church.

The simple truth is all that remains. In 1844 the martyr fathers died united, but by 1860 their sons were living divided. The principles of the Restoration brought lasting peace to the Martyrs, but it later brought a sword to the sons. The earlier fear of the Prophet Joseph for his brothers and sisters now applied to his sons and nephews, for they were prevented from "seeing things as they really are" and "the powers of Earth & hell" had combined to overthrow the Church by "causing a division in the family."³⁵

Of the seven sons of the Martyrs to be reunited at a fork on the gospel road at Nauvoo in 1860, one would soon pass away while the remaining six would journey along divergent paths into the twentieth century.

Photo credits:

Page 353—Samuel H. B. Smith, LDS Church Archives; John Smith, Ralph G. Smith Collection; Joseph F. Smith, Buddy Younggreen Collection; group photo of Joseph Smith's sons, Lynn E. Smith Collection.

Page 363—John and Joseph F. Smith, Ralph G. Smith Collection; David H. Smith, Lynn E. Smith Collection; Samuel H. B. Smith, LDS Church Archives; Alexander and Joseph Smith III, Gracia N. Denning Collection.

Page 369—Joseph F. Smith, LDS Church Archives; Samuel H. B. Smith, LDS Church Archives; John Smith, Ralph G. Smith Collection; Joseph Smith III, Buddy Younggreen Collection; David H. Smith, Lynn E. Smith Collection; Alexander H. Smith, Buddy Younggreen Collection.

³⁴George Q. Cannon in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards et al, 1854–1886), 25:367. See also letter written to Joseph Smith III in 1886 by LDS apostle John Henry Smith wherein he declared: "The promise made to your father, 'that in him and his seed all of the families of the earth should be blessed' [D&C 124:58] cannot fail; If, you and your brothers fail to come forward and perform your part, God will raise up through your children, or, childrens children seed that will yet honor all of His laws, and sustain every principle, being mighty among the Saints; for, your fathers words will not fail" (John Henry Smith Letterbook, 28 April 1886, p. 522, Marriott Library, University of Utah).

³⁵Joseph Smith Diary, 1 January 1836, Church Archives.

The Xanthines: Coffee, Cola, Cocoa, and Tea

Clifford J. Stratton

The following case history provides a vivid illustration of the effects of gross xanthine abuse:

An ambitious 37-year-old Army lieutenant colonel was referred from a military medical clinic to a psychiatric outpatient facility because of a two-year history of "chronic anxiety." The symptoms, which occurred almost daily, included dizziness, tremulousness, apprehension about job performance, "butterflies in the stomach," restlessness, frequent episodes of "diarrhea" (two or three loose stools per day), and persistent difficulty in both falling and remaining asleep. Scores on the Hamilton Anxiety Scale were significantly elevated. He was unable to delineate any precipitating factors, but he did note that one year previously the symptoms were accentuated by the arrival of a new boss who expected a 12 to 14-hour work day from his subordinates.

Three complete medical workups had been negative. [Two different series of drugs over a fourteen-month period] had produced no relief. . . . In reply to questioning from the psychiatrist, he described consuming at least 8 to 14 cups of coffee a day ("My coffeepot is a permanent fixture on my desk"). He also frequently drank hot cocoa before bedtime to relax (an average cup of cocoa contains approximately 250 mg. of theobromine, another xanthine derivative). Furthermore, his soft drink preference was exclusively colas (3 to 4 a day). Total caffeine intake thus approximated 1,200 mg. a day [see Table 1].

He responded with incredulous cynicism when informed that caffeine toxicity might be causing his symptoms. Consequently, he was initially unwilling (or unable) to limit his intake of coffee, cocoa, and colas. When symptoms persisted, however, he voluntarily reduced his daily intake of caffeine, and four weeks after his initial visit he reported distinct improvement of his long-standing tremulousness, loose stools, and insomnia. His job apprehension continued unabated. . . . To reinforce a cause-and-effect relationship, he was "challenged" with large doses of caffeine for several days in succession. He experienced a

Clifford J. Stratton is an associate professor of human anatomy at the University of Nevada-Reno School of Medicine.

Appreciation is expressed to Lynn Stirling, a graduate student at the University of Nevada-Reno School of Medicine, for his assistance in preparation of the manuscript.

prompt recurrence of symptoms until the pattern of consuming large doses of caffeine again ceased. Scores on the Hamilton Anxiety Scale obtained three months later were significantly lower.¹

The spectrum of xanthine usage ranges from this kind of very serious abuse to abstention or the occasional consumption of chocolate and cocoa products, coffee, cola drinks, or tea. Between these extremes are found all combinations of xanthine consumers, with most people in the world using these drugs every day of their adult lives, and the majority possibly abusing them.² For example, the per capita consumption of coffee in America is three-and-one-half cups per day, an average intake of from 350 to 525 mg. of caffeine. Even 50 to 200 mg. of caffeine per day is considered medically a physiologic dose that may produce side effects. Two major pharmacology medical school texts³ refer to doses of caffeine exceeding 250 mg. as significant. So, two cups of coffee or tea contain a clinically significant dose of this drug, and taking even a single cola drink can produce a minor stimulating effect and subsequent depression.

The purpose of this article is to identify what the xanthines are and where they are found, how they act on our bodies, why people use them, and what our knowledge of them says about the Word of Wisdom.

WHAT ARE THE XANTHINES AND WHERE ARE THEY FOUND?

Caffeine, theobromine, and theophylline are three alkaloids that occur in many plants throughout the world. Because they are so closely related both chemically and in their actions on the human body, they are collectively called the xanthines. From earliest times, man has made food solids and beverages from the extracts of plants that contain these substances.⁴ Table 1 illustrates some common dietary sources of xanthines. A close examination of the table reveals that there are significant quantities of these drugs present in many popular commodities.

Coffee is derived from the seeds of *Coffea arabica* and its related species. According to legend, Arabian "shepherds reported that

¹J. F. Greden, "Anxiety or Caffeinism: A Diagnostic Dilemma," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 131 (1974): 1091.

²*Ibid.*, p. 1092.

³J. C. Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," in *Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics*, ed. L. S. Goodman and A. Gilman (New York: Macmillan Co., 1975), chap. 19, pp. 367-78; E. B. Truitt, "The Xanthines," in *Drill's Pharmacology in Medicine*, ed. J. R. Dipalma, 46th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 82-98, 547-49.

⁴G. E. Vail, J. A. Phillips, L. O. Rust, R. M. Groszold, and M. M. Justin, *Foods: An Introductory College Course* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1973), pp. 82-84; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Chicago: William Benton Pub., 1974), 4:811, 818, and 18:16.

goats that had eaten the berries of the coffee plant gamboled and frisked about all through the night.'"⁵ An Arabian priest in a monastery obtained the plant and became the first known person to make and drink a beverage from it, allowing him to undergo long nights of prayer.⁶ The coffee shrub produces a fruit called a "cherry" that contains two oval coffee beans. These are dried, hulled, roasted, and ground. Instant and freeze-dried coffee are produced by extracting ground coffee with water and freeze-drying the extract, by drying it on a drum in a vacuum, or by spraying it into a heated chamber. Decaffinated coffee is obtained by steaming green coffee and treating it with a chlorinated organic solvent which dissolves out nearly all the caffeine. Coffee contains the xanthine caffeine (see Table 1).

Cocoa, obtained from the seeds of *Theobroma cocoa*, was used in the New World long before Columbus. It grows as a bean in pods seven to twelve inches long, each containing from thirty to forty beans (seeds). The beans are removed, allowed to ferment for several days, dried, and hulled. The resulting "nibs" are ground into a semi-liquid paste called "chocolate liquor." The liquor solidifies to a hard, brown block when cooled and is sold as baking chocolate or bitter chocolate. Milk chocolate for candy bars is made by adding milk, sugar, and flavorings; and sweet chocolate for cooking is made by adding only sugar and flavorings. Sometimes the liquor is squeezed in a hydraulic press to remove the cocoa butter. The defatted residue is the common "cocoa" used to make hot cocoa drink and also used in manufacturing confections as well as pharmaceutical and cosmetic preparations. Cocoa that has been treated with alkali to produce a less acid flavor is called "Dutch" chocolate. Cocoa and chocolate contain the xanthines theobromine and caffeine (see Table 1).

Tea is the national drink of most of the human race, being most popular in Asia, the Middle East, and the United Kingdom. The beverage use of tea probably started in China long before the birth of Christ. Tea is the dried leaves of *Thea sinensis*, an evergreen shrub. The young, unopened leaf bud is considered the highest quality. Black tea is made by rolling the leaves after they have withered and are soft. The rolling releases enzymes that cause chemical reactions within the leaf, and oxygen is taken up as a result. The leaves are spread out in order to absorb a maximum of oxygen. They are then heated and dried to be ready for use. For green tea, the leaves wither and are rolled, but are immediately heated and dried. Instant tea is

⁵Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 367.

⁶Ibid.

TABLE 1
Some Common Sources of Xanthines^{7,16}

Source	Caffeine	Theobromine	Total Xanthines
Beverages:			
Regular cocoa, 6 oz. cup	Amount not published	228-284 mg	At least 228 mg
Instant cocoa (hot chocolate), 6 oz. cup	18 mg	175 mg	193 mg
Coffee, brewed, 6 oz. cup	100-150 mg	0 mg	100-150 mg
Coffee, decaffeinated, 6 oz. cup*	2-4 mg	0 mg	2-4 mg
Cola, 12 oz. serving**	31-65 mg	0 mg	31-65 mg
Tea, 6 oz. cup***	38-81 mg caffeine and 1-5 mg theophylline	2 mg	41-88 mg
Carob, 6 oz. cup	0 mg	0 mg	0 mg
Other Cocoa Products:			
Baking chocolate, 1 oz.	35 mg	420 mg	455 mg
Milk chocolate candy bar, 1 3/8 oz. bar****	15 mg	81 mg	96 mg
Milk chocolate candy bar, 8 oz. bar****	87 mg	471 mg	558 mg
Confectionary covered with chocolate	3 mg	16 mg	19 mg
Powdered cocoa (baking), tablespoon	15 mg	85 mg	100 mg
Chocolate-flavored milk, cereal, etc.	Amounts not published		
Others:*****			
Prescription Medications: (dose per tablet)*****			
APC's (aspirin, phenacetin, caffeine)	32 mg	0 mg	32 mg
Cafergot	100 mg	0 mg	100 mg
Darvon compound	32 mg	0 mg	32 mg
Fiorinal	40 mg	0 mg	40 mg
Migral	50 mg	0 mg	50 mg
Over-the-Counter Analgesics:*****			
Anacin, aspirin compound, Bromo Seltzer	32 mg	0 mg	32 mg
Cope, Emperin compound, Midol, Vanquish	32 mg	0 mg	32 mg
Excedrin	60 mg	0 mg	60 mg
Many Over-the-Counter Cold Preparations:*****	30 mg	0 mg	30 mg
Many Over-the-Counter Stimulants:*****			
NoDoz	100 mg	0 mg	100 mg

*These figures are for those decaffeinated coffee brands which are 97 percent caffeine free. Some decaffeinated coffee brands do not state "97 percent caffeine free" and can contain between 28 to 35 mg. caffeine per cup.⁷

**Many "cola" drinks do not have "cola" in their name. That they are derived from kola nuts is indicated on their label as containing "caffeine" or "extract of kola nuts." The most current (1979) figures of caffeine content per 12 oz. can are: Coca Cola—65 mg.; Dr. Pepper—61 mg.; Mountain Dew—55 mg.; Diet Dr. Pepper—54 mg.; Tab—50 mg.; Pepsi Cola—43 mg.; RC Cola—34 mg.; Diet RC—33 mg.; Diet Rite—32 mg.; and others such as Barq's Olde Tyme Root Beer.⁸

***A new spectrophotometric micro-method for the determination of caffeine content in teas revealed that a 6 oz. cup of medium-strength tea contained: Red Rose Tea, black, hot bag—62 mg. caffeine; Lipton Tea, black, hot bag—53 mg. caffeine; Lipton Iced Tea with sugar and lemon—76 mg. caffeine; Nestea Iced Tea with sugar and lemon—67 mg. caffeine; and Lipton Tea from a Mr. Coffee automatic—71 mg. Add to each of the above caffeine figures 2 mg. theobromine and 1 mg. theophylline per cup for total xanthine intake.⁹

****Personal communications with an executive of the Chocolate Manufacturers' Association of the United States of America (1976) revealed the following values: cocoa—5 mg. caffeine plus 75 mg. theobromine per 6 oz. cup; milk chocolate candy bar—6 mg. caffeine plus 72 mg. theobromine per 1.2 oz. bar. The milk chocolate produced by one American chocolate manufacturer (personal communication, 1976) was reported to be 4 mg. caffeine plus 16 mg. theobromine per ounce of milk chocolate. In 1971 and 1975 the United States Government Food and Drug Administration "Fact Sheet on Caffeine" listed sweet chocolate as containing 20 mg. caffeine per ounce. American bittersweet chocolate candy bars and English milk chocolate and bitersweet chocolate candy bars are slightly higher in xanthine content than American milk chocolate candy bars.¹⁰

*****Xanthines are present in (1) Mate', "the national drink of many South American countries" (about 1.25 percent caffeine);¹¹ (2) "Kola nuts, the guru nuts chewed by the natives of the Sudan" (about 2 percent caffeine);¹² (3) Yerba plants;¹³ (4) Guarana paste;¹⁴ (5) Yonpon tea.¹⁵ Decoctions of these are commercially prepared for sale worldwide, yet they do not bear the names "coffee," "tea," "cocoa," or "cola." (The pep pills sometimes provided to American high school and college athletes usually contain the sugar dextrose and/or sympathimimetic amines and do not contain xanthines.)

*****Xanthines are present in many prescription medications and over-the-counter compounds. Those in the table are just a sample.¹⁶

⁷R. G. Martinek and W. Wolman, "Xanthines, Tannins and Sodium in Coffee, Tea and Cocoa," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 158 (1955): 1030-31.

⁸"Caffeine in Cola Drinks," *Church News: News of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, a section of the *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, Utah), 20 January 1968, p. 5. Personal communication, 1976, with an executive of the National Soft Drink Association, Washington, D.C., revealed that American cola beverages contain from 3.2 to 3.9 mg. caffeine per oz., which is in line with the *Church News* figures; M. L. Bunker and M. McWilliams, "Caffeine Content of Common Beverages," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 74 (1979): 30.

⁹D. S. Grossier, "A Study of Caffeine in Tea. I. A New Spectrophotometric Micro-Method. II. Concentration of Caffeine in Various Strengths, Brands, Blends and Types of Teas," *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 31 (1978): 1728-29.

¹⁰E. M. Ghatt, "Cocoa Cultivation, Processing, Analysis," in *Economic Crops*, ed. A. I. Kertesz (New York: Interscience Publishers Inc., 1953), 3:211, 247.

¹¹J. A. Widtsoe and L. D. Widtsoe, *Word of Wisdom, A Modern Interpretation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1938), pp. 96-97.

¹²Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," pp. 367-76.

¹³Widtsoe and Widtsoe, *Word of Wisdom*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶P. I. Stephenson, "Physiologic and Psychotropic Effects of Caffeine on Man," *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* 71 (1977): 241.

made in much the same way as instant coffee. Tea owes much of its flavor to the complex mixture of more than twenty substances that make up the tannins it contains. Tea contains the xanthines caffeine, theophylline, and theobromine (see Table 1).

Cola-flavored beverages contain an extract from kola nuts obtained from the *Cola acuminata* tree. Carbonated beverages were first made by early Europeans to imitate the popular and naturally effervescent waters from famous springs that were reputed to have therapeutic value. Today carbonation is achieved by cascading the chilled beverage mixture in thin layers over a series of plates in an enclosure containing carbon dioxide gas under pressure. Cola drinks contain the xanthine caffeine (see Table 1).

HOW DO THE XANTHINES ACT ON THE BODY?

Xanthines have both good and bad effects on the body, and these effects are generally determined by the size and frequency of dosage. Anyone who has experienced the distress of a headache and has had the pain alleviated by an aspirin compound that included caffeine (see Table 1) can attest to the advantages of the proper medical use of the xanthines. But anyone who has activated a stomach ulcer from daily doses of caffeine can attest to the bad effects of improper use of the xanthines.

The correct use of xanthine drugs continues to be a major contribution to the improvement of life. Caffeine and theophylline are widely prescribed today by physicians. For example, caffeine in combination with sodium benzoate is used as a stimulant, and theophylline in combination with EDTA dilates the lung bronchioles. Theobromine was fairly popular as a medication in the early 1900s, but its use has since declined.¹⁷

Although xanthines are best known to the layperson for their stimulating and pain-relieving effects, let me briefly summarize all their known pharmacological properties in man, both good and bad, including some of their less obvious medical contributions. The following information is taken from the pharmacology textbook currently used in most medical schools¹⁸ and from the scientific literature. Table 2 summarizes their relative actions and lists the unit-prescription dose.

¹⁷C. J. Dorfman and M. E. Jarvile, "Comparative Stimulant and Diuretic Actions of Caffeine and Theobromine in Man," *Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics* 11 (1970): 871.

¹⁸Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," pp. 367-78.

1. *Brain and spinal cord.*¹⁹ Caffeine and theophylline are powerful central nervous system stimulants. They stimulate all portions of the cortex of the brain, resulting in greater sustained intellectual effort and a more perfect association of ideas. Reaction time is diminished, muscle activity is increased, and there is also a keener appreciation of sensory stimuli.

If a person has become depressed by barbiturates or other drugs, caffeine or theophylline may be administered to speed up breathing to an acceptable level, since they act on the respiratory center of the brain.

Overindulgence or abuse of the use of caffeine and theophylline products leads to "chronic xanthine poisoning" which may produce the following symptoms: diarrhea, dizziness, apprehension, restlessness, a high level of anxiety, and a ringing or hissing noise in the ears.

2. *Cardiovascular systems.*²⁰ All three xanthines have a powerful action on the heart and blood vessels. Xanthines cause the blood vessels that feed the brain to constrict, decreasing both the blood flow and the oxygen tension of the brain. This action is responsible for the striking relief from headaches obtained from xanthine consumption. Note in Table 1 that almost all prescription medications, over-the-counter analgesics, and cold preparations contain significant amounts of caffeine for that purpose.

All of the xanthines stimulate the heart directly to increase the force of contraction, the heart rate, and the output. Theophylline is a valuable drug in the emergency treatment of heart failure where the heart is filled with blood due to a venous obstruction. Because the xanthines dilate the blood vessels that nourish the heart, causing increased blood flow, they are used in the treatment of coronary artery disease and other coronary insufficiencies.

Large doses result in tachycardia (a rapid beating of the heart, over 100 beats per minute). Continued stimulation occasionally results in permanent heart irregularities. Such are sometimes "encountered in persons who use caffeine beverages to excess."²¹

¹⁹W. Sprugel, P. Mitznegy, and F. Heirn, "The Influence of Caffeine and Theobromine on Locomotive Activity and the Brain GMP/cAMP Ratio in White Mice," *Biochemical Pharmacology* 26 (1977): 1723-24; A. M. Poisner, "Direct Stimulant Effect of Aminophylline on Catecholamine Release from the Adrenal Medulla," *Biochemical Pharmacology* 22 (1973): 469, 474-75.

²⁰T. de Gubareff and W. Sleator, Jr., "Effects of Caffeine on Mammalian Atrial Muscle and Its Interaction with Calcium," *Journal of Pharmacological and Experimental Therapeutics* 148 (1965): 205-208; M. L. Marcus, C. L. Skelton, L. E. Grauer, and S. E. Epstein, "Effects of Theophylline on Myocardial Mechanics," *American Journal of Physiology* 222 (1972): 1361-65; D. M. Fowell, J. A. Winslow, V. P. Sydenstricker, and N. C. Wheeler, "Circulatory and Diuretic Effects of Theophylline Isopropanolamine," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 83 (1949): 150-57; and F. A. MacCornack, "The Effects of Coffee Drinking on the Cardiovascular System: Experimental and Epidemiological Research," *Preventive Medicine* 6 (1977): 104-19.

²¹Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 369.

TABLE 2

Relative Effects of Xanthines on Body Systems of Laboratory Animals and Man

(Some figures extrapolated from reported data. Dosages listed as "mild," "moderate," or "strong" according to current [1980] medical usage.)

	<i>Central Nervous System</i>	<i>Voluntary Muscles</i>	<i>Heart</i>	<i>Usual Medicinal Unit-Dose Prescribed by Physician²² (Compare with Table 1)</i>
Caffeine	Brain cellular activity increased 49% 30 minutes after exposure to 45 ug/g body weight (a moderate dose). ²³	Increased 5% with 300 mg (a strong dose). ²⁴	Heart contraction increased in direct proportion to amount consumed beginning at 0.25 mM (a mild dose) and was two times normal at 2.5 mM (a strong dose) in the blood. ²⁵	60 mg/oral capsule 500 mg/intramuscular injection
Theobromine	Nonquantified clinical observations reported a noticeable stimulation, which was less than that observed with caffeine or theophylline. ²⁶	180 ug/g body weight (a mild dose) produced no change from normal. ²⁷	Clinical data demonstrated a greater increase than observed with caffeine. ²⁸	500 mg/oral tablet
Theophylline	2.43 mM (a strong dose) in the blood, doubled the concentration of nerve stimulant. ²⁹	Increased muscle tension up to 23% at 2.40 X 10 ⁻⁴ M (a moderate dose) in the blood. ³⁰	An immediate marked increase persisted for 15 to 30 minutes. Increase was proportional to amount of drug from a weak to a strong dosage. ³¹	100 mg/oral capsule 250 mg/intravenous injection 125 mg/rectal suppository

3. *Smooth muscle*.³² The xanthines, particularly theophylline, relax the smooth muscles that surround the bronchioles (the air tubes that go to the lungs). They are used to relieve respiratory distress, especially in the treatment of certain cases of bronchial asthma.

4. *Skeletal muscle*.³³ Caffeine and theobromine strengthen the contraction of the voluntary muscles of the body (e.g., arm and leg muscles), resulting in an increased capacity for muscular work. Abuse may result in shaking or trembling.

5. *Kidneys*.³⁴ Theobromine and theophylline increase the production of urine and are sometimes used as diuretics. Overuse causes more frequent urination.

6. *Gastric secretion*.³⁵ Moderate doses of caffeine increase the amount of acid secreted into the stomach. Repeated daily doses of caffeine have been shown to contribute to ulcers. For this reason, excessive use of coffee and cola beverages is a concern to many physicians. Abuse of these stimulants may also cause nervous or "butterfly" stomach.

7. *Body metabolism*.³⁶ The xanthines cause an increase in the basal metabolic rate (they increase the amount of energy produced by the cells). Ingestion of 500 mg. of caffeine (about four cups of coffee—see Table 1) increases the basal metabolic rate ten percent to twenty-five percent. However, the effects are not seen until a few hours after the drug is taken. As would be expected, this stimulation

²²Ibid., p. 374.

²³Sprugel, Mitznegy, and Heirn, "The Influence of Caffeine and Theobromine," pp. 1723-24.

²⁴A. Goldstein, G. Kaiser, and R. Warren, "Psychotropic Effects of Caffeine in Man," *Journal of Pharmacological and Experimental Therapeutics* 150 (1965): 14.

²⁵de Gubareff and Sleator, "Effects of Caffeine on Mammalian Atrial Muscle," p. 205.

²⁶Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 368.

²⁷Sprugel, Mitznegy, and Heirn, "The Influence of Caffeine and Theobromine," pp. 1723-24.

²⁸Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 368.

²⁹Poisner, "Direct Stimulant Effect of Aminophylline," pp. 474-75.

³⁰Marcus, Skelton, Grauer, and Epstein, "Effects of Theophylline on Myocardial Mechanics," pp. 1362-63.

³¹Fowell, Winslow, Sydenstricker, and Wheeler, "Circulatory and Diuretic Effects of Theophylline Isopropanolamine," p. 153; Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 369.

³²A. R. Dowell, "Effect of Aminophylline on Respiratory Center Sensitivity in Chayne-Stokes Respiration and in Pulmonary Emphysema," *New England Journal of Medicine* 273 (1965): 1450.

³³Marcus, Skelton, Grauer, and Epstein, "Effects of Theophylline on Myocardial Mechanics," pp. 1362-63; Goldstein, Kaiser, and Warren, "Psychotropic Effects of Caffeine in Man," p. 14; Sprugel, Mitznegy, and Heirn, "The Influence of Caffeine and Theobromine," pp. 1723-24.

³⁴Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 371.

³⁵J. A. Roth, A. C. Ivy, and A. J. Atkinson, "Caffeine and 'Peptic' Ulcer," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 126 (1944): 814-20; H. L. Bockus, ed., *Gastroenterology* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1974), 1:513; M. H. Sleisenger and J. S. Fordtran, "Peptic Ulcer Pathogenesis," *Gastrointestinal Disease: Pathophysiology, Diagnosis and Management* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1978), p. 814.

³⁶Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," pp. 367-78.

is usually followed by a period of sluggishness or mild body depression.

Just as the correct use of the xanthines can be greatly beneficial, their abuse can damage the body. Overindulgence leads to a condition described as "chronic poisoning." The case history presented at the beginning of this article is an example. In chronic xanthine poisoning it may be that only some of the symptoms the man in that case experienced will be evident simultaneously but, in some instances, there may be several additional symptoms. A few or several of these symptoms may be manifested even in persons who ingest only small quantities of xanthines.

A "certain degree of tolerance and of psychic dependence (i.e., habituation) develops . . . even in those individuals who do not partake to excess," but only moderately ingest xanthines.³⁷ It is not surprising, therefore, that the withdrawal from xanthines by individuals habituated to them usually results in a "withdrawal headache."³⁸ The headache is at first localized but then becomes a generalized, throbbing pain. It is sometimes accompanied by nausea, nasal/sinus congestion, depression, drowsiness, and a disinclination to work.³⁹

There is little doubt that the popularity of the xanthine beverages results from their stimulant action.⁴⁰ Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the United States per capita consumption of the xanthines. A person who ingests colas, coffee, tea, or chocolate in order to experience a temporary increase in intellectual effort and/or muscle activity should understand the consequences of his action. Not only will he experience a longer time period of decreased efficiency later, he will also run the risk of habituation. More importantly, he will be exposing most of the vital organs of his body to the drug. Because he does not feel the increased heart rate, dilation of heart vessels, the decreased blood flow and oxygen tension of the brain, the increased gastric secretion nor the increased body metabolism, but only observes the stimulation and the diuretic effect, the price only appears small. He would never think of needlessly taking even one dose of a drug that adversely affected so many body organs, much less taking the drug several times each day. Besides, the consumption of

³⁷Ibid., p. 376.

³⁸A. Goldstein and S. Kaizer, "Psychotropic Effects of Caffeine in Man, III. A Questionnaire Survey of Coffee Drinking and Its Effects in a Group of Housewives," *Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics* 10 (1969): 487; A. Goldstein, S. Kaizer, and O. Whitby, "Psychotropic Effects of Caffeine in Man, IV. Quantitative and Qualitative Differences Associated with Habituation of Coffee," *Clinical Pharmacology and Therapeutics* 10 (1969): 496.

³⁹Greden, "Anxiety or Caffeinism," p. 1090.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 1089-92.

both caffeine and theobromine in a chocolate bar to increase mental and voluntary muscle activity (e.g., for typing) is self-defeating; theobromine neutralizes much of the caffeine effect.⁴¹

A well-nourished body has no unnatural cravings and provides optimum intellectual effort and muscle activity without the ingestion of drugs. Often xanthines eventually become toxic to people who have come to rely on their use in order to be efficient. However, after withdrawal symptoms and a week or so of feeling fatigued, they report that they feel more alert and efficient without the drug than they were while under its influence.⁴²

Because theobromine, unlike caffeine and theophylline, only slightly stimulates the central nervous system, some people incorrectly assume that its other effects are minimal. This has resulted in the ingestion of cocoa and chocolate by people who refrain from caffeine and theophylline in tea, coffee, and cola drinks. As early as 1939, in an article appearing in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*,⁴³ a question concerning the use of cocoa and chocolate was answered: "In considering cocoa as a beverage for children, it should be regarded as a stimulant similar to coffee." Today, as a result of many years of research and clinical experience with the xanthines, it is known that theobromine is more potent than an equal amount of caffeine in causing heart stimulation, dilation of heart vessels, smooth muscle relaxation, and diuresis⁴⁴ (see Table 2).

Many people are aware that cola drinks contain a harmful drug, but because they do not know the quantity of that drug, they rationalize that it must be in such small quantity that they can ingest significant amounts without effect. Yet, many cola drinkers readily admit to the mental and physical "pick-up" obtained from a cola drink when they are tired or even slightly fatigued.

Many of the soft drinks on the grocers' shelves contain caffeine (see Table 1 note). Per capita consumption of soft drinks since 1900 has increased quite dramatically, as seen in Figure 1. Per capita consumption of soft drinks in 1942 was approximately one-and-a-half 12 oz. bottles (or 18 ounces) per week. In 1978 (the most recent complete figures), it was more than five times that figure (eight 12 oz. bottles or 96 ounces) per week per person. This would have been 627 soft drinks a year per person, and 539 (or six out of every seven drinks)

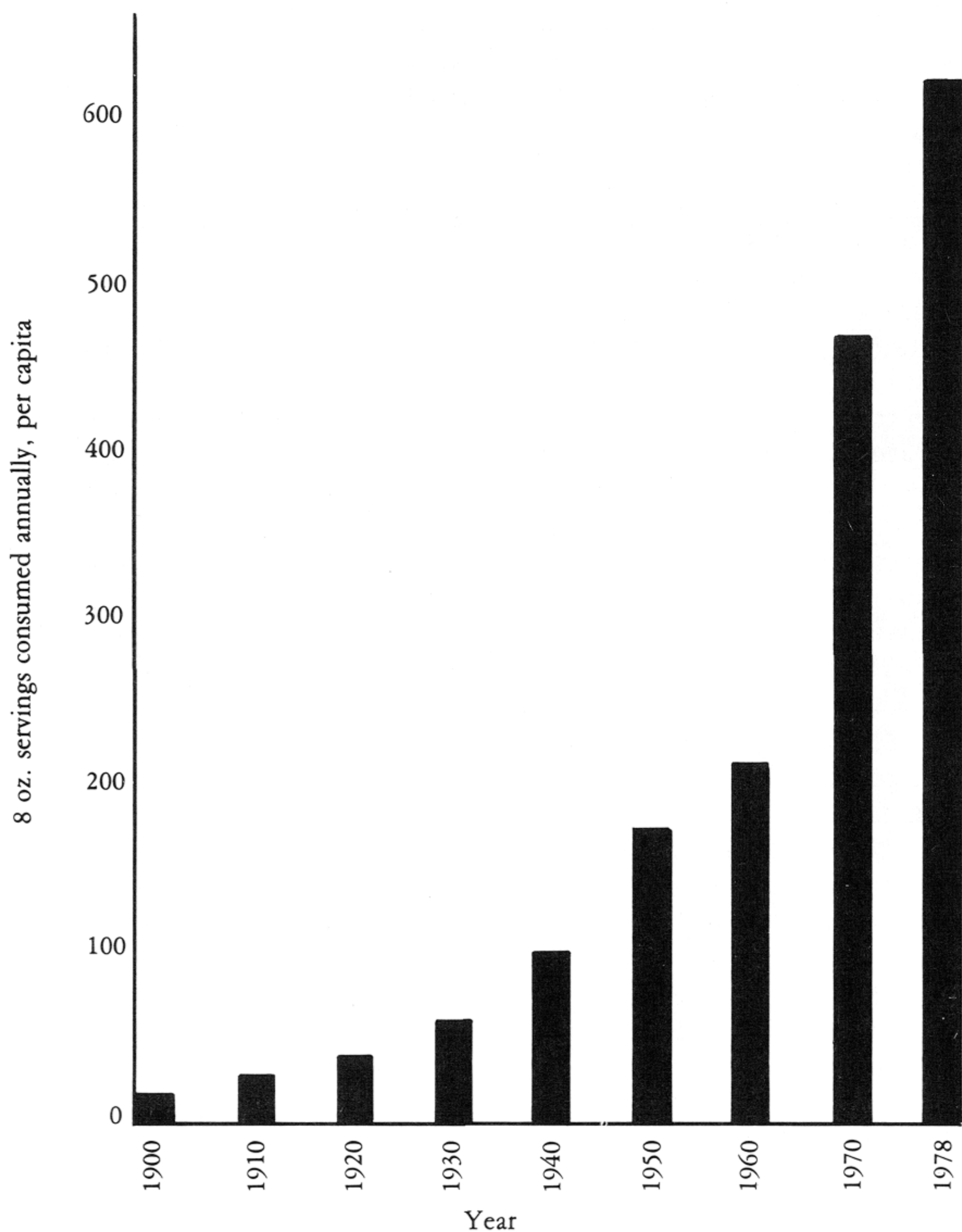
⁴¹Sprugel, Mitznegy, and Heirn, "The Influence of Caffeine and Theobromine," pp. 1723-24; Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 368.

⁴²Greden, "Anxiety or Caffeinism," p. 1091.

⁴³Cited in L. D. Widtsoe, *How to Be Well* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1943), p. 94.

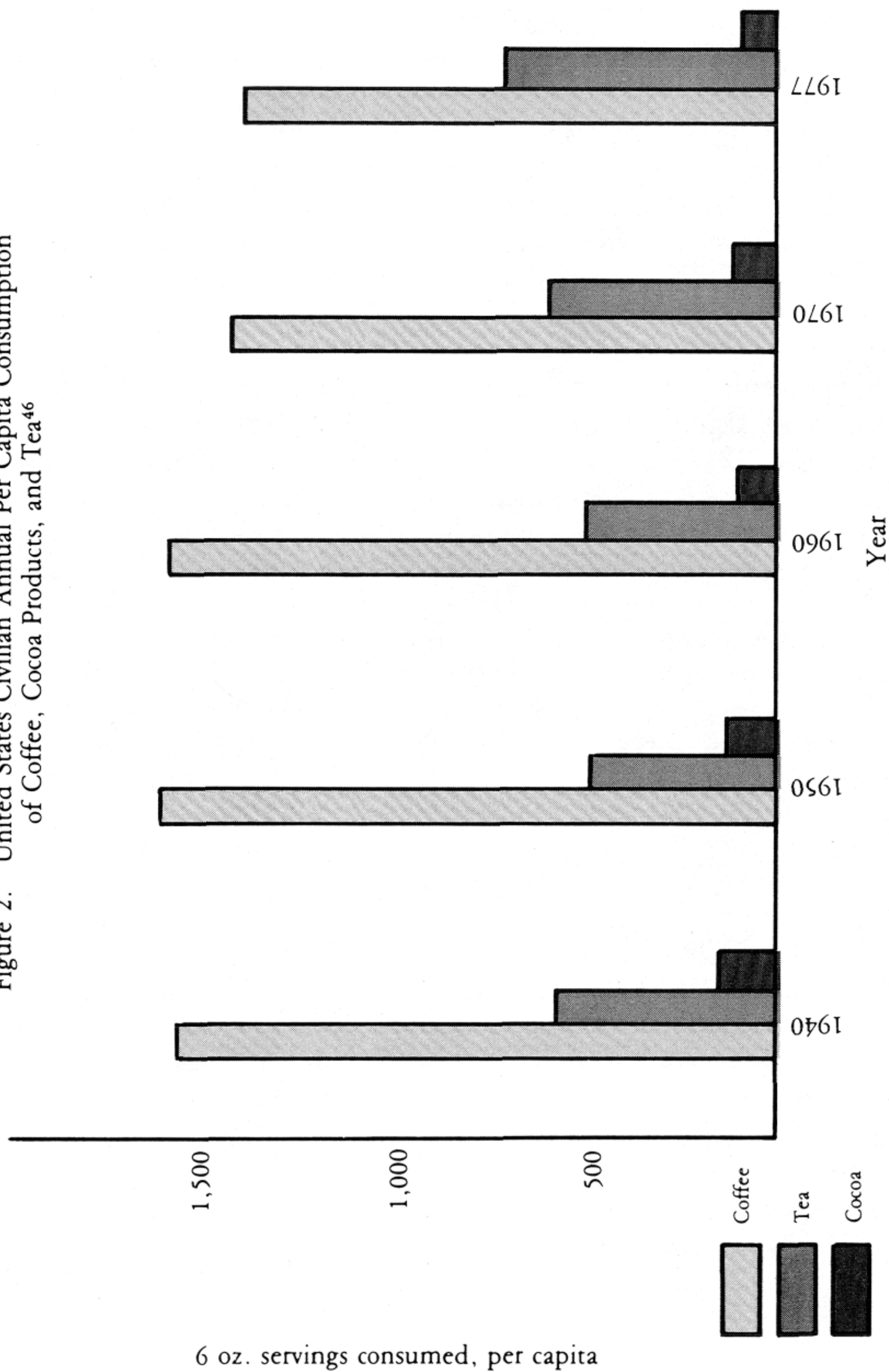
⁴⁴Ritchie, "Central Nervous System Stimulants, the Xanthines," p. 368.

Figure 1. United States Per Capita Consumption of Soft Drinks⁴⁵



⁴⁵M. R. Jacobson, "Nutrition Scoreboard, Your Guide to Better Eating," Center for Science in the Public Interest (New York: Avon Books, 1975), p. 137; "FDA Ponders Caffeine Ban," 21 April 1979, and tables on per capita consumption and top ten drinks, 18 May 1979, *Beverage Industry*, ed. John C. Maxwell, Jr. (New York: The Maxwell Division, Wheat First Securities, Inc.).

Figure 2. United States Civilian Annual Per Capita Consumption of Coffee, Cocoa Products, and Tea⁴⁶



⁴⁶United States Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1975 and 1979), pp. 92, 127.

contained caffeine—a total of 17,800 mg.⁴⁷ (The lethal oral dose of caffeine to man is 3,000 to 10,000 mg., depending on an individual's size, weight, etc.; but this would need to be a single dose.) Of course there are many Americans who do not consume cola drinks, meaning that the average caffeine consumption among cola drinkers was significantly more than 17,800 mg. that year. And, this frequently was in addition to coffee, tea, and cocoa product consumption.

The two most popular soft drinks in the United States from 1973 through 1978 contained approximately 65 mg. and 43 mg. caffeine per 12 oz. serving respectively⁴⁸ (see Table 1 note). These two soft drinks continue to sell more than twice as many units as do all the rest in the top ten put together.⁴⁹ In 1978, the sales of these two drinks contained 2,781,000,000,000 mg. of caffeine.⁵⁰ The total amount of caffeine consumed in America annually in all cola-containing soft drinks has not been determined, but it has been significantly greater than this two-and-a-half trillion mg. per year since seven of the ten top-selling soft drinks in the United States contain caffeine.⁵¹

Recently released figures demonstrate that Americans between the ages of twenty-five and forty-four are the major purchasers of cola-containing beverages. In 1977 that age group spent \$1.3 billion on cola drinks as opposed to \$210 million in the "under twenty-five" age group.⁵²

HOW DOES CAFFEINE AFFECT CHILD HYPERACTIVITY, BIRTH DEFECTS, AND CANCER?

Recently, the Federation of American Societies for Experimental Biology recommended that the Food and Drug Administration remove caffeine from the Generally Recognized as Safe List for food additives. The Food and Drug Administration would then specify limited conditions under which caffeine could be used.⁵³

Many of my pediatrician colleagues counsel their young patients to minimize consumption of or to abstain from xanthine products, since drug potency is related to body weight. To an adult weighing 150 lbs. "a cup of instant coffee or a can of cola beverage could give

⁴⁷"Consumption of Soft Drinks by Company," 2 April 1976; "FDA Ponders Caffeine Ban," 21 April 1979; tables on per capita consumption and top ten drinks, 18 May 1979; and "Soft Drink Sales Remain at Record Levels Despite Softening Economy," 4 April 1975, *Beverage Industry*, ed. John C. Maxwell, Jr. (New York: The Maxwell Division, Wheat First Securities, Inc.).

⁴⁸Bunker and McWilliams, "Caffeine Content of Common Beverages," p. 30.

⁴⁹*Beverage Industry*, 4 April 1975, p. 1, and 21 April 1979.

⁵⁰Calculated from fns. 47 and 48.

⁵¹*Beverage Industry*, 21 April 1979.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 18 May 1979, p. 28.

⁵³*Ibid.*

about 1 mg. caffeine per kilogram of body weight. In a very young child, the cup of chocolate or candy bar would give the same proportion of caffeine to body weight. When this child drinks a can of cola, . . . caffeine intake is comparable to an adult drinking 4 cups instant coffee. A nursing mother should be aware that caffeine passes into her milk and that this could have a stimulating effect on her infant. . . . Restlessness, irritability, sleeplessness, and nervousness are some of the symptoms'' of xanthine-induced child hyperactivity.⁵⁴

Xanthines might also affect the fetus. In the United States each year about one in seven pregnancies ends in stillbirth, miscarriage, a malformed infant, or a similar reproductive problem, due to various causes including xanthine abuse. Last year the Center for Science in the Public Interest, located in Washington, D.C., wrote to "12,500 obstetricians and gynecologists and 1,500 midwives urging them to advise pregnant women not to consume caffeine."⁵⁵ The concern is based on several human and laboratory animal studies which demonstrated that caffeine may be responsible for a variety of birth defects: delayed fetal development,⁵⁶ missing fingers and toes,⁵⁷ disruption of the normal fetoplacental unit,⁵⁸ and an effect on some cellular processes of the fetus.⁵⁹

One study on caffeine and pregnancy will be of particular interest to the readers of *BYU Studies*. A retrospective study was conducted in which 75 percent of the population studied were members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Of the pregnant women who had consumed at least 600 mg. caffeine per day, 94 percent lost their babies to spontaneous abortion, stillbirth, or prematurity with death within forty-eight hours. Only 22 percent of the women who had zero daily caffeine consumption lost their children. Although there were probably other factors affecting the data, such as lack of smoking and alcohol consumption, the researchers concluded "the results of the survey do suggest that a daily

⁵⁴Bunker and McWilliams, "Caffeine Content of Common Beverages," p. 31.

⁵⁵Associated Press, "Consumer Group Urges Warning on Use of Caffeine in Pregnancy," *New York Times*, 18 November 1979, p. 32.

⁵⁶P. E. Palm, E. P. Arnold, P. C. Rachwall, J. C. Leyczek, K. W. Teague, and C. J. Kensler, "Evaluation of the Teratogenic Potential of Fresh-Brewed Coffee and Caffeine in the Rat," *Toxicology and Applied Pharmacology* 44 (1978): 1-16; I. Borlée, M. F. Lechat, A. Bouckert, and C. Misson, "Le Café: Facteur de Risque Pendant la Grossesse?" *Louvain Medicine* 97 (1978): 279-84.

⁵⁷Groupe d'Etude des Risques Tératogènes, "Tératogénese Experimentale: Etude de la Caféine Chez la Souris," *Therapir* 24 (1969): 575-80.

⁵⁸E. F. Gilbert and W. R. Pistey, "Effect on the Offspring of Repeated Caffeine Administration to Pregnant Rats," *Journal of Reproduction and Fertility* 34 (1973): 495-99.

⁵⁹P. S. Weathersbee and J. R. Lodge, "Alcohol, Caffeine and Nicotine as Factors in Pregnancy," *Postgraduate Medicine* 66 (1979): 165-71.

caffeine intake of 600 mg. or greater may predispose a woman to reproductive difficulty."⁶⁰

With so many common compounds proving to be carcinogenic, it is not surprising that caffeine would be tested to see whether it too is carcinogenic. The tests show there is no direct evidence that caffeine causes cancer in humans.⁶¹ However, fibrocystic breast disease, a benign condition, recently has been linked to caffeine consumption. When twenty afflicted women abstained from caffeine, thirteen experienced a remission of all symptoms.⁶²

A report published last year (1979) stated that from 20 to 30 percent of all Americans ingest 500–600 mg. of caffeine a day, and 10 percent may consume more than 1,000 mg. a day.⁶³ The Food and Drug Administration will soon release the results of a lengthy study it has undertaken on the effects of caffeine. The preliminary reports indicate that the findings will strongly confirm the suspected hazards.⁶⁴

WHY DO PEOPLE CONSUME LARGE QUANTITIES OF XANTHINE-CONTAINING FOODS IF THEY ARE NOT HEALTHFUL?

There are three basic reasons people use foods containing large amounts of the xanthines. Primarily, people are uninformed. Much of our knowledge about the xanthines has come about only within the last decade, and it takes time to spread scientific information. This knowledge must counter the fact that people enjoy consuming xanthine products. In practically every culture in the world, xanthine beverages play important cultural–social roles. The British “cup of tea” and the American “coffee break” are well-established cultural mores.

Second, the stimulant effect and the undesirability of the withdrawal symptoms felt when intake is interrupted also promote sustained consumption.

Third, and of very significant importance in the developed countries, is the sustained, massive advertisement by companies that market these products. Figure 2 illustrates the per capita consumption of coffee, cocoa products, and tea in America. Note that the yearly per capita consumption (since 1940) of coffee, cocoa products,

⁶⁰P. S. Weathersbee, L. K. Olsen, and J. R. Lodge, “Topics in Primary Care, Caffeine and Pregnancy: A Retrospective Survey,” *Postgraduate Medicine* 62 (1977): 64–69.

⁶¹J. Timson, “How Harmful Is Your Daily Caffeine?” *New Scientist* 78 (1978): 736–37.

⁶²J. P. Minton, M. K. Foecking, J. T. Webster, and R. H. Matthews, “Caffeine, Cyclic Nucleotides, and Breast Disease,” *Surgery* 86 (1979): 105–109.

⁶³J. F. Greden, “Coffee, Tea and You,” *The Sciences* 19 (1979): 6.

⁶⁴R. Reinhold, “Caffeine Quandary Illustrates FDA’s Plight,” *New York Times*, 8 January 1980, pp. C1, C2.

and tea has not changed dramatically—a slight decrease for coffee and cocoa products and a slight increase for tea. Figure 2 demonstrates the dramatic increase in the United States per capita consumption of soft drinks from 1900 to 1978. Much of this change is the result of increased and more effective advertisement. Through massive media exposure the American public has been led to believe these products are desirable. For example, in 1978 (the latest available figures), \$410 million were spent on the television advertisement of confectionary and soft drinks, including chocolate confectionary and cola drinks. This compares with \$313 million for all beer and wine commercials and \$103 million for all insurance advertisements using the same media. The \$410 million figure in 1978 was almost twice the amount (\$220 million) spent in 1975, just three years earlier.⁶⁵ In 1979, more soft drinks were consumed than milk and juices combined.⁶⁶

WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN XANTHINES AND THE WORD OF WISDOM?

As Latter-day Saints, we need to understand how modern prophets have interpreted the Lord's counsel that "hot drinks are not for the body or belly."⁶⁷ Joel H. Johnson, an early member of the Church who was with the Prophet Joseph when the Word of Wisdom was received in 1833, recorded in his journal an interesting sermon that the Prophet gave five months later:

"I understand that some of the people are excusing themselves in using tea and coffee, because the Lord only said 'hot drinks' in the revelation of the Word of Wisdom.

"The Lord was showing us what was good for man to eat and drink. Now, what do we drink when we take our meals?

"Tea and coffee. Is it not?

"Yes; tea and coffee.

"Then, they are what the Lord meant when He said 'hot drinks.'"⁶⁸

Patriarch Hyrum Smith, speaking to a congregation in Nauvoo almost nine years later, reiterated that interpretation: "There are many who wonder what this [reference to "hot drinks"] can mean;

⁶⁵Calculated from "U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States," 1979, p. 596.

⁶⁶*Beverage Industry*, 18 May 1979.

⁶⁷Doctrine and Covenants (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), 89:9.

⁶⁸J. H. Johnson, *Voice from the Mountains* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), p. 12.

whether it refers to tea, or coffee, or not. I say it does refer to tea, and coffee.' ''⁶⁹

Dr. John A. Widtsoe, an LDS apostle and a chemist of international reputation, was an early authority on the Word of Wisdom. He thought the Lord purposefully used the term "hot drinks" rather than "tea and coffee" because by so doing the "host of other injurious habit-forming beverages" and products that would be used in the future would automatically "become subject to the Word of Wisdom. Indeed, the use of the words, 'hot drinks' implies a knowledge beyond that possessed by man when the Word of Wisdom was received.' ''⁷⁰

The medical research referred to in this article stands as a witness of the validity of the "hot drinks" instruction in the Word of Wisdom. When this revelation was given in 1833, caffeine had been discovered as a substance, but its physiological effects were not known and the announcement of its discovery was buried in scientific publications. "It is very unlikely that the Prophet Joseph had heard of it.' ''⁷¹ But even if he had, no one at that time knew of its harmful effects.

In 1976, the results of two major studies comparing the longevity and healthfulness of Latter-day Saints to nonmembers were published.⁷² In summary, the male death rate in Utah County (85 percent LDS) was 35 percent below the national average. Female death rate was 28 percent less. Male and female Latter-day Saints were contracting cancer 29 percent less frequently than nonmembers, and the death rate of Latter-day Saints in Utah and Los Angeles counties due to heart attack and cardiovascular disease was 33 to 50 percent less than among non-LDS. Mormons had a 51 percent less incidence of bladder and kidney disease than non-Mormons. Such dramatic results leave little doubt about the validity of the teachings of the Word of Wisdom.

⁶⁹*Times and Seasons* 3 (1 June 1842): 800; see also Bruce R. McConkie, *Mormon Doctrine*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), pp. 368-70.

⁷⁰Widtsoe and Widtsoe, *Word of Wisdom*, p. 99.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²J. L. Lyon et. al., "Cancer Incidence in Mormons and Non-Mormons in Utah, 1966-1970," *New England Journal of Medicine* 294 (1976): 130-31; J. E. Enstrom, "Cancer Mortality among Mormons," *Cancer* 36 (1975): 826-29, 831; J. E. Enstrom, "American Heart Association Conference Report," Tampa, Florida, March 1975; also cited in Bill Davidson, "What Can We Learn about Health from Mormons?" *Family Circle*, January 1976, pp. 78-82.

**“I Have Sinned Against Heaven,
and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence,
But I Cannot Live
without a Reconciliation”:
Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church**

Lyndon W. Cook

The disaffection of Church leaders in high places has always been a topic of much interest and concern. Since motives for dissent are usually difficult to determine with certainty, the historian must search for feeling as well as fact in his pursuit of understanding the apostate. Thomas B. Marsh, the first President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, became an apostate in 1838 in the heat of the so-called Mormon War in northwestern Missouri. Unlike most dissenters, Thomas Marsh finally returned to the Church that he had so bitterly rejected. Both his private and public statements, after he rejoined the Church, turn out to be confessions of guilt and reveal his reasons for withdrawing in Missouri. While Marsh's experience was very personal, it nevertheless provides a poignant illustration to the larger Church membership of the dangers of being too critical of those in authority.

Thomas Baldwin Marsh, the son of James Marsh and Molly Law, was born 1 November 1799 in Acton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.¹ Spending his early boyhood working on farms in New Hampshire and Vermont, Thomas ventured to New York City at the age of fourteen where he worked first as a hotel waiter and later as a groom for horses. After his marriage to Elizabeth Godkin in New York City on his twentieth birthday, Thomas worked there a short time without success as a grocer. He later found employment in a type foundry at Boston, where he continued until about 1830.

Lyndon W. Cook, a research historian, teaches in the College of Religious Instruction at Brigham Young University.

¹Thomas B. Marsh may have been born in 1800, not 1799 (see *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* [January 1936], p. 28).

In an autobiographical account Thomas Marsh remembered traveling from Boston to western New York State in the summer of 1829 with Benjamin Hall. The only purpose given for the journey was that he was led by the Spirit.² At Lyons, New York, near Palmyra, Thomas heard of the "golden bible" story and traveled to Palmyra to investigate the report. At Palmyra, he learned of the printing of the Book of Mormon and found Martin Harris in Egbert B. Grandin's printing office, where the work of printing was underway. After obtaining a printed sheet containing the first sixteen pages of the Book of Mormon, Thomas was directed by Martin Harris to the home of Joseph Smith, Sr., to see Oliver Cowdery.³ Oliver explained the message of the Restoration to Thomas, who returned to Massachusetts overjoyed with what he had learned. From Boston, on 25 October 1829, Thomas corresponded with Oliver Cowdery, requesting to be kept informed of the progress of the work.⁴

During the following months Thomas maintained contact by letter with Oliver and possibly others in Palmyra, and upon learning of the organization of the Church in April 1830, he made preparations to move his family to Palmyra, where he arrived by late August of that year. From Palmyra, Thomas quickly proceeded to Fayette and was baptized in Cayuga Lake by David Whitmer on 3 September 1830. Almost immediately after his baptism Thomas was ordained an elder, and a revelation received for him the same month (Doctrine and Covenants 31) named him a spiritual "physician unto the Church."⁵

Thomas B. Marsh moved to Kirtland with his family in the spring of 1831, where he was ordained a high priest,⁶ and soon thereafter he was commanded to go on a mission to Missouri. Returning to Ohio from western Missouri, Thomas made arrangements to settle permanently in Independence, Missouri, where he arrived in November 1832.

Thomas, who was universally known as "Brother Marsh," soon distinguished himself as a leader and suffered with others of the

²See "History of Thomas B. Marsh Written by Himself in Great Salt Lake City, November 1857," Library-Archives of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah; hereafter cited as Church Archives.

³Joseph Smith, Jr., still residing in Harmony, Pennsylvania, had just left Palmyra a short time before Marsh's arrival.

⁴See Oliver Cowdery to Joseph Smith, Manchester, New York, 6 November 1829, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

⁵See "History of Thomas B. Marsh."

⁶The high priests were the presiding elite of the priesthood from 1831-1834. Later as members of the church high councils, high priests exercised an exceptional amount of authority until well after the Prophet's death. About 1841, after their return from Great Britain, members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles began to assume a place next to the First Presidency in accordance with Joseph Smith's instructions and earlier revelations.

Missouri Saints when they were expelled from Jackson County in the fall of 1833. In the summer of 1834 he was selected to go to Kirtland to participate in ceremonial preparations for the "endowment,"⁷ witness the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, and attend the solemn assembly. He was appointed a member of the Clay County, Missouri, High Council on 7 July 1834.⁸

On 29 January 1835 Thomas joined with Edward Partridge en route for Kirtland where they arrived on 24 April. In his absence, Thomas had been chosen one of the original Quorum of Twelve Apostles by the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. Thomas Marsh was ordained to this position 26 April 1835, two days after his arrival. At a meeting on 2 May 1835, the quorum was arranged according to age, and Thomas Marsh was designated president of the group since he was the eldest member.⁹

In the summer of 1835 Thomas joined with others of his quorum on a mission to the eastern states. After his return to Kirtland he helped in the completion of the Kirtland Temple and participated in sacred meetings prior to its dedication. On 22 January 1836 Thomas was given a special anointing as president of his quorum.¹⁰

Much excitement attended the meetings which preceded the temple dedication and solemn assembly since the Church leaders were anticipating an appearance of the Savior at the solemn assembly on 30 March 1836. On 23 January 1836, the day after Marsh's anointing, Oliver Cowdery recorded: "In the evening Elder Marsh called at my house: we talked much upon the subject of visions: he greatly desired to see the Lord. Brother Marsh is a good man, and I pray that his faith may be strengthen[ed] to behold the heavens open."¹¹

After the eventful days surrounding the Kirtland Temple dedication, Thomas returned to his place in Clay County, Missouri. During the summer of 1836 it became apparent to Church leaders in Clay County that the Saints would need to find another place of settlement. Since many of the Mormon families were in meager circumstances and numerous others were en route to Clay County, William W. Phelps and John Whitmer, the presiding Church leaders in Missouri, requested Thomas B. Marsh and Elisha H. Groves to travel to Kentucky and Tennessee to obtain funds either by donation

⁷The Kirtland "endowment" has reference to the spiritual outpouring which attended the dedication of the Kirtland Temple and the Kirtland solemn assembly. Washing and anointing ceremonies in Kirtland in early 1836 were intended to help prepare the brethren for the spiritual endowment.

⁸See Far West Record, 7 July 1834, Church Archives.

⁹Kirtland Council Minute Book, p. 187, Church Archives.

¹⁰See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1931-1952), 2:382; hereafter cited as *HC*.

¹¹Oliver Cowdery Sketch Book, 23 January 1836, Church Archives.

or loan for "Poor Bleeding Zion."¹² They left Liberty, Missouri, in July 1836 and were successful in gathering \$1450 at 10 percent interest. On their return to Missouri in the fall of 1836, they found the Saints settling Far West, a new area north of Clay County. Here, at Far West, Thomas shouldered his responsibilities well, both in Church leadership and in establishing a new Mormon city.¹³

By early 1837, however, Brother Marsh became convinced that W. W. Phelps and John Whitmer were attempting to administer the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church independent of the high council or bishopric. Although his position of apostle at the time (1837) did not permit him to interfere with the Missouri presidency (W. W. Phelps and the Whitmers), Thomas, nevertheless, supported members of the local high council in their opposition to the actions of the presidency. Although this problem was temporarily resolved in early 1837, it surfaced again the following year and provided the setting for Thomas Marsh to exert an influence which resulted in a power struggle between the Missouri presidency and the members of the Quorum of the Twelve.¹⁴

In the spring of 1837, Thomas Marsh was experiencing frustration concerning his position as President of the Quorum of the Twelve. Although an 1835 revelation seemed to place his quorum next to the First Presidency in the church government (see D&C 107:22–23), in reality the presidency in Missouri and the two Church high councils had retained their supremacy (having been organized before the Twelve) next to the First Presidency. Furthermore, Thomas lamented that his quorum had not maintained close contact since their 1835 mission and that they had not been unified in fulfilling their divine calling as special missionaries. Even more serious to Thomas was the news that some members of his quorum had fallen into apostasy; he was likewise mortified to learn that Parley P. Pratt, also one of his quorum, was making preparations to proceed to England to preach the gospel.

Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten were first and second respectively in seniority among the Twelve, and both resided in Missouri. On 10 May 1837 they dispatched word to Parley requesting him to defer his mission across the Atlantic until the Quorum could convene. Thomas Marsh considered the taking of the gospel abroad an action of such magnitude that no member of the Quorum should

¹²Thomas B. Marsh to Wilford Woodruff, 30 April 1838, Church Archives.

¹³In addition to at least one city lot, Thomas Marsh purchased some 320 acres of property near Far West, Missouri.

¹⁴Record of this difficulty is found in Far West Record, April 1837; see also John Murdock Journal, under date, Church Archives.

attempt it independently.¹⁵ In the letter, he called a meeting of the entire Quorum of the Twelve for 24 July 1837 in Kirtland, and Thomas Marsh and David Patten left sometime the following month for Ohio.

In the meantime, however, Joseph Smith had directed Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde of the Twelve to travel to England to preach the gospel.¹⁶ It is not known when Apostles Marsh and Patten learned of the departure of these missionaries, but it seems clear that the news angered them and shattered their hopes of unifying the Quorum. Brigham Young, remembering their arrival in Kirtland, later said: "As soon as they came I got Marsh to go to Joseph But Patten would [not]. . . . He got his mind prejudiced & when He went to see Joseph David insulted Joseph & Joseph slap[p]ed him in the face & kicked him out of the yard this done David good."¹⁷ It appears that Thomas B. Marsh desired to be the first to introduce the gospel abroad and was jealous that another of his quorum should upstage him.¹⁸

In large measure, difficulties in the Quorum of the Twelve were resolved at the summer meeting in Kirtland, and Marsh's concerns relative to his quorum and their relationship to the First Presidency were satisfactorily addressed in a revelation received by Joseph Smith on 23 July 1837 (D&C 112).¹⁹

After going on a mission to Upper Canada with the Prophet and Sidney Rigdon, Thomas remained in Kirtland until late in the fall of 1837, helping with the Church printing office. Ironically, during these months of widespread apostasy when many Church leaders sought to criticize Joseph Smith, Thomas established a close, personal relationship with the Prophet.

Thomas returned to Far West in October 1837 somewhat more poised in his position as President of the Quorum of the Twelve and confident of the Prophet's approval of him. But on arriving in Far West, Thomas came into immediate conflict with Oliver Cowdery,

¹⁵See Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten to Parley P. Pratt, 10 May 1837, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

¹⁶These two apostles left Kirtland, Ohio, on 13 June 1837.

¹⁷As reported in Wilford Woodruff Diary, 25 June 1857, Church Archives. Joseph Smith stated on 28 May 1843 that only two of the original Twelve Apostles had not "lifted their heel against" him—namely, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball (see *HC*, 5:412).

¹⁸See Vilate Kimball to Heber C. Kimball, 6 September 1837, and Heber C. Kimball to Vilate Kimball, 12 November 1837, both at Church Archives. Thomas Marsh had informed Vilate that the gospel could not be effectually taken to Europe except it be introduced by Apostle Marsh himself. Heber, giving justification for his advance mission, replied: "Still brother Joseph sed it was all right to prepare the way for brother Marsh."

¹⁹See especially D&C 112:2, 3, 10, 15, and 27, which instruct Thomas B. Marsh to humble himself and to recognize that Joseph is his leader; see also D&C 112:16, 17, 21, and 30–33, which acknowledge Marsh's important calling.

David Whitmer, William W. Phelps and John Whitmer. Realizing that the bitter spirit of these influential men could destroy the Church, Thomas sought to purge them from the flock. But his motives appear to not have been pure. Jealous to win greater recognition and influence, Thomas indulged in excessive behavior, all in the name of Joseph Smith. While evidence shows that Oliver and his cohorts were embittered, the means Thomas used did not justify the end. Within months, his foes were out of the Church, and Thomas B. Marsh and David W. Patten were appointed presidents, pro. tem., of the Church in Missouri. While it would be presumptuous to assume that Thomas Marsh single-handedly expelled these authorities from the Church, he was, however, a major instigator.²⁰

Thomas Marsh temporarily maintained his influence after the Prophet's arrival in Far West in March 1838, but much to his dismay his struggle to remain in control resulted in his undoing.

Many of the settlers in Far West sought control of power and money. Control of property meant greater wealth for those who could sell to the oncoming Saints, and land records indicate Thomas was among a small minority that controlled the property at Far West. Recognizing the problem, Joseph warned property holders of covetousness. But too few paid attention. In his quest for power Thomas suffered from fear as well as jealousy. Because he was extremely sensitive to any kind of criticism, Thomas Marsh finally began to question Joseph's actions. He later admitted, "I meddled with that which was not my business."²¹

Sometime in August or September 1838, an incident occurred which would serve as a major factor in Marsh's apostasy from the Church. His wife, Elizabeth, was accused of unfairly taking cream from the daily milking which she shared with another sister, Lucinda Harris. Although the matter was heard by several priesthood courts, all of them found Sister Marsh guilty of promise-breaking. In a final

²⁰See Far West Record, under dates of 23 December 1837 to 24 February 1838. Oliver Cowdery, referring to his excommunication, wrote: "I believed at the time, and still believe, that ambitious and wicked men, envying the harmony existing between myself and the first elders of the Church, and hoping to get into some other men's birthright, by falsehoods, the most foul and wicked, caused all this difficulty from the beginning to end. They succeeded in getting myself out of the Church; [and] since they themselves have gone to perdition." (See Oliver Cowdery to Brigham Young, 25 December 1843, Church Archives.) Phineas Young, writing to Willard Richards on 14 December 1842, blamed Thomas Marsh and others for Oliver's expulsion, claiming "they told [Joseph] many things prejudicial to Brother Oliver which he had no chance whatever to contradict." Phineas charged these men with seeking to "break him [Cowdery] down, that they might rise thereby." Again in 1844 Phineas accused "Thomas B. Marsh and others at Far West" for Oliver's excommunication. Phineas said that "charges were heaped upon him you know for what." (Phineas Young to Willard Richards, 14 December 1842, and Phineas Young to Brigham Young, 26 November 1844, both in Journal History, under date, Church Archives.)

²¹*Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (London: Latter-day Saints' Book Depot, 1854-1886), 5:207; hereafter cited as *JD*.

move, Bishop Edward Partridge pleaded with her “to make things right and offered her time to do so,”²² but Sister Marsh adamantly claimed she was innocent. When Joseph Smith bluntly told the sister that she had lied to the court and would be disfellowshipped, an indignant Thomas refused to hear of it. George A. Smith, apostle and Church historian, remembering the occasion, detailed the essential facts:

An appeal was taken from the Teacher to the Bishop, and a regular Church trial was had. President Marsh did not consider that the Bishop had done him and his lady justice, for they [the courts] decided the strippings were wrongfully saved, and that the woman had violated her covenant.

Marsh immediately took an appeal to the High Council, who investigated the question with much patience, and I assure you they were a grave body. Marsh being extremely anxious to maintain the character of his wife, as he was the President of the Twelve Apostles, and a great man in Israel, made a desperate defence, but the High Council finally confirmed the Bishop’s decision.

Marsh, not being satisfied, took an appeal to the First Presidency of the Church, and Joseph and his Counsellors had to sit upon the case, and they approved the decision of the High Council. This little affair, you will observe, kicked up a considerable breeze, and Thomas B. Marsh then declared that he would sustain the character of his wife, even if he had to go to hell for it.²³

As might well be imagined, the “strippings affair” so humiliated Thomas Marsh that he could hardly face his associates. His great desire to win the admiration of the Saints, and especially the Prophet, now quickly began to sour. Thomas later confessed to the Saints in the Salt Lake Bowery that his zeal had begun to transform into a malignant jealousy:

I became jealous of the Prophet, and then I saw double, and overlooked everything that was right, and spent all my time in looking for the evil. . . . I was blinded, and I thought I saw a beam in brother Joseph’s eye, but it was nothing but a mote, and my own eye was filled with the beam. . . . I got mad, and I wanted everybody else to be mad. I talked with Brother Brigham and Brother Heber, and I wanted them to be mad like myself; and I saw they were not mad, and I got madder still. . . . Brother Brigham, with a cautious look, said, “Are you the leader of the Church, brother Thomas?” I answered, “no.” “Well then,” said he, “Why do you not let that alone?”²⁴

²²Henry W. Bigler Journal, under date, Church Archives.

²³George A. Smith, 6 April 1856, *JD*, 3:283–84.

²⁴Thomas B. Marsh, 6 September 1857, *JD*, 5:207.

Embarrassed over the "strippings affair," Thomas Marsh threatened to leave the Church. When Joseph learned of this, Thomas said that "he got me into a tight corner I could hardly evade. He put the questions directly to me, whether I was going to leave." But instead of working for a reconciliation, Thomas Marsh responded with contempt: "Joseph, when you see me leave the Church, you will see a good fellow leave it."²⁵

Stunned by these events in his life, Thomas Marsh possessed ambivalent feelings about leaving the Church. He accompanied a group of Saints to Daviess County, Missouri, on 16 October 1838 to abate reported mob activities against the Saints there. But his heart was not in it, and he questioned the legality of their actions. "Pretending there was something urgent at home,"²⁶ Thomas returned to Far West on 21 October 1838, and encouraged by Orson Hyde he decided to leave the Church. Believing that Joseph should not have allowed the "cream" trial, and being persuaded that the Prophet had directed extralegal activities in Daviess County, Thomas Marsh lost what faith he had left. His great love for the Church and its leaders had now turned to hate, and with Orson Hyde he left Far West on 22 October for Richmond, Missouri.²⁷

Consistent with the pattern of other prominent dissenters, Thomas Marsh did not withdraw quietly. He now sought for revenge. Venting his anger, he swore before a Ray County, Missouri, magistrate that the Mormon people, and Joseph Smith in particular, were hostile toward the State of Missouri. While this affidavit is relegated to a mere footnote in the *History of the Church*, it contributed greatly to the Mormon expulsion from Missouri in 1838.²⁸

Thomas B. Marsh remained in Missouri, finally settling in Howard County. There and in Grundy County, Missouri, Thomas lived on the edge of survival, teaching Biblical geography. Not being able to free his mind of Mormonism, Thomas kept abreast of the progress of the Church as much as possible. After the death of his wife in 1854, he entertained serious thoughts of returning to the Church, and finally in January 1857 he set out for Council Bluffs, Iowa. Here he made his peace with local Church leader George W. Harris and asked to be accepted as a member. Brother Harris directed

²⁵"History of Thomas B. Marsh," Church Archives.

²⁶Journal and Record of Heber C. Kimball (1838-1839), under date, Church Archives.

²⁷See Thomas B. Marsh to Lewis Abbott, 25 October 1838, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

²⁸Marsh's affidavit, dated 24 October 1838, is cited in *HC*, 3:167, and published in full in *Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons and the Evidence Given before the Hon. Austin A. King . . .* (Fayette, Missouri: By order of the General Assembly, 1841), pp. 57-59. George A. Smith credited Marsh's defection and sworn testimony against Joseph Smith as a major factor in the Mormon expulsion (see *JD*, 3:284).

Thomas to the home of Wandle Mace at Florence, Nebraska. Although Brother Mace had entertained bad feelings towards Thomas Marsh, he admitted that Marsh's "humble attitude, and speech disarmed me, his sorrowful countenance, his palsied frame, and above all his humiliating confession, whipped me. I felt more like weeping."²⁹ Since local leaders of the Church at Florence were not sure how Brigham Young and other members of the Twelve would view Marsh's return, they invited Thomas to write to the First Presidency for permission to be received into the Church in full faith and fellowship. Marsh's letter is a precious historical document and is included here in its entirety.³⁰

Florence, Douglas Co, Nebraska Ter[ritory]
May 5th [18]/57

Heber C Kimball

Dear Sir,

You see by the caption to this, where I am. I left Missouri Having lost my wife some three years since I began to awake to a sense of my situation; you will, perhaps, say why you slept a long time or was a long time in waking and would say truly for so it is for I have, at least, been grooping in darkness fo[r] so [*sic*] these 18 years.

I left Grundy Co, Missouri in the beginning of January A.D. /57, set my face Zionward and traveled, mostly on foot having a determination that I would go to Salt Lake, God being my helper, & there throw myself at the feet of the apostles and implore their forgiveness and ask for admittance into the House of the Lord; into the church of latterday Saints & that I would say to them I know that I have sin[n]ed against Heaven and in thy sight and have rendered myself unworthy of your confidence; or of a place in the family of Heaven nevertheless make me thy servant lest I perish for I know that in my Father,s house there is bread enough and to spare while here I perish with hunger.

I came on with very good courage until after I had been here for some time; the longer I remain here & the more I examine into your progress since I left you the stronger I become in my confidence & the stronger I become in faith & the lighter things appear to me, the more clearly do I discover that I deserve no place among you in the church even as the lowest member; but I cannot live long so without a reconciliation with the 12 [apostles] and the Church whom I have injured O Bretheren once Bretheren!! How can I leave this world without your forgiveness Can I have it Can I have it? Something seems to say within yes O then hasten and signify it by writing the word yes to me & then O

²⁹Wandle Mace Journal, under date, Church Archives.

³⁰This letter is located at Church Archives and is published by permission.

Joy I shall be content. I have met with G[eorge] W. Harris and a reconciliation has taken place with us,³¹ and when that was accomplished I was so overjoyed that I was constrained to say in my heart truly this is an evidence that the Lord loves me after all my rebellion & my sins. I know what I have done a mision was laid upon me & I have never filled it and now I fear it is too late but it is filled by another, I see, the Lord could get along very well without me and He has lost nothing by my falling out of the ranks; But O what have I lost?! Riches Greater Riches than all this world or many planets like this could afford but O bretheren; can you speak one word of comfort to me Can I be saved at all in the Kingdom of God Can I find peace among you O if I can but enjoy your smiles and the smil[e]s of the Church & of Jesus I shall be content to depart or remain in so great peace The Lord has been mindful of me and altho I was very stubborn He has followed me up He has visited me with Scourging & with visions & dreams, Bretheren O that I were worthy to call you bretheren! but [what] shall I call you? You run very near to me I love you better than I do any set of mortals on this earth. you have been diligent in accomplishing the work given you while I, miserable me! have played time away among harlot churches only seeking for nourishment to my soul where there was no bread of life & I Love you & hate myself. I wait here, at Florence anxiously for a letter addressed to your Old & now truly unworthy & truly sincere friend

/s/ Thomas B. Marsh

Heber C. Kimball
Salt Lake City

P.S. My Love to all the saints & may the richest blessings of the fullness of the everlasting Gospel be with and rest upon you now and forever more

Amen
T.B.M.

Upon receiving official approval, Thomas B. Marsh was rebaptized at Papyeo Creek (Nebraska), while en route to Salt Lake Valley, by Andrew Cunningham on 16 July 1857. Thomas was among one of the final Mormon groups to pass Fort Laramie before the arrival of Johnston's Army.³²

On 6 September 1857, two days after Marsh's arrival in the Valley, a large congregation which had assembled for Sabbath worship voted unanimously to receive Brother Marsh into full fellowship. A stroke had paralyzed part of his body so that one of his arms

³¹The reconciliation has reference to the disagreement over the strippings. The case involved Elizabeth Marsh and Lucinda Morgan Harris, wife of George W. Harris.

³²His arrival was noted in the Historian's Office Journal, 4 September 1857: "Thos B. Marsh arrived with a part of Walker's Co. about 4 p.m."

drooped unnaturally. Those who saw him described him as a “poor, decrepid, broken down, old man.”³³ While President Brigham Young had compassion for this one-time senior Quorum member, he nevertheless seized upon the moment to point out to the Saints how righteous living had bestowed upon him a healthy frame in marked contrast to Marsh’s wretched appearance. The illustration was not subtle, but Thomas Marsh seemed to take his medicine well.³⁴ “He told me yesterday, that the Christians might hang up their fiddle in regard to their being no Catholic . . . Purgatory,” recounted Brigham, “but brother Marsh says that there is such a place, and that he has been in it during the past eighteen years. . . . In conversing with brother Marsh,” Brigham continued, “I find that he is about the same Thomas that he always was—full of anecdotes and chit-chat. He could hardly converse for ten minutes without telling an anecdote. His voice and style of conversation are familiar to me.”³⁵

The day after he was voted back into the Church Brother Marsh formally dedicated himself to the Lord:

I, Thomas B. Marsh, do hereby, this day, Sept. 7th AD 1857, consecrate and dedicate myself soul, body and spirit with all I possess on earth, to the Lord praying to the God of Abraham Isaac and Jacob to set me apart or sanctify me to be exclusively his to do whatsoever he should require of me and to give me Grace to sanctify the Lord of hosts in my heart that I might Love him with all my heart soul mind, strength and understanding Amen.³⁶

One month after his arrival in Salt Lake Valley, Thomas was married to Hannah Adams (4 October 1857), and the couple soon settled in Spanish Fork, where they acquired a small adobe house. Here Brother Marsh attempted, without success, to establish a school. Though having received some financial help from Bishop John L. Butler, the Marshes were scarcely able to sustain life. By late fall of 1859, meager circumstances prompted Thomas to request further assistance. His petition reflected his penitent spirit:

[I write] not in a spirit of complaining of any person neither of murmuring against the providence of my Heavenly Father; no! It is good enough for me for I have sin[n]ed and made many crooked paths and I would rather kiss the chastning hand and thank Him that it is as well with me as it is for He in his providence has brought me to the Valies of

³³John Taylor, 9 August 1857, *JD*, 5:115.

³⁴Brigham Young, 6 Septembr 1857, *JD*, 5:210.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Dedication of Thomas B. Marsh, 7 September 1857, Brigham Young Collection, Church Archives. I am indebted to Ronald Esplin for locating this document.

these mountains! fed and clothed me and kept me alive untill now, given me a name and place among his people and restored me, vile as I have been, [to] His Everlasting Priesthood, notwithstanding I so foolishly and so ignominiously once threw it away and cast it behind my back.³⁷

His request did not go unheeded.³⁸

On 11 March 1859, Thomas B. Marsh was re-ordained an elder, and by November 1861 he had been ordained a high priest.³⁹ In the Endowment House on 1 November 1862, he received his endowment and was sealed to his wife, Hannah.⁴⁰ It was about this same time that the couple opted to settle near Ogden. Thomas was placed in the care of David M. Stuart, Ogden First Ward.⁴¹ Though almost wholly supported by the Church until his death in January 1866 at Ogden, Thomas Baldwin Marsh “died in good faith,” having once again accepted the principles he had espoused nearly thirty-six years earlier in Fayette, New York. He had learned by sad experience the hazards of aspiring to the honors of men, the dangers of exercising unrighteous dominion, and the consequences of uncontrolled criticism of those in authority.⁴²

³⁷Thomas B. Marsh to John L. Butler, 26 October 1859, Edward Hunter Collection, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah.

³⁸See John L. Butler to Edward Hunter, 3 November 1859, Edward Hunter Collection, University of Utah. “Fast Day Offerings, Spanish Fork Branch,” at Church Archives, reveals that the Marshes were frequent recipients of eggs, flour, meat, and butter.

³⁹“Record of the Genealogies of the Elders Quorum of Spanish Fork,” Church Archives.

⁴⁰Endowment House Sealing Record, Genealogical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

⁴¹Walter C. Lichfield, “Thomas B. Marsh, Physician to the Church” (M. S. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1956), p. 167.

⁴²There is little question that the passages dealing with abuses of priesthood power in D&C 121:34–40 had direct reference to Thomas B. Marsh, as well as other high level Church leaders. The section was initially part of a letter written by the Prophet in March 1839, but has since been canonized.

The Historians Corner

Edited by James B. Allen

The spirit of Mormonism in two different times, in two different places and under differing circumstances is represented by the two pieces selected for this edition. The first, an interesting letter written by an early convert, Albert Brown, reflects the optimism that characterized many Mormons in the Kirtland area around 1835. Of special interest are his comments on the Egyptian mummies obtained by Joseph Smith. But the letter is also significant because the writer's humble spirit as well as his comments on Mormon expectations for the future are no doubt typical of the most faithful Saints at the time.

The second item is derived from a very important study of Mormon publication efforts outside the United States. David J. Whitaker's introductory essay concerning Jesse Haven's publications in South Africa provides an enlightening view of one aspect of missionary work in the 1850s. The document that follows is especially important in that it represents what at least one prominent missionary considered to be the most essential doctrines for the Church to present to the world in that period. The reader will notice a few interesting differences when these doctrines are compared with present-day teachings, but the consistency in spirit between this document of 1853 and things being taught today is also remarkable.

A LETTER REGARDING THE ACQUISITION OF THE BOOK OF ABRAHAM

Christopher C. Lund

Among the “Miscellaneous Manuscripts” in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress is an 1835 letter from Albert Brown¹ to his parents in which he expresses his feelings about the Church in Kirtland and also provides interesting corroborative details concerning the history of the acquisition of the Egyptian mummies and papyrus records. His report that the price of \$2400 was paid to Michael Chandler² for the mummies and the records is a nearly contemporary account—written just four months after the purchase—and it agrees exactly with the figure that appears twenty-one years later in L. C. Bidamon’s³ certificate of provenience, submitted with the mummies to A. Combs⁴ in 1856.⁵

A transcription of the letter follows:⁶

Mr. James Brown

Nov. 1, 1835

Dear Parents I improve this opportu[nity] of communicating a few lines to you to inform you where I am an to let you know of the prospect which lise before me. I left Missouri the twelfth of September in company with Peter Whitmer and arived in kirtland Ohio the 17 of october. We had a prosperous journey and found our relatives all in good health and the church in great prosperity, his numbers increasing and the blessings of heaven poud out upon them and many coming from all parts of the united states to kirtland and to missoury to obey the commanments of the Lord and to escape the calamity and judgements pronounced against this generation or those that obey not the fullness of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the work of the Lord rolls on and the power of Godliness trying to be made manifest

Christopher C. Lund is a professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Rutgers College, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

¹Albert Brown (1807–1891), carpenter by trade, had been a member of Zion’s Camp and would later become a member of the Nauvoo Legion and a patriarch. He came to Utah in 1863. (See Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. rev., 7 vols. [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1932–1951], 2:183; and Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* [Salt Lake City: Western Epics, Inc., 1966], p. 772.)

²Michael Chandler inherited the mummies and papyri from his uncle Antonio Lebolo, who had discovered the treasures while excavating near Thebes in 1831 (*Times and Seasons* 3 [2 May 1842]: 774). Chandler was touring the country with the Egyptian display at the time he sold them to the Church.

³Lewis C. Bidamon married Emma Hale Smith, widow of Joseph Smith, on 23 December 1847 (see Hancock County Marriage Record Book, Carthage Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois, Book A1, 1829–1849, p. 105, entry 1242) and thus came into possession of the mummies and papyri.

⁴A. Combs purchased “four Egyptian mummies and the records of them” from Major L. C. Bidamon and Emma Smith Bidamon. Upon Combs’s death, he willed them to his housekeeper. (Record of sale cited in Jay M. Todd, *Saga of the Book of Abraham* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969], pp. 290, 296, 348.)

⁵Keith Terry and Walter Whipple, *From the Dust of Decades: A Saga of the Papyri and Mummies* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), p. 26 and fn. 27.

⁶Spelling inconsistencies have been retained except where syllables or letters are supplied in brackets to facilitate comprehension.

and the great things of the kingdom revealed.

I will relate one incident that hapened not long since in our favour by some men that had four Egyptian Mummis which th[e]y were carr[y]ing through the world to exhibit and also an ancient record that was found in their coffins, this record containing som of the history of Josef while in egypt and also of Jacob and many prophesies Delivered by them. These records were bought by the church and also the Mummis and are now in Kirtland. They bought the Mummis for the sake of the record and paid 2400 hundred dollars for them. Many of the learned have been to kirtland to examine the characters but none of them have been able to tell but very little about them and yet Joseph without any of the wisdom of this world can read them and know what they are.

Thus we see that the wisdom of the world is small in comparison with the wisdom of God. I should be highly gratified to see you and converse with you, but I do not no that I ever shall for I expect to be engaged here through the winter and, in the spring, I suppose I shall return to the Land of Zion. I expect also that Mr Ives and his family will go up also and many hundreds in the course of next summer. I should be glad to visit you onse more before I lieve Ohio but I don[t] know that it will be possible. [. . . ?] I wish you all well and wherein you have seen any thing wrong in me I ask your forgiveness and desire that you will forgive me and I entreat you onse more to repent all of you and obey the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and prepare to meet the Lord when he shall arise to shake terribly the Earth for the hour is not fair [far] distant when this with many other judgements will take place. I write not these things by any knowledge of my own for the Lord hath declard them with his own voice out of the heavens and it must be fulfild and wo unto us if we air [are] found among the wicked for the Lord has given unto us understanding suficient to know the truth from error and the holy bible teaches us plainly that these things are true and faithful. It teaches us that he will gather his people from all nations and plant them in their own Land and this work has comenced and will be accomplished and those who reject the things reject the council of God and must be destroyed with the wicked from the face of the Earth. I write these things unto you becuse I love you and feel for you and desire your prosperity and your Eternall wellfare and may the Lord have mercy on us and yet gather us to the Land of Zion the consecrated ground.

Albert Brown

By request I write a few lines for Brother Ives. He says to you he wishes you well and sends his respects to you and would be pleased to see you.

Sister Ives says that she wishes to write to you but her situation of mind at present will not permit her. She has endeavoured to write but her mind is not sufficient composed to think of communicating to you. She sends her respects and would be very much pleased to see you before she goes to the west. We wish you to write as you receive this.

Direct Letter to Kirtland
Geouyo [Geauga] Co.

November 1, 1835

EARLY MORMON IMPRINTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

David J. Whittaker

The appearance in Cape Town, South Africa, on 8 June 1853 of *Some of the Principal Doctrines or Belief of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* marks the printed beginnings of the Mormon missionary effort in that area of the world. Its author, Jesse Haven, was the first president of the South African Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Called during a special missionary conference in Salt Lake City on 28–29 August 1852, Elder Haven and his companions, Leonard I. Smith and William Holmes Walker, made their way to Cape Town via Liverpool, England, arriving on 18 April 1853. One month later (on 23 May) the trio officially organized the Church “in the Cape of Good Hope.” On the day they organized the Church in South Africa, Jesse Haven was appointed mission president. The first branch was organized at Mowbray on 16 August, and a second branch was established at Newland on 7 September. Within six months they had baptized at least forty-five persons into the Church, and by the time the missionaries left in December 1855, they had organized six branches and baptized about 175 people.¹

Not much is known about the details of Jesse Haven’s early life. He was born 28 March 1814 in Holliston, Massachusetts. He was baptized on 13 April 1838 and was ordained an elder by Brigham Young on 10 January 1839. After gathering to Nauvoo in the 1840s he was called on several missions for the Church, was married to his first wife, and was ordained one of the presidents of the 14th Quorum of Seventies in Nauvoo. He appears to have been a schoolteacher by profession. After serving another mission to the eastern states, he returned to Utah in 1850 and was living in the Salt Lake Valley in 1852 when he was called on this mission to South Africa.

Jesse Haven was a moody person, often to the point of melancholy, and his diaries are filled with his poetry, which often served as

David J. Whittaker, a part-time teacher of Church history at Brigham Young University, is the Book Review Editor of *BYU Studies*.

¹A convenient overview of the history of Mormonism in South Africa is given in Farrell Ray Monson, “History of the South African Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1853–1970” (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971). For a more recent study, see Lawrence E. Cummins, “The Saints in South Africa,” *Ensign* 3 (March 1973): 4–10. Much of what I have to say here is summarized from my as-yet-unpublished essay, “Jesse Haven and the Defense of Mormonism in South Africa, 1853–1855.”

a vehicle for the release of these feelings.²

Between the time Elder Haven arrived in Cape Town and when he left in mid-December 1855, he was responsible for publishing eleven items—the major portion of the sixteen works printed by the Church in South Africa before 1865.

Once in South Africa, the trio advertised their presence in a local newspaper and visited the officials of Cape Town. Within a week mobs and several anti-Mormon newspaper articles threatened to undermine their initial efforts. To counter these attacks the missionaries distributed tracts they had brought with them from England and attempted to get printed in the local papers specific replies to their critics' arguments. When they ran out of pamphlets and after the local papers refused to print their articles, Elder Haven wrote and printed his own tracts. He had taken the lead in writing the articles for the local papers, and when these were refused, he expanded several of these rejected pieces into pamphlets.

The first pamphlet, reprinted on pages 410–416, was prepared on 11 May 1853 for a local paper, but when it was rejected, Elder Haven expanded the piece into a small pamphlet on 18 May. At the same time he was writing a reply to a newspaper attack on the Mormon doctrine of plural marriage. As with the earlier work, the newspapers refused to print his reply, so he expanded it into a pamphlet which he titled *Celestial [sic] Marriage, and the Plurality of Wives!* . . . He wrote most of the material between 25 and 27 May, examined the proofsheets between 13 and 15 June, and received the finished copies about 17 June 1853. Jesse Haven came to South Africa as the husband of two wives, and even though his marriages troubled him while he was on this mission, he was a consistent defender of plural marriage. Since the pamphlet was an answer to slanderous reports relating to the doctrine, its orientation was defensive. Several items in the work were mentioned in his first tract, and almost three pages were taken directly from Orson Pratt's 29 August

²There are five volumes of Haven journals (covering 1852–1892) and a folder of Haven papers in the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter referred to as Church Archives). Also available is *Life Incidents and Travels of Elder William Holmes Walker and His Association with Joseph Smith the Prophet* (n.p.: Published by Elizabeth Jane Walker Piepgrass, 1943; reprinted by the John Walker Family Organization, 1971). Also in the Church Archives there are files on the South African Mission, Records of Mission Funds, and a Record of Members. There are numerous letters published in the *LDS Millennial Star* from Jesse Haven and his missionary companions. Some biographical information on Jesse Haven is in Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: Published by the author, 1936), 4:378–79.

1852 discourse which had announced the doctrine for the first time publicly.³

His third tract, *On the First Principles of the Gospel*, was produced primarily because the missionaries were running short of printed literature by August 1853. Published in the form of a letter to his brother, the Reverend John Haven, he began composing this tract in March 1853, but the final manuscript was not completed until 6–7 September 1853—hence the September date in the pamphlet. Copies of the pamphlet were in his hands by 15 September and distribution began immediately. This work proved to be his most popular. Addressed to his brother, who was an active pastor in the Congregational Church in Charlton, Massachusetts, this tract sought to examine the “gospel” which true ministers should preach when they use the Bible as their standard. His longest work (fourteen pages), it outlined the “first” principles of faith in Jesus Christ as the Savior of mankind, repentance of sins, baptism by water and the Holy Ghost. It then suggested the signs and gifts that follow those who believe. Using the New Testament as his text, he sought to show his brother that only among the Latter-day Saints could the true church and true gospel be found. In January 1855 this tract was translated into Dutch, and a second English printing appeared in November 1855.⁴

By the end of September 1853, President Haven had prepared another work for the printer. Entitled *A Warning to All*, this two-page tract is perhaps the rarest of the early Mormon imprints in South Africa. While the names of Haven, Smith, and Walker appear at the end, Haven’s journal and correspondence make it clear that he composed it. Printed twice in English and once in Dutch, the tract was an

³Jesse Haven had been at the August 1852 conference when Orson Pratt gave this sermon, and his journal records his regular habit of reading Elder Pratt’s works. The quoted material corresponds to that in *Journal of Discourses* (1853), 1:58–59, which deals primarily with the relationship of Adam and Eve. In his later report to the First Presidency (see fn. 15) Elder Haven reported: “As there was a great stir about the ‘Plurality of Wives,’ etc, and much persecution and ridicule brought upon us on account of the people not having any understanding of the subject; I wrote a small tract on the same . . . got 1000 copies printed. This tract done good. It turned the minds of the people.” Copies are at Church Archives and at Harvard. The copy at Harvard has a cover that was added to it by one of the LDS Circulating Tract Societies in England.

⁴In his report to the First Presidency, 14 January 1856, he wrote, “As we had not many tracts on the First Principles of the Gospel, and what few we brought with us, were already distributed, I got 1000 copies printed of a letter that I wrote to my brother on these principles, in the State of Massachusetts. This tract sold so well among the people I had it afterwards translated into the Dutch language [30 January 1855], and 1000 copies printed in that language. Afterwards I had 1000 more printed in English [13 November 1855].” He wrote in his journal on 11 March 1853: “Today I finished a lengthy letter that I have been writing to my brother on the first principles of the gospel. My brother is a Congregational Minister, in the State of Massachusetts.” Although Elder Haven told the First Presidency he could get only one printer to do his work, the 1853 copy of his *On the First Principles* in the Church Archives gives the printer as Van de Sandt de Villius and Tier. I presume that W. Foelscher printed the others. The dates in brackets are the dates the other printings came off the press. The dates are based on the entries in Haven’s journals. No copies of his Dutch tracts are known to exist.

announcement of warning to persons in South Africa to repent and be baptized into the restored Church. It defended the character of Joseph Smith and warned all who read it that most of what the local press was saying about Mormonism was not to be trusted.⁵

In 1855, President Haven had three other works printed. On 31 March, he obtained from his printer the Dutch translation of excerpts of Lorenzo Snow's *Voice of Joseph*.⁶ The last two appeared on the eve of his departure from South Africa. On 30 May he began distributing a broadside of William Clayton's poem "Resurrection Day,"⁷ and on 4 December, his *Epistle to the Saints in Cape of Good Hope Mission* was off the press.⁸ Eight days later he boarded the ship *Cleopatra* and several days later sailed for London.

There were five other items published before 1865. One of Haven's missionary companions, William Holmes Walker, was responsible for three of them, and William Fotheringham and his missionary associates printed a broadside of Doctrine and Covenants 87 in December 1861 in both English and Dutch.⁹

⁵The first English printing was written 30 September and 1 and 2 October 1853; on 4 October Jesse Haven took it to the printer in Cape Town; on 6 October he examined and corrected the proofsheets; and on 8 October he obtained 1000 copies of this edition. The Dutch translation was the work of Thomas Weatherhead, a convert (baptized 24 July 1853), who began the work in June 1854 and finished it by the middle of July. On 24 July, Jesse Haven wrote S. W. Richards that the small tract he had written "is now translated into the Dutch language, and already for the press, and I expect to get it printed this week" (*Millennial Star* 16 [23 September 1854]: 604). President Haven recorded in his journal the same day, "While in [Cape] Town, I took the translation in Dutch of the 'Warning to All' to the printer and ordered 1000 to be printed." On 3 August 1854 he picked up the finished product.

The second English printing was ordered by Jesse Haven on 30 January 1855. He obtained the 500 copies of this printing on 8 February 1855 (see his journal for these dates; see also his journal 16 May 1854, wherein he defends the contents of *A Warning to All* against attacks by a Reverend Belson, a minister in the Church of England).

⁶On 16 April 1855 Jesse Haven wrote to Franklin D. Richards: "I have got translated and printed in the Dutch language, 1000 copies from the 'Voice of Joseph,' to the paragraph on the 6th page, where it speaks of the organization of the Church. The paragraph ends as follows—'And although they were the feeble things of the earth, they became mighty by the Holy Spirit.' It cost twelve shillings to get it translated and £3 8 s. to get 1000 copies printed." (*Millennial Star* 17 [8 September 1855]: 572.) He later summarized his work with the Dutch-speaking peoples of South Africa: "Many tracts have been circulated, and some preaching has been done among the Dutch in Cape Colony, but only a few have yet received the Gospel" (*Millennial Star* 18 [22 March 1856]: 189).

Lorenzo Snow's *Voice of Joseph* was first printed in French in 1850. The next year it appeared in Italian, and in 1852 Lorenzo Snow published a revised edition (from the Italian) at Malta in English. The contents and use of both printings are mentioned in Lorenzo Snow's *The Italian Mission* (London, 1851), pp. 13, 25. There was another English printing in November 1852.

⁷William Clayton's poem first appeared in the *Deseret News*, 24 January 1852, p. 21, and was reprinted in the *Millennial Star* 15 (22 January 1853): 63. In 1856 it was included in *Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 11th ed. (Liverpool, 1856), p. 390. It appears in our current hymnal under the title "When First the Glorious Light of Truth," Hymn 198.

⁸While no copies of this "epistle" are known to exist, the text was copied into his journal on 26 November 1855. Briefly, it thanks both members and nonmembers who have rendered him assistance and support during his mission and further encourages the members to support their priesthood leaders and, when possible, to gather to Zion. Jesse Haven took the manuscript to the printer on 27 November, examined the proofsheets on 29 November, and obtained the final copies by 4 December (see his journal for these dates).

⁹A copy of this rare item (in English) is in Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (see also letter of William Fotheringham to [G. Q.] Cannon, dated Port Elizabeth, 15 February 1862, in *Millennial Star* 24 [19 April 1862]: 251–52).

Walker's first publication was a broadside reply to an anonymous article that appeared in the *Port Elizabeth Mercury*, 20 October 1855. Although unable to get his reply printed in the *Mercury*, William Walker did get it printed in the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*; this newspaper also printed five hundred copies of it in the form of a broadside addressed "To the Intelligent Public." It appeared about 26 October 1855.¹⁰ About one month later he authored a seven-page pamphlet with the same title, *To the Intelligent Public*, the first copies of which appeared just as he was leaving South Africa with Elders Haven and Smith.¹¹ This pamphlet contained a discussion of the meaning of the "Rock" (revelation) upon which the Church was to be built and the offices that through revelation are to govern and lead the Church established by Christ. Its major thrust was the need for continuing revelation in Christ's Church.

The item reprinted at the end of this article is the first pamphlet Mormons printed in South Africa. Jesse Haven, like many of his contemporaries in other places of the world, found that the press was an important weapon in the missionary arsenal.¹² Like other early Mormon tracts, this one tried to introduce the message of Mormonism to non-Mormons by briefly summarizing its main doctrines. Clearly an extension of the earlier "Articles of Faith," this work gives us a type of window into the beliefs and understanding of the early missionaries.¹³ While not to be considered an "official" declaration or even a complete statement of creed, it does compactly summarize in thirty-three paragraphs the "principal" doctrines of Mormonism through one man's eyes in the 1850s.

Elder Haven had written the pamphlet on 18 and 19 May 1853. He had delivered his manuscript to the printer, W. Foelscher, early in June, examined the proofsheets on 7 June, and received the first one hundred copies of the finished work on 8 June. He tried to borrow money to pay for the cost of printing it, but when this failed he

¹⁰A copy of this broadside is in the Church Archives. William Walker wrote in his diary on 26 October 1855: "I wrote a reply to some false statements about the Latter-day Saints, published in the *Port Elizabeth Mercury*, which the editor would not publish. We succeeded in getting it published in the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*. Also 500 copies struck off in the form of a circular." A copy of this circular was undoubtedly the source of the printing in the *Millennial Star* 18 (15 March 1856): 172-73.

¹¹In the introduction of his seven-page tract, William Walker clearly suggests that this work was a follow-up to his circular. His diary notes that on 17 November he began writing it, and that between this date and 27 November, when he boarded ship for London, he finished writing this work and had ordered 500 copies printed. But upon receiving the proofsheets (twice) he found too many errors and was only able to make the final arrangements for printing before he sailed. He was to have received 25 copies just before he sailed. A photocopy of this tract, also printed by the *Telegraph*, is in the Church Archives.

¹²For the larger picture see David J. Whittaker, "Early Mormon Pamphleteering," *Journal of Mormon History* 4 (1977): 35-49.

¹³The "quest" for and development of the "Articles of Faith" is beyond the scope of this short note, but while Haven's list is one of the longest in early Mormon literature, it is only one of many.

solicited donations.¹⁴ With these donations and some money collected from the sale of the pamphlet itself, he was able to meet the cost of having it published. President Haven provided more details on its composition in a letter he wrote to the First Presidency of the Church on 14 January 1856:

I had 1,000 copies printed. Nearly one half of it I took from the belief given by Joseph Smith, found in the "Times and Seasons," Vol. 3, p. 709 [1 March 1842]; the remainder was my own composition; mostly on principles that have been made public since the death of the Prophet.¹⁵

The last two pages reprinted Eliza R. Snow's "Stanza on the Presentation of the Book of Mormon to Queen Victoria," an item composed in 1841. Here Haven is clearly addressing the poem to the English-speaking British population in South Africa. He probably obtained the poem from an early issue of the *Times and Seasons*.¹⁶

¹⁴See Haven's journal for these dates; see also the dates of 26 May and 1 June 1853.

¹⁵This report was copied into his journal on this date. Jesse Haven summarized his publishing activities in a letter to F. D. Richards, 25 February 1856, in *Millennial Star* 18 (22 March 1856): 190.

¹⁶This poem had been printed, first in the *Times and Seasons* 5 (1 January 1844): 398-99, after which it appeared in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* 1 (17 January 1844): 1, and the *Millennial Star* 4 (April 1844): 184-85. I am grateful to Maureen Ursenbach Beecher for these references, any one of which could have been Haven's source.

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES
OR BELIEF OF THE
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST,
OF
LATTER DAY SAINTS
BY
JESSE HAVEN,
ONE OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE
SEVENTIES OF SAID CHURCH,
AND
PRESIDENT OF THE MISSION,
AT THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.



Cape Town.

PRINTED BY W. FOELSCHER, No. 2, CHURCH-STREET.

SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES, &c.

"We beleive in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost."

We believe that God is a distinct personage, having body and parts like man, for we read that God said "Let us make man in our own image, after our likeness."

We believe the personage of God, can no more than the person of man, be in two separate and distinct places at the self same instant of time.

We believe the personage of God is filled with the Holy Ghost, and this Holy Ghost or Spirit of God, is diffused through all space, and by this spirit, God is every where present beholding the works of his hands.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression."

We believe Christ atoned for the original sin of Adam, therefore little children that die, without one exception, will be saved.

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are; 1st. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2nd. Repentance, 3rd. Baptism by immersion for the remission of Sins; 4th. Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that a man must be called of God by "prophecy, and by laying on of hands" by those who are in authority to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz. Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelist, &c.

"We believe in the gifts of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c.

"We believe the Bible to be the Word of God as far as it is translated correctly," and a history of the House of Israel.

"We believe the Book of Mormon to be the Word of God," and a history of a branch of one of the Tribes of Israel, viz: the Tribe of Joseph, it also contains a short history of a people called "Jaredites."

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon the American continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiac glory."

We believe in the baptism for the dead, a doctrine spoken of by Paul but not explained. This doctrine when rightly and fully understood, appears one of the most glorious doctrines revealed for the salvation of the human family.

We believe in future rewards and punishments, and that mankind will be rewarded according to their works or deeds done in the body. Paul speaks of three different glories, viz. "One glory of the Sun, and another glory of the Moon, and another glory of the Stars," to one of these glories all of the human family will go, except those who commit the unpardonable sin; for them there is no kingdom of glory, but they will become the sons of Perdition, and will have no forgiveness in this world nor in that which is to come. All the human family, except these sons of Perdition, by the death and resurrection of Christ, will be redeemed in the own due time of the Lord from the power of the devil, and be brought into one of the above glories. Paul speaks of being "caught up to the third heaven," showing distinctly that there are three different degrees of glory.

We believe that those who obtain the glory of the Sun, will enjoy the presence of God and His Son Jesus Christ.

We believe that those who will be like the glory of the Moon, will enjoy the "presence of the Son, but not the fulness of the Father."

We believe those who will be like the glory of the Stars, will not enjoy the presence of the Father neither of the Son, but will receive the "Holy Spirit through the ministration" of the other glories, and will also be administered too by Angels. These will not come forth in the first resurrection, but will be shut up in prison through the millennial reign of Christ and His Saints upon the earth, after which, they will be brought forth to inherit a glory they have lived for.

We believe God has raised up a Prophet to whom He has revealed the fullness of the everlasting gospel, and as the forerunner of the second coming of Christ upon the earth.

We believe the Lord is now sending forth His servants for the last time to prune His vineyard,—calling upon all to repent and be baptized for the remission of sins.

We believe as soon as a person receives and obeys the gospel, it is his duty, as soon as circumstances will permit, to gather out from amongst the wicked, and go to the place the Lord has appointed for the gathering of His people in the last days.

We believe the judgments of God, such as war, famine, pestilence &c. are soon to be poured out upon the nations of the earth. Therefore the Lord is now saying by His Servants, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

We believe woman is naturally more virtuous, pure, and religiously disposed than man, therefore, more woman than men, will receive and obey the gospel in the last days, and be gathered to Zion.

We believed there has been a law revealed, by which a man in Zion, and in Zion *only*, or at the place the Lord has commanded His people to gather, can have more than one wife; and this law is under the strictest regulations.

We believe this law is not given to gratify the lusts of men but given for the exaltation of both men and women,—giving to every woman the privilege of filling up the measure of her creation, and lawfully, and honorably and virtuously obeying the first and great command, “Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.”

We believe on the account of the wars that are soon to be amongst the nations of the earth, that the wicked will slay the wicked,—men will be killed off, and the women will flee to Zion for safety; then this prophecy will be fulfilled, “And in that day seven women shall take hold of one man, saying, we will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel; only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach.” Isa.—4th.—1st. Does a woman take the name of a man unless she is married to him?

We believe in marrying for time and for all eternity; and this ordinance must be attended too in this life, if it is not, husband and wife will be deprived of each other in the life to come. “For in the resurrection they neither marry, nor are given in marriage, but are as the Angels of God in Heaven,” that is, “they remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity,” and “are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory.”

“We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our own conscience, and allow all men the same privilege let them worship how, where, or what they may.

“We believe in being subject to Kings,” Queens, “Presidents, Rulers, Magistrates” and all who are in authority over us. “and in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.”

“We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men*.”

“We believe in seeking after truth, and are willing to receive and embrace it, from any and every one that has truth to impart.

STANZA ON THE PRESENTATION
OF THE
BOOK OF MORMON TO QUEEN VICTORIA
BY MISS E. R. SNOW.

Before leaving London, ~~Elder Lorenzo~~ Snow presented to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and His Royal Highness Prince Albert, through the politeness of Sir Henry Wheatley, two neatly bound copies of the BOOK OF MORMON, which had been donated by President Brigham Young, and left in the care of Elder Snow for the purpose, which circumstance suggested the following lines :—

Of all the monarchs of the earth,
That wear the robes of royalty,
She has inherited, by birth,
The broadest wreath of majesty.

From her wide territorial wing,
The sun does not withdraw its light;
While earth's diurnal motions bring
To other nations day and night.

All earthly thrones are tottering things,
Where lights and shadows intervene;
And regal honour often brings
The scaffold or the guillotine.

But still her sceptre is approved;
All nations deck the wreath she wears;
Yet, like the youth whom Jesus loved,
One thing is lacking, even there.

But lo! a prize possessing more
Of worth, than gems with honor rife—
A herald of salvation bore
To her the words of endless life.

That gift, however fools deride,
Is worthy of her royal care :
She'd better lay her crown aside,
Than spurn the light reflected there .

O would she now her influence bend—
The influence of royalty,
Messiah's Kingdom to extend,
And Zion's "nursing mother" be.

Thus, with the glory of her name
Inscribed on Zion's lofty spire,
She'd win a wreath of endless fame,
To last when other wreaths expire.

Though over millions called to reign,
Herself a powerful nation's boast,
't would be her everlasting gain
To serve the King, the Lord of Hosts.

For there are crowns and thrones on high,
And kingdoms there to be conferr'd
There honours wait that never die ;
There fame's immortal trump is heard.

Truth echoes— 't is Jehovah's word ;
Let Kings and Queens and Princess hear :
In distant isles the sound is heard ;
Ye heavens rejoice ! O earth, give ear !

The time, the time is now at hand
To give a glorious period brith ;
The SON OF GOD will take comand,
And rule the nations of the earth.



Mormon Bibliography 1979

Chad J. Flake

HISTORICAL

- Allen, James B. "Line upon Line." *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 32-39.
Importance of studying Church history.
- Arrington, Leonard J. "The Mormon Settlement of Cassia County, Idaho, 1873-1921." *Idaho Yesterdays* 23 (Summer 1979): 36.
- Arrington, Leonard J. "Persons for All Seasons: Women in Mormon History." *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 39-58.
- Arrington, Leonard J., and Bitton, Davis. *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*. New York: Knopf, 1979.
- Ashment, Edward H. "The Facsimiles of the Book of Abraham: A Reappraisal." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 33-48.
- Backman, Milton V., Jr. "Kirtland: The Crucial Years." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 24-28.
- Bashore, Melvin L. "Life behind Bars: Mormon Cohabs of the 1880's." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 22-41.
- Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach, and Kimball, James L., Jr. "The First Relief Society." *Ensign* 9 (March 1979): 25-29.
- Berge, Dale L. "The Jonathan Browning Site: An Example of Archaeology for Restoration in Nauvoo, Illinois." *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1979): 201-29.
- Bergera, Gary James. "'I'm Here for the Cash': Max Florence and the Great Mormon Temple." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 54-63.
- Bitton, Davis. "Peopling the Upper Snake: The Second Wave of Mormon Settlement in Idaho." *Idaho Yesterdays* 23 (Summer 1979): 47-52.
- Britsch, R. Lanier. "The Lanai Colony: A Hawaiian Extension of the Mormon Colonial Idea." *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 68-83.

- Brodin, Nils-Eric. "Utahs Genealogiska Förening; En Introduktion." *Skäkt och hävd*, Nr. 1-2 (1979): 193-96. Utah Genealogical Society.
- Bush, Lester E., Jr. "A Peculiar People: 'The Physiological Aspects of Mormonism 1850-1975.'" *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 61-83.
- Calman, Charles Jeffrey. *The Mormon Tabernacle Choir*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Christy, Howard A. "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 395-420.
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Wards. Vernon. *Centennial Story Collection*. Vernon, Utah: Eleanor J. Fredrickson, 1977.
- Clayton, James L. "The Supreme Court, Polygamy and the Enforcement of Morals in Nineteenth Century America: An Analysis of Reynolds v. United States." *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979): 46-61.
- Coffman, Ardis. "The Old Mormon Fort." *Nevada* 39 (November/December 1979): 18-20. Las Vegas Fort.
- Cook, Lyndon W. "Isaac Galland—Mormon Benefactor." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 261-84.
- Divett, Robert T. "Medicine and the Mormons: A Historical Perspective." *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 16-25.
- Easton, Susan Ward. *Inscriptions Found on Tombstones and Monuments in Early Latter-day Saint Burial Grounds*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1979.
- Ellsworth, Paul D. "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith." *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 71-82.
- Enders, Donald L. "The Steamboat *Maid of Iowa*: Mormon Mistress of the Mississippi." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 321-35.
- Esplin, Ronald K. "Brigham Young and Priesthood Denial to the Blacks: An Alternate View." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 394-402.
- Fairbanks, Merwin G. *A Brief History of the Demise of The New Messenger and Advocate*. Houston, Tex.: Associated Collegiate Press, 1978.
- Hampshire, Annette P. "Thomas Sharp and Anti-Mormon Sentiment in Illinois." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 72 (May 1979): 82-100.
- Heinerman, Joseph. "Early Utah Pioneer Cultural Societies." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 70-89.

- Hill, Marvin S. "A Note on Joseph Smith's First Vision and Its Import in the Shaping of Early Mormonism." *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 90-99.
- History of Sugarville, Millard County, Utah, 1908-1977*. Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1978.
- History Sketches 1913 to 1978 Bellingham 2nd Ward*. Bellingham, Wash.: n.p., n.d.
- Hogan, Mervin Booth. *The Origin and Growth of Utah Masonry and Its Conflict with Mormonism*. Salt Lake City, Utah: Campus Graphics, 1978.
- Jackson, Richard, ed. *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979.
- Kimball, Stanley B. *Discovering Mormon Trails*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- Kimball, Stanley B. "The Mormon Battalion March, 1846-47." *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 57-61.
- Kimball, Stanley B. "The Mormon Pioneer Trail, 1846-47." *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 72-76.
- Kimball, Stanley B. "Zion's Camp March from Ohio to Missouri, 1834." *Ensign* 9 (April 1979): 45-49.
- Leonard, Glen M., and Lyon, T. Edgar. "The Nauvoo Years." *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 10-15.
- Leone, Mark P. *Roots of Modern Mormonism*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Lester, Margaret D. *Brigham Street*. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979.
- McGurk, Harold G. *A History of the Church in Victoria, 1878-1978*. N.p., n.d.
- Manti Centennial Committee. *Song of a Century*, 2nd ed. Provo: Community Press, 1978.
- May, Dean L. "People on the Mormon Frontier: Kanab's Families of 1874." *Journal of Family History* 1 (1976): 169-92.
- Moench, Melodie. "Nineteenth-Century Mormons: The New Israel." *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 42-56.
- Moody, Eric N. "Nevada's Anti-Mormon Legislation of 1887 and Southern Idaho Annexation." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 22 (Spring 1979): 21. Attempt to disenfranchise Nevada Mormons by use of "test oath."
- Mormon Marbles: Roots and Branches*. N.p., n.d. Early Church history.
- Moss, James R. "The British Legacy in the Church: The Kingdom Builders." *Ensign* 9 (December 1979): 27-31.

- Naylor, Thomas H. "The Mormons Colonize Sonora: Early Trials at Colonia Oaxaca." *Arizona and the West* 20 (Winter 1978): 325-42.
- Oaks, Dallin H., and Bentley, Joseph I. "Joseph Smith and Legal Process: In the Wake of The Steamboat *Nauvoo*." *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 167-99.
- Olsen, Nolan Porter. *Logan Temple: The First 100 Years*. Providence, Utah: Keith W. Watkins and Sons, Inc., 1978.
- Palmer, Spencer J. *The Expanding Church*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- Park, Babzanne. "Nauvoo; Still 'The Beautiful.'" *New Era* 9 (March 1979): 18-25.
- Parkin, Max H. "Missouri's Impact on the Church." *Ensign* 9 (April 1979): 57-63.
- Peterson, Charles S. "The Valley of the Bear River and the Movement of Culture between Utah and Idaho." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 194-214.
- Poulsen, Richard C. "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area: Today's Reflections of a Region Past." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 130-47.
- Raber, Michael Scott. "Religious Polity and Local Production: The Origins of a Mormon Town." Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1978.
- Sandall, George Nohl. *Mormons as Objects of Attitudes: What Non-Mormons Think*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1979.
- Sherlock, Richard. "Campus in Crisis: BYU, 1911." *Sunstone* 4 (January/February 1979): 10-16.
- Shipps, Jan. "Writing about Modern Mormonism." *Sunstone* 4 (March/April 1979): 42-48.
- Smith, Melvin T. "Forces That Shaped Utah's Dixie: Another Look." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 110-29.
- Thompson, George. "Gold and Ghosts in Utah's Dixie." *Desert* 42 (August 1979): 28-31, 39.
- Utah State Historical Society. Sevier Valley Chapter. *Sevier County Historical Sites*. Richfield, Utah: Richfield Reaper, 1978.
- Warner, Milo Lane. *Grass Valley, 1873-1976: A History of Antimony and Her People*. Salt Lake City: American Press, 1976.
- Watt, Ronald G. "Dry Goods and Groceries in Early Utah: An Account Book View of James Campbell Livingston." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Winter 1979): 64-69.

- “The Way It Looks Today: A Camera Tour of Church History Sites in the Kirtland Neighborhood.” *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 31–48.
- “The Way It Looks Today: A Camera Tour of Church History Sites in Missouri.” *Ensign* 9 (April 1979): 32–44.
- Wilcox, Linda P. “The Imperfect Science. Brigham Young on Medical Doctors.” *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 26–36.
- Young, Thane. “Mixed Messages on the Negro Doctrine: An Interview with Lester Bush.” *Sunstone* 4 (May/June 1979): 8–15.
- Yurtinus, John F. “The Mormon Volunteers: The Recruitment and Service of a Unique Military Company.” *Journal of San Diego History* 25 (Summer 1979): 242.

DOCTRINAL

- Allphin, McKay A. *Eternal Grit*. Bountiful, Utah: Horizon Publishers, 1978.
- Allred, Gordon. *God the Father*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Barlow, Brent A. *Understanding Death*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., c1979.
- Barlow, Phillip L. “On Moonists and Mormonites.” *Sunstone* 4 (January/February 1979): 37–41.
- Barron, Howard H. *JUDAH, Past and Future; L.D.S. Teachings Concerning God’s Covenant People*. Bountiful: Horizon Publishers, 1979.
- Barton, Peggy. *John the Baptist*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- Belnap, Wilford Dean. *Raising Families in Our Permissive Society*. Salt Lake City: Hawkes Publishing, Inc., 1978.
- Bennion, Lowell L. “Response to E. E. Ericksen’s Priesthood & Philosophy.” *Sunstone* 4 (July/August 1979): 13.
- Berger, Mike. *Testimony; Fragile Thread—Eternal Fabric*. Bountiful: Horizon Publishers, 1978.
- Bergin, Allen E. “Bringing the Restoration to the Academic World: Clinical Psychology as a Test Case.” *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 449–73.
- Blanke, Gustav H., and Lynn, Karen. “‘God’s Base of Operations’: Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission.” *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 83–92.
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *Gospel Principles*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., c1978.

- Cowan, Richard Olsen. *Doctrine & Covenants: Our Modern Scripture*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.
- Decoo, Wilfried. *Het Mormonisme*. Antwerp/Amsterdam: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1979.
- Degn, Louise. "Mormon Women and Depression." *Sunstone* 4 (March/April 1979): 16-26.
- Divett, Robert T. *A Holy Bible for Latter-day Saints: New Testament*. Albuquerque, N. M.: n.p., 1978.
- Dunn, Paul H., and Ward, Maurine. *Dimensions of Life*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Dunn, Paul H., and Eyre, Richard M. *Life Planning*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Eberhard, Ernest, Jr. *I Am the Way*. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, c1978.
- Erickson, Ephraim E. "Priesthood & Philosophy." *Sunstone* 4 (July/August 1979): 9-12.
- Firmage, Edwin Brown. *Paul and the Expansion of the Church Today*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Freeman, Joseph. *In the Lord's Due Time*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979. Priesthood for the Blacks.
- Gardner, Martin R. "Mormonism and Capital Punishment: A Doctrinal Perspective, Past and Present." *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 9-26.
- Gardner, R. Quinn. "Becoming a Zion Society: Six Principles." *Ensign* 9 (February 1979): 31-35.
- Griffin, Glen C. and Mary Ella. *About You—And Other Important People*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- Harrison, Grant Von. *Learning to Draw on the Powers of Heaven*. Provo: Ensign Publishing Co., 1979.
- Hartley, William G. "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement." *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 3-36.
- Heinerman, Joseph. *Spirit World Manifestations*. Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing and Publishing, 1978.
- Hemingway, Donald W. *An Introduction to Mormon: A Native American Prophet*. Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1978.
- Hoole, Daryl V. *Our Own Society*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Johnson, F.R. "Mormon Church as a Central Command System." *Review of Social Economy* 37 (April 1979): 79-94.
- Kimball, Spencer W. "The Importance of Celestial Marriage." *Ensign* 9 (October 1979): 3-6.

- Kimball, Spencer W. *My Beloved Sisters*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Kimball, Spencer W. "Privileges and Responsibilities of Sisters." *New Era* 9 (January/February 1979): 42-46.
- Kimball, Spencer W. *The Wondrous Gift*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- Kunz, Phillip R. "Blacks and Mormonism: A Social Distance Change." *Psychological Reports* 45 (August 1979): 81-82.
- Leonard, Glen M. "Early Saints and the Millennium." *Ensign* 9 (August 1979): 43-47.
- McConkie, Bruce R. *The Mortal Messiah Book 1; From Bethlehem to Calvary*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- McConkie, Joseph Fielding. *Seeking the Spirit*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- McConkie, Oscar W. *She Shall Be Called Woman*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- McMurrin, Sterling M. "Problems in Universalizing Mormonism." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 9-17.
- Madsen, Truman G. "B. H. Roberts and the Book of Mormon." *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 427-48.
- Madsen, Truman G. "Problems in Universalizing Mormonism: Response." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 18-20.
- Monson, Thomas S. *Be Your Best Self*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- "Mormons and Intolerance: A Dialogue with Gary Bunker and Emma Lou Thayne." *Century* 2 3 (Winter 1979): 12-20.
- Nelson, William O. "To Prepare a People." *Ensign* 9 (January 1979): 18-23.
- Packer, Boyd K. *The Mediator*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- Packham, E. Richard. *Born of the Spirit*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, c1979.
- Petersen, Mark E. *Abraham: Friend of God*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- Petersen, Mark E. *The Forerunners*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Petersen, Mark E. *Our Assurance of Everlasting Life*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Petersen, Mark E. *Those Gold Plates!* Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Peterson, Daniel. "Heavenly Signs and Aerial Combat." *Sunstone* 4 (March/April 1979): 27-32.

- Poidevin, Cecil George Le. *Zion, Land of Promise: An Atlas Study of Book of Mormon Geography*. N.p., 1977.
- Pollock, Gordon Douglas. *In Search of Security. The Mormons and the Kingdom of God on Earth, 1830-1844*. Kingston, Canada: Queen's University at Kingston, 1977.
- Porter, Larry C. "Dating the Restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood." *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 5-10.
- Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1978.
- Sealy, Shirley. *Forever After*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., c1979.
- Shoemaker, T. Eugene. "Speculative Theology: The Key to a Dynamic Faith." *Sunstone* 4 (July/August 1979): 28-32.
- Sill, Sterling W. *This We Believe*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Sillitoe, Linda. "Perceptions of the Plight: A Review-Response." *Sunstone* 4 (January/February 1979): 6-9. Mormon women and sexism.
- Smith, N. Lee. "Herbal Remedies: God's Medicine?" *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 37-60.
- Sorenson, John L. "Science and Mormonism as Traditions." *Science and Religion: Toward a More Useful Dialogue*, 2 vols. + (Geneva, Ill.: Paladin, 1979-), 1:11-14.
- Swenson, Raymond T. "Resolution in Civil Disputes by Mormon Ecclesiastical Courts . . ." *Utah Law Review* (1978), pp. 573-95.
- Terry, Keith and Ann. *A Chosen Love*. Provo: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1979.
- Terry, Keith and Ann. *To Love Again*. Provo: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1979.
- Thornton, A. "Religion and Fertility: The Case of Mormonism." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 41 (Fall 1979): 131-42.
- Tullis, F. LaMond, ed. *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.

INSPIRATIONAL

- Bassett, Arthur R. "Knowing, Doing, & Being: Vital Dimensions in the Mormon Religious Experience." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 64-67.
- Cheesman, Paul R. *Book of Mormon Lands: A Photographic Essay*. Salt Lake City: Blaine Hudson Printing, 1978.
- Cracroft, R. Paul. *A Certain Testimony: A Mormon Epic*. Salt Lake City: Epic West, 1979.

- Divett, Robert T. "His Chastening Rod: Cholera Epidemics and the Mormons." *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 6-15.
- Featherstone, Vaughn J. *The Light of Hope*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979. Christmas booklet.
- Harrison, Grant Von. *Tools for Missionaries Harvesting the Lord's Way*. Provo: Ensign Publishing Co., 1978.
- Heaton, Alma. *Tools for Teaching*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, [1979?].
- Larsen, Wayne A.; Rencher, Alvin C.; and Layton, Tim. "Multiple Authorship in the Book of Mormon." *New Era* 9 (November 1979): 10-13.
- Leavitt, Melvin. "The Bright Wind of Morning." *New Era* 9 (June 1979): 25-31. The Church in South America.
- Leavitt, Melvin. "God Speaks with Our Voices." *New Era* 9 (November 1979): 24-30.
- Lofgren, Mikel. *Leavening: Humor from Our General Authorities, Past and Present*. Salt Lake City: Moth House Publications, c1978.
- Lyon, Joseph L., and Nelson, Steve. "Mormon Health." *Dialogue* 12 (Fall 1979): 84-96.
- Maxwell, Neal A. *All These Things Shall Give Thee Experience*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Maxwell, Neal A. *Things as They Really Are*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- Monson, Thomas S. "Decisions Determine Destiny." *New Era* 9 (November 1979): 4-8.
- "'My Friend, My Savior, My Lord, My God'; Latter-day Prophets Bear Testimony of Jesus Christ." *New Era* 9 (December 1979): 7-12.
- Nibley, Hugh. "How Firm a Foundation! What Makes It So." *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979): 29-45.
- Romney, Richard M. "Brüder Means Brothers." *New Era* 9 (May 1979): 28-33.
- "Saint without Priesthood: The Collected Testimonies of Ex-Slave Samuel D. Chambers." *Dialogue* 12 (Summer 1979): 13-21.
- Weyland, Jack. "Last of the Big-Time Spenders." *New Era* 9 (September 1979): 32-39. Sacrificing for goals.

ARTS AND LITERATURE

- Barton, Peggy. *If I Obey I'll Be Happy All Day*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, c1979. Children's book.

- Beardall, C. Douglas. *Latter-day Bondage: An LDS Guide to Personal Finance*. Provo: LDS Book Publications, 1979.
- Boyd, George T. *Views on Man and Religion: Collected Essays of George T. Boyd*. Provo: Friends of George T. Boyd, 1979.
- Brown, Marilyn McMeen Miller. *The Grandmother Tree*. Provo: Art Publishers, 1978.
- Clark, Bruce B., and Thomas, Robert K. *Favorite Selections from Out of the Best Books*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Clark, Marden J. *Moods: Of Late*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1979.
- Eyre, Richard M. *What Manner of Man*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Folsom, Marvin H., and Keele, Alan F. *Learn German through the Book of Mormon*. Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978.
- Francaviglia, Richard V. *The Mormon Landscape*. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1978.
- Francis, Rell G. "Views of Mormon Country." *The American West* 15 (December 1978): 14-30.
- Griffin, Glen C. and Mary Ella. *Not about Birds*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., [1979?].
- Hall, Randall. "Libre." *Century* 2 3 (Winter 1979): 43-50.
- Hicks, Michael. "A Man at the Bar." *Sunstone* 4 (January/February 1979): 17-19.
- Johnson, Marjorie Guinn. *America's First Christmas*. Stockton, Mo.: King Publishers, [1979?].
- Kapp, Ardeth Greene. *Echoes from My Prairie*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Kapp, Ardeth Greene. *The Gentle Touch*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978.
- McCloud, Susan Evans. *Where the Heart Leads*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- "Mirror of Zion: the Utah Photographs of George Edward Anderson." *American Heritage* 30 (June/July 1979): 28-47. Photographs from Rell Francis, Heritage Prints, Provo.
- Munk, Margaret R. "The Fire." *Sunstone* 4 (July/August 1979): 21-26.
- Pearson, Carol Lynn. *The Faithful Mormon Father's Notebook*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Pearson, Carol Lynn. *The Marriageable Mormon Male's Notebook*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.

- Peterson, Joseph. "Yellow Dust." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 59-63.
- Pindrus, Nancy Elaine. *A Love to Match These Mountains*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1979.
- Roberts, Allen D. "Where Are the All-Seeing Eyes? The Origin, Use and Decline of Early Mormon Symbolism." *Sunstone* 4 (May/June 1979): 22-37.
- Sillitoe, Linda. "The Upstream Swimmers: Female Protagonists in Mormon Novels." *Sunstone* 4 (December 1979): 52-58.
- Smith, Candace. *All about Me*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Stine, Alan. *Love Power*. Bountiful: Horizon Publishers, 1978.
- Turley, Reid Pinegar. *Benjamin's Gift*. Salt Lake City: Reid P. Turley, 1979.
- Warren, G.M. *Destiny's Children*. New York: Pocket Books, 1979.
- Wilson, William A. "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia." *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Spring 1979): 148-66.
- Wilson, William A. "The Vanishing Hitchhiker among the Mormons." *Indiana Folklore* 8 (1979): 79-97.
- Yorgason, Blaine M. *Massacre at Salt Creek*. Salt Lake City: Doubleday & Co., 1979.
- Yorgason, Blaine M. *The Windwalker*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Yorgason, Blaine M. and Brenton G. *The Bishop's Horse Race*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.

BIOGRAPHY AND FAMILY HISTORY

- Anderson, Camille Cornaby, and Davis, Kathleen Rich. *Homemaking Journal*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979.
- Anderson, Richard Lloyd. "The Whitmers: A Family That Nourished the Church." *Ensign* 9 (August 1979): 35-40.
- Arrington, J. Earl. "William Weeks, Architect of the Nauvoo Temple." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 337-59.
- Arrington, Leonard J. "The John Tanner Family." *Ensign* 9 (March 1979): 46-51.
- Avery, Valeen Tippetts, and Newell, Linda King. "Lewis C. Bidamon, Stepchild of Mormondom." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 375-88.
- Barron, Howard H. "Orson Hyde." *New Era* 9 (April 1979): 12-15.
- Beecher, Maureen Ursenbach. "'All Things Move in Order in the City': The Nauvoo Diary of Zina Diantha Huntington Jacobs." *BYU Studies* 19 (Spring 1979): 285-320.

- Bringhurst, Newell G. "Elijah Abel and the Changing Status of Blacks within Mormonism." *Dialogue* 12 (Summer 1979): 23-36.
- Buchanan, Golden R. *Archibald Waller Overton Buchanan and Family*. Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1978.
- Christensen, Clare B. *Before & After Mt. Pisgah; Cox—Hulet—Losee—Morley—Tuttle—Winget—Whiting—& Related Families*. Salt Lake City: n.p., 1979.
- "A Conversation with Hugh Nibley." *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979): 10-27.
- Decker, Jesse Smith. *A Short History of Zechariah Bruyn Decker, Jr. with Brief Sketches of His Parents: Zechariah Bruyn Decker, Sr., Nancy Bean Williams Lee Decker* N.p., 1978.
- deJong, Thelma (Bonham). *Flavius Esaias Bonham: The Story of My Life*. Provo: Author, 1978.
- Ehat, Andrew F. "'They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet'—The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding." *BYU Studies* 19 (Winter 1979): 133-66.
- Gibbons, Francis M. *Heber J. Grant: Man of Steel, Prophet of God*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979.
- Gleave, Bea T. *Journal-Stories-Etc. of Elder Adelbert Twitchell, 1866-1910*. N.p., n.d.
- Hall, John Charles. *John Charles Hall—Mission Journal 1852-1857; and other items*. Salt Lake City: Henry Vernon Hall, n.d.
- Institute of Family Research, Inc. *A Noble Son: Spencer W. Kimball*. Salt Lake City: Institute of Family Research, Inc., 1979.
- Jensen, Lalovee Rogers. *Christian Jensen: Man of Vision*. N.p., n.d.
- Jessee, Dean C. "Brigham Young's Family: The Wilderness Years." *BYU Studies* 19 (Summer 1979): 475-500.
- Jessee, Dean. "Joseph Smith's Reputation among Historians." *Ensign* 9 (September 1979): 56-61.
- Jessee, Dean. "'Steadfastness and Patient Endurance': The Legacy of Edward Partridge." *Ensign* 9 (June 1979): 41-47.
- Larson, Andrew Karl. *The Education of a Second Generation Swede: An Autobiography*. St. George, Utah: Andrew Karl Larson, 1979.
- McGee, Barbara. *Rufus Edwards Family and Other Edwardses of the Connecticut Western Reserve of Ohio*. N.p., 1978.
- Midgles, Kenneth Eardley. *The Eardleys: Utah Pioneers*. Kansas City, Mo.: Lowell Press, 1978.
- Mortensen, Elda P. *Isaac V. Carling Family History*. Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, n.d.

- O'Brien, Robert. *The Story of a Family*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1978. Osmonds and the Church.
- Perkins, Keith. "A House Divided: The John Johnson Family." *Ensign* 9 (February 1979): 54-59.
- Peterson, Charles S. "Snowflake, a Perfect Town." *Wagon Trails* (Snowflake Historical Society) 24 (March 1979): 4. Reminiscences of childhood in THE Mormon town.
- Petsco, Béla. *Nothing Very Important and Other Stories*. Provo: Meservydale Publishing Co., 1979. Stories of a Hungarian missionary convert to Mormonism.
- Pickens, Gwendolyn. *Diary: Patriarch John Boice, Body Guard of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and Mary Ann Barzee, Pioneer, Wife, Mother, and Indian Peacemaker*. N.p.: Gwendolyn Enterprises, 1979.
- Pratt, R. Steven. "The Five Sons of Jared & Charity Pratt." *Ensign* 9 (October 1979): 52-57.
- Savage, Joseph Moroni. *The Heart of the Fathers: Autobiography of Joseph Moroni Savage*. Pinedale, Ariz.: Petersen Publishing Co., 1977.
- Sessions, Gene A. "The Holding Forth of Jeddy Grant." *Dialogue* 12 (Winter 1979): 62-70.
- Sherlock, Richard. "Faith and History: The Snell Controversy." *Dialogue* 12 (Spring 1979): 27-41.
- Smith, Oliver R., and Williams, Dorothy H. *The Family of Jesse N. Smith, 1834-1978*. Provo: Jesse N. Smith Family Association, 1978.
- Stevens, Orvilla Allred. *Biography of Isaac Willard and Helena Anderson Allred*. Provo: Orvilla Stevens, 1979.
- Stott, Clifford Lyle. *The Journals and Letters of Elder Thomas Day*. N.p., 1978.
- Stout, Wayne Dunham. *The Life and Times of David Fisk Stout*. Salt Lake City: n.p., [1978?].
- Terry, Keith and Ann. *Emma: Dramatic Biography of Emma Smith*. Santa Barbara, Cal.: Butterfly Press, 1979.
- Walker, Ronald W. "Jedediah and Heber Grant." *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 46-52.
- Weinheimer, Janice Madsen. *Families Are Forever . . . If I Can Just Get through Today!* Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., c1979.
- Whittaker, David J. *Leonard James Arrington: His Life and Work*. Arlington, Vir.: *Dialogue*, c1978. Reprint from *Dialogue*.
- Wolsey, Thomas A. *Life History of Thomas A. and Ida C. Wolsey*. N.p., 1978.

Woodland Family Organization. *The Alfred Woodland Family*. Provo: J. Grant Stevenson, 1978. Author's address: A.G. Woodland, 58 Ellison Street, Layton, Utah 84041.

Wright, Raymond S. "An International Center for the Study of the Family." *Journal of Family History* 2 (1977): 169-71.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bashore, Melvin L. *Index to Books in the Noble Women's Lives Series*. Salt Lake City: LDS Church Historical Department, 1979.

Bingham, Robert D. "Swedish-Americans in Utah: A Bibliography." *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* (July 1979): 205-209.

Crouch, Lora. *Index for Utah Historical Quarterly* 34-45 (1966-1977). Salt Lake City: Zion's Bookstore, [1979?].

McNearney, Clayton L. "Index to Mormonism in Periodical Literature . . ." *Microform Review* 7 (November 1978): 344-45.

NEW PERIODICAL

This People, a magazine about Latter-day Saint people. Salt Lake City: P.O. Box 27212, Salt Lake City, Utah 84125.

BOOK REVIEWS

CRACROFT, R. PAUL. *A Certain Testimony: A Mormon Epic*. Salt Lake City: Epic West, 1979. 479 pp. \$10.65.

Reviewed by Charles D. Tate, Jr., editor of *BYU Studies* and professor of English at Brigham Young University.

Those who argue that there is little good Mormon poetry would do well to read Paul Cracroft's epic poem, *A Certain Testimony*. Although there have been claims of epic poetry among earlier Mormon writers, Cracroft's is the first that fits the definition of epic accepted in literary circles: "A long narrative poem in elevated style presenting characters of high position in a series of adventures which form an organic whole through their relation to a central figure of heroic proportions and through their development of episodes important to the history of a nation or race."¹

A Certain Testimony is a long narrative poem (over 15,000 lines) divided into twelve books like Virgil's *Aeneid* (13,237 lines in Mandelbaum's translation) and Milton's *Paradise Lost* (10,546 lines). Although its style is elevated above that of everyday language, it is significantly less poetic than Milton's. Reading through *Paradise Lost*, one often stops to savor its poetic beauty, but one finds few truly poetic passages to stop for in *A Certain Testimony*.

The characters and episodes of the poem fit the definition of epic poetry. The epic hero is Jehovah-Jesus Christ, but his presence in the poem is not as dominating as is Aeneas' nor his characterization as clearly drawn as is the Lord's in Book III of *Paradise Lost*. Nevertheless, Jehovah-Jesus Christ is the prime moving force of all that happens.

Beginning at the Creation of the world by Jehovah-Jesus Christ, Cracroft traces the religious history of the world as recorded in the Bible through to the Tower of Babel. Then from the Tower, his narrative goes to the Americas with the Jaredites as recorded in the Book of Mormon. The detail of begettings in the Book of Ether proves to

¹William Flint Thrall and Addison Hibbard, *A Handbook to Literature*, 2nd ed. rev., ed. C. Hugh Holman (New York: Odyssey Press, 1960), pp. 174-75.

be too much to keep track of even for the Book of Mormon student. It would have helped us all had Cracroft summarized some of the lineage passages rather than try to tie them all into his poem.

After showing the destruction of the Jaredites because they rejected Jehovah-Jesus Christ, Cracroft picks up the narrative with Lehi's being instructed to leave Jerusalem and go into the wilderness. The narrative then follows the Book of Mormon episodes to the hiding up of the record plates by Moroni (books 5 through 11). Book 12 gives a brief summary of the present-day involvement of Jehovah-Jesus Christ in the lives of the prophets of the Restoration from Joseph Smith to Joseph Fielding Smith (who was President when the poem was finished), followed by a concern that the environment will turn "sour, with water, air and soil in league/ with Lucifer to harass man and cry/ for studied end to mankind's progeny" (p. 472). Yet he is optimistic that "the Eagle and the Dove/ will lift man's eyes once more to God in love" (p. 473).

The whole is closed off by a five-page Epilogue which argues for fuller understanding and acceptance of creative work such as *A Certain Testimony*, with the final claim that the poet by writing as he must can "make himself a man,/ So with the Church to fortify God's Plan" (p. 479).

That *A Certain Testimony* comes in a ways behind the accepted epic giants in the literature of the Western World does not say that it is not a good poem. Few poems can match Virgil's *Aeneid* or Milton's *Paradise Lost*. *A Certain Testimony* is a very significant poem, especially because the poet is willing to use the form of the giants to express his insights and views of life of this world and to be compared to the *Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost*. While his message is of greater import because it presents fuller truth, his presentation is at times didactic and yet at other times overlooks important points of understanding that would show his message more fully. The presentation of the visit of the Resurrected Christ to the Nephites as recorded in 3 Nephi reflects a shallow reading of the source material and a weak rendition of one of the most overt moments in the life of the epic hero. The poem also suffers from a twentieth-century equating sin with sex. Any time there is a problem with sin in the narrative of the poem, such as when the Nephite boats were driven backwards by the storms of the sea because of wickedness, the poet sees that wickedness as sexual.

Whatever its shortcomings, *A Certain Testimony* is the best epic poem by a Mormon writer produced thus far. Paul Cracroft must be praised, first for his willingness to write the poem, which took years of

work and writing, and second for fighting the publication fight to get it published. I read the poem in manuscript several years ago and recommended its publication, but increased printing costs and an anticipated small interest in literary works on the part of Mormon readers kept the poem in manuscript form until Paul set the type himself (and did an excellent job; I saw very few typographical errors) and then published it, much at his own expense. A milestone in Mormon literature, *A Certain Testimony* ought to be in the library of everyone who loves good literature.

MADSEN, TRUMAN G., ed. *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*. Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1978. 245 pp. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Scott Kenney, Ph. D. candidate in American Religious Studies, Graduate Theological Union at Berkeley, Cal., and a member of the Utah Symphony Orchestra.

The idea was exhilarating. Twelve of this country's most renowned scholars in religious studies presenting a "Reflections on Mormonism" Symposium at Brigham Young University. With allowances for the hyperbole of a dust jacket, it truly was "a dazzling array of talent and expertise," with all the ingredients for "the watershed event of the decade." Never before had an LDS-affiliated organization invited so many eminent scholars to address themselves so directly to Mormon themes. Truman Madsen is ever to be congratulated for cracking the Mormon reputation of provincialism and anti-intellectualism with this symposium. And BYU's Religious Studies Center is to be congratulated for sponsoring the event and then publishing the papers in their entirety.

This book is a must for any serious student of Mormonism, not only for its contents but for the promising precedent it sets, none of which seems to have been lost on the book-buying public. Little more than a year after *Reflections on Mormonism* appeared on the shelves, the first printing of 6,000 copies had been sold out and a

second run of 3,000 was being prepared. Now, two-and-a-half years after the papers were first presented, is an opportune time to assess the symposium's impact as well as its content.

As for the papers themselves, *Reflections* is a mixed product. Most of the papers fail to deal in any substantive way with the Mormon perspective in their various topics. With three or four notable exceptions, the authors selected themes from their respective fields, developed them with non-Mormon sources, and concluded with a few obligatory glances, however oblique, at Mormonism. Consequently, there is little reflection on Mormonism. The parallels are often vague and tentative. Thus, after nineteen pages of Jewish and Hellenistic sources, David Winston concludes some Mormon concepts of the preexistence may be found "in one form or another" in ancient writings, while others may be "partially paralleled," and still others are "completely incongruous." Readers may enjoy reading what Winston's post-Biblical writers thought of "preexistence," but they will have to sort out what it means for themselves. Winston offers no evaluation, no reflection.

Jacob Milgrom makes a greater effort to show how his topic, temple purification, functioned in the religious life of ancient Israel. But he so limited the subject—"one ingredient, of one ritual, of one sacrifice: the blood of the *ḥattā't* on the horns of the altar"—(p. 58) that any significant parallel with Mormon temple worship seems highly improbable. "The Temple in Biblical Israel: Kinships of Meaning" is a misleading title, and the paper disappointing.

Similarly, James H. Charlesworth has to stretch to find parallels in "Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha and the Book of Mormon." He offers two—one based on a far-fetched interpretation of a single verse (2 Nephi 6:14), and the other (redaction techniques in the Pseudepigrapha and Book of Mormon) provocative but undeveloped.

Abraham Kaplan was apparently so averse to treading on unfamiliar ground that he made not a single reference to Mormonism, yet his paper fairly screams out for a Mormon response. In "The Meanings of Ritual: Comparisons," Kaplan discusses the polarity of "medical" and "spiritual" justifications of dietary laws, the "fallacy of supposing the origins determine validity" (p. 40), and the distinction between religious and magical invocations of power.

David Noel Freedman read the Book of Abraham and confessed, "I learned some things I did not know before concerning the tradition of the sacrifice of Abraham" (p. 68). What did the Mormon scripture tell this renowned Old Testament scholar about Abraham? What did he think of the Book of Abraham? He gives us not a word.

Instead, Freedman recounts the 1975 discovery of the Ebla tablets. On the basis of a translation (which a footnote acknowledges is faulty) of one tablet, he proclaims the historicity (which few Mormons would have had cause to doubt in the first place) of five cities connected with the Abrahamic tradition in Genesis 14. A golden opportunity is lost to open a meaningful dialogue on a significant theme of mutual interest.

Equally disappointing is Robert Bellah's "American Society and the Mormon Community." The great exponent of American civil religion is content to reiterate the well-worn Mormon/Puritan parallels and take a nostalgic trip back to his field study of a small rural Mormon community twenty-five years ago. Bellah thinks nineteenth-century communitarianism might provide solutions for what ails America today, but he offers no advice as to how they might be resuscitated and adapted to modern conditions.

It may well be, of course, that some speakers purposely skirted relevant issues so as not to seem ungracious or critical of their hosts. Bellah's most salient point comes in the final paragraph and is undeveloped: "Mormons often criticize the larger society in which they live. . . . How many of them realize that their own current social, economic, and political views and actions may contribute to the wasteland they see around them, or that their own experience as a people might suggest a very different course for America today?" (p. 11). Similarly, Ernst Benz ("Imago Dei: Man in the Image of God"), in spite of his grasp of Mormon and early Christian teachings on human deification, fails to adequately contrast the two similar but distinct traditions. The crucial difference is only indirectly made:

Now, this [gnostic] idea of deification could give rise to a misunderstanding, namely, that it leads to a blasphemous self-aggrandizement of man. If that were the case, then mysticism would, in fact, be the most sublime, most spiritualized form of egoism. But the concept of *Imago Dei* . . . precisely does *not* aspire to awaken in man a consciousness of his own divinity but attempts to have him recognize the image of God in his neighbor. . . . "If thou hast seen thy brother, then thou hast also seen thy Lord." [Pp. 218, 219]

Edmond LaB. Cherbonnier's articulate and entertaining "In Defense of Anthropomorphism" is a polemic on the nature of God that many Mormons will appreciate for its defense of the "human-ness" of God.

But for this reader, the really outstanding contributions of the symposium were made by Jane and John Dillenberger and Krister Stendahl.

Ms. Dillenger was the moving force behind the first two exhibits of American religious art to tour the country (1972–73 and 1977–78). The first exhibit included the murals of Mormon pioneer artist C.C.A. Christensen, which Ms. Dillenger discusses in her symposium paper, “Mormonism and American Religious Art.” Clearly and concisely she points out features of Christensen’s works which, for all their technical deficiencies, make them powerful religious statements. As the lay person sees through an artist’s eyes, appreciation of these familiar works is greatly enhanced. From her introductory remarks, it is clear Ms. Dillenger is familiar with, and perhaps responding to, Elder Boyd K. Packer’s “The Arts and the Spirit of the Lord” (*BYU Studies* 16 [Summer 1976]: 575–88). Avoiding a direct confrontation, Ms. Dillenger concludes:

Most art historians agree that there is good art and bad art, but not that there is Mormon Art, Women’s Art, Black Art, and so on. This conviction is not a matter of fine argument and distinctions, but conclusions drawn from the evidence. Michelangelo worked almost exclusively for the popes, yet his art could never be confined by the label “Roman Catholic Art.” Rembrandt’s biblical subjects, which come out of a Protestant culture, are as moving to Catholics as to Protestants. Christensen’s significant paintings are as expressive to me as they are to Mormons. Indeed, I believe that I, and the historians of American art, value them more highly than do the Mormon people for whom they were made.

Protestant and Roman Catholic art used for educational purposes is no better than the Mormon art now in the visitors centers. But Protestants and Catholics alike have floundered in their educational efforts whereas Mormonism has a highly developed and effective educational system which brings much emphasis on the visual image. With such a cohesive educational network . . . the opportunity for educating the eye and the spirit through great art and for teaching the great truths through the great masters is limitless. Rembrandt and Michelangelo are as much a part of Mormon history as Christensen’s paintings. [Pp. 199–200]

John Dillenger’s “Grace and Works in Martin Luther and Joseph Smith” is important not only for the insights it provides into these two men, but even more for the methodological axiom on which it is based: “Nearly opposite expressions frequently, at different historical junctures, may express a shared intentionality. Originally, the trinitarian formulation was meant to express the unity of God in the polytheistic setting of the Roman empire. The unitarian impulse was born when changes in conceptions of personality made the Trinity appear polytheistic” (p. 176). In their contexts, Martin Luther and Joseph Smith, often perceived as the man of grace

without works, and the man of works without grace, shared several key “intentionalities” even though their language may have been diametrically opposed. Dillenberger’s logical progressions are so abbreviated, his literary style so highly compressed, that readers will have to proceed slowly, rereading many sections carefully, to gain the full import. But those willing to make the effort will be well rewarded, for Dillenberger’s principle of contextual theology (my term, not his) has sweeping implications for those dealing with the Mormon implementation and abandonment of communitarian economics, theodemocracy, and the practice of polygamy.

Krister Stendahl, dean of Harvard’s Divinity School, may be the first New Testament scholar of world renown to accept the oft-repeated Mormon challenge to investigate the Book of Mormon seriously. Now it remains to be seen how seriously Mormons will take a scholar’s findings. Stendahl confines his investigation to the account of Jesus’ ministry in 3 Nephi, carefully noting the differences in the text of St. Matthew (including the Inspired Version). Going beyond merely noting the textual differences, Stendahl illuminates significant theological implications of the Book of Mormon. For instance, “the internal criticism in the religious community [an element Stendahl finds ‘indispensable’ in the New Testament account] has disappeared”; in its place, “Jesus has also become the founder of a church and the promulgator of its ordinances” (pp. 151, 152). The paper is filled with fascinating comparisons and must be read in its entirety, but basically Stendahl finds that the 3 Nephi version clarifies ambiguities and expands on the New Testament account. In the Book of Mormon he finds a strong tendency, characteristic of pseudepigraphic literature: “the hunger for further revelation, the insatiable hunger for knowing more than has been revealed so far. . . . Perhaps such a comment is irrelevant to those who are gratefully convinced of additional revelation in and through Joseph Smith or otherwise. But as I look at the whole spectrum of God’s menagerie of humankind and its history, . . . I think it is important to reflect on the limits as well as the glories of the hunger for and joy in additional information. . . . For there is sometimes too much glitter in the Christmas tree” (pp. 152–54).

There is much interesting information, and occasional insight, in all of the papers published in *Reflections on Mormonism*. But in the three papers by the Dillenbergers and Krister Stendahl we find reflections of Mormonism which come back to us through the experiences of religious scholars to illuminate the unexplored recesses of our own heritage.

YORGASON, BLAINE M. and BRENTON G. *The Bishop's Horse Race*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979. 160 pp. \$5.50.

YORGASON, BLAINE M. *The Windwalker*. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1979. 99 pp. \$4.95. Illus.

Reviewed by Jack A. Nelson, author and instructor of English and journalism, Brigham Young University.

For the past fifty years or so one of the main concerns at any intellectual gathering of Mormons has been the lack of a significant Mormon literature. However, LDS writers now seem to be springing out of the woodwork, and this effusion may at last bring to an end the debate about whether a Mormon literature exists or not.

By far the most popular writer to emerge recently is Blaine M. Yorgason, whose *Charlie's Monument*, after being turned down by twenty-one publishers, finally found a home at Bookcraft and has since sold about 150,000 copies. Although critics have been slightly less than lukewarm about that book, in any hard-cover league that's in the best-seller category.

THE BISHOP'S HORSE RACE

Now Blaine has teamed with his brother, Brenton G. Yorgason, to write a rollicking, good-humored tale dealing with a Mormon bishop in Sanpete Valley in 1888, when Utah was still a territory and polygamy persecution was the central problem facing the Church.

There are many strengths to *The Bishop's Horse Race*, principally the strong conflicts and fast pace that help make a good story. Bishop Jons Soderberg of Aspen Wells makes an ill-advised bet with some of the townspeople that he can ride his new Belgian stallion the 110 miles to Salt Lake City between sunup and sundown. Aside from the bishop and his son Hyrum, there is a not unlikeable villain named Hebron Clawson, who is a federal marshal dedicated to sending the polygamous bishop's hide off to the Sugar House Territorial Prison.

Of major interest here is the authentic settings that reflect small-town Utah in the last century. The authors are at their best in such digressions as when Hyrum, who narrates parts of the story in the first person, gives us the recipe for making lye soap, or explains the toil of cleaning and plucking the "tithing chickens."

In addition, one of the strong points of the book is the colorful language of the frontier, used without profanity—as unlikely as that seems. Although the authors occasionally reach too far for a

metaphor, most of their language falls naturally and accurately into place and adds to the enjoyment the piece offers. For instance, when a ward member insults one of the bishop's wives, Soderberg warns, "Mungus . . . if you have something to say about me, then drag up your stock and run it around the corral a few times so we can see how the brand lies. But don't you ever malign one of my family again!" (pp. 18-19). Also, in explaining where his new-found girl friend lives, Hyrum tells us, "she and Mungus and Curly lived on some two-by-twice rawhide outfit somewhere south of town." Or, as the villains tell themselves of their chances of stopping Bishop Soderberg, "Sure as sow bugs under a buffalo chip!" Such lively figures of speech, often earthy, lend an authentic reflection of the times and the people that is not often found.

Indeed, in the chapters narrated by the bishop's son there is occasionally almost a Tom Sawyer quality about his experiences:

This day Ma had pulled me out of bed right early so I could get over to Ammon Hanson's and get a big old wart charmed off my hand, and he took a hunk of raw bacon and rubbed the wart like crazy, wiped it all off with an old dishrag, and then took the dishrag and buried it somewhere out in his orchard. I don't know how it worked, but it did. I'd had two of them charmed off me before, so I didn't doubt for a minute that it would work. It took a week or two, of course, but the warts always went. [Pp. 14-15]

On the negative side, the book suffers overall from too-frequent lapses into didacticism, perhaps due to the authors' backgrounds as seminary teachers. It is particularly disconcerting to find the characters spouting unlikely homilies designed to show us the straight and narrow. As an all-too-common example, when a lady of stained reputation sets out to waylay the bishop through her wiles and is foiled, she becomes repentant and explains to Hyrum and his girl friend that a stain on a dress is what people notice most:

"Remember, the same is true of a reputation. One spot on it, one blemish, and that's all folks will see. No matter how many good things there are about a person, all people can see is the one spot of dirt in their character. And, saddest of all, sometimes that's sometimes all that a person can see about herself, too. In fact, mostly we judge ourselves more harshly than others do." [P. 143]

Too many of these "teaching moments" intrude on the story and detract from the believability of the characters, not to mention the dialogue.

The other element that takes away from the plausibility is the introduction of a supernatural character, obviously Jon Soderberg's

long-deceased grandfather, to pull the bishop over his major obstacles.

Yet, in all, *The Bishop's Horse Race* is an enjoyable tongue-in-cheek romp through Utah of 1888. Inasmuch as the Brothers Yorgason have left teaching to write full time, we can expect more of the Soderberg family and life in nineteenth-century Utah. We will be the richer for it.

THE WINDWALKER

Of a different nature is Blaine Yorgason's earlier work, *The Windwalker*. The characters are Plains Indians rather than Mormons, but the sentiments are compatible to both. This is an engaging and serious look at aging told in an ingenious plot and style. The Old Man, the Windwalker, awakes in a snowstorm blind and bound atop a scaffolding where he has been laid to rest in Plains Indian style.

It had been his day to die, the day that he had looked forward to and yet feared for so many long seasons. He had sung his song of farewell for those few who might have cared to listen, and then he had lain back to await his departure into the west, into the land of the Sky People where the black road of his troubles was to end. [P. 2]

Much of the force of the work—and the power is considerable—comes from the interior monologue of the Old Man as he speaks to himself and to the Great God he sometimes calls Grandfather.

“Hoka-hey, Grandfather!
This is a good joke you have
played.
A very good joke.
You have played many, but this
is the best, and
the old man who lies on this scaffold
salutes you.” [Pp. 3-4]

Loosing himself, stumbling blindly through the blizzard with his war lance clasped in arthritic hands, the Old Man undergoes a series of gripping adventures—wolves, a grizzly bear, and Crow warriors who are searching for the lodge of the Old Man's family.

The major thrust of the story lies in the effectiveness of the aged Cheyenne when he gropes his way back to his family and finds the only man there dying from wounds received at the hand of the Crows—who lurk nearby waiting to finish their destruction. In the end, it is the Old Man's wisdom that saves the day.

The idiom of *The Windwalker* has the ring of authenticity, so much that the author has received no few gifts from Indians who say that he has caught the original Americans' concept of God and Man and the world he lives in. The images, the figures of speech, and even the didactic moments fit naturally and seldom intrude on our sense of experiencing along with the Old Man. The half-dozen colored illustrations by Yorgason himself are breath-taking and accurate.

The Windwalker is a story of growing old and dying with dignity. It is engaging and well told. Whereas *The Bishop's Horse Race* is a sporting fling into the past, flawed but enjoyable, *The Windwalker* is art.

Index

Volume 20, Nos. 1-4
Fall 1979, Winter, Spring, Summer 1980
Compiled by
Gary P. Gillum
Harold B. Lee Library
Brigham Young University

AUTHORS

Allen, James B., ed., "The Historians
Corner," 93, 297, 401
Arrington, Leonard J., "Persons for All
Seasons: Women in Mormon
History," 39

Avery, Valeen Tippetts, and Newell,
Linda King, "Sweet Counsel and
Seas of Tribulation: The Religious
Life of the Women in Kirtland,"
151

- Bachman, Danel W., "Sealed in a Book: Preliminary Observations on the Newly Found 'Anthon Transcript,'" 321
- Best, Ann, "Nostalgia," a poem, 38
- Blanke, Gustav H., with Lynn, Karen, "'God's Base of Operations': Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission," 83
- Burton, Robert P., and Webster, Bruce F., "Some Thoughts on Higher-dimensional Realms," 281
- Cannon, Donald Q., "Angus M. Cannon and David Whitmer: A Comment on History and Historical Method," 297
- Cannon, Donald Q., Review: Hillam, ed., *By the Hands of Wise Men: Essays on the U.S. Constitution*, 219
- Clark, Marden J., "Black Hole," a poem, 106
- Coles, Christie Lund, "Years, Passing," a poem, 37
- Cook, Lyndon W., "'Brother Joseph Is Truly a Wonderful Man, He Is All We Could Wish a Prophet to Be': Pre-1844 Letters of William Law," 207
- Cook, Lyndon W., "'I Have Sinned Against Heaven, and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence, But I Cannot Live without a Reconciliation': Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church," 389
- Cracroft, Richard H., Review: Taylor, *Heaven Knows Why*, 124
- Ehat, Andrew F., "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," 253
- Ellsworth, Paul D., "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," 71
- Esplin, Ronald K., "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership," 300
- Evenson, William E., Review: Hess, Matheny, and Thayer, eds., *Science and Religion: Toward a More Useful Dialogue*, vols. I and II, 313
- Flake, Chad J., "Mormon Bibliography 1978," 111
- Flake, Chad J., "Mormon Bibliography 1979," 417
- Flake, Lawrence R., "A Shaker View of a Mormon Mission," 94
- Harris, John B., "The Ambivalants," a poem, 150
- Hartley, William G., "The Miller, the Bishop, and the 'Move South,'" 99
- Hartley, William G., "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," 3
- Howe, Allie, "Times of Refreshing: 1820," a poem, 350
- Kenney, Scott, Review: Madsen, ed., *Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*, 433
- Larsen, Wayne A.; Rencher, Alvin C.; and Layton, Tim, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," 225
- Layton, Tim; Larsen, Wayne A.; and Rencher, Alvin C., "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," 225
- Lund, Christopher C., "A Letter Regarding the Acquisition of the Book of Abraham," 402
- Lynn, Karen, and Blanke, Gustav H., "'God's Base of Operations': Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission," 83
- Mackey, Lynda, "Jerusalem Garrison 34 A.D.," a poem, 68
- Midgley, Louis, "The Brodie Connection: Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Smith," 59
- Moloney, Karen Marguerite, "Jonah's Morning Song," a poem, 122
- Nelson, Jack A., Review: Yorgason, B. M. and B. G., *The Bishop's Horse Race*; Yorgason, B. M., *The Windwalker*, 438
- Newell, Linda King, and Avery, Valeen Tippetts, "Sweet Counsel and Seas of Tribulations: The Religious Life of the Women in

- Kirtland," 151
- Olsen, Steven L., Review: Leone, *Roots of Modern Mormonism*, 222
- Quinn, D. Michael, "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," 163
- Rencher, Alvin C.; Larsen, Wayne A.; and Layton, Tim, "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," 225
- Reynolds, Noel B., "Nephi's Outline," 131
- Saderup, Dian, "One of the Martin Company," a poem, 348
- Smith, Dennis, "Emulsion," a poem, 198
- Smith, Dennis, "Strawberry Canal," a poem, 252
- Stagner, Ishmael, Review: Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*, 311
- Stratton, Clifford J., "The Xanthines: Coffee, Cola, Cocoa, and Tea," 371
- Tate, Charles D., Jr., Review: Cracroft, *A Certain Testimony: A Mormon Epic*, 431
- Taylor, Sally T., "The Irrigation Turn," a poem, 206
- Walker, Steven C., "More Than Meets the Eye: Concentration of the Book of Mormon," 199
- Webster, Bruce F., and Burton, Robert P., "Some Thoughts on Higher-dimensional Realms," 281
- Whittaker, David J., "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," 404
- Youngreen, Buddy, "And Yet Another Copy of the Anthon Manuscript," 346
- Youngreen, Buddy, "Sons of the Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion—1860," 351

TITLES

- "The Ambivalants," a poem, by John B. Harris, 150
- "And Yet Another Copy of the Anthon Manuscript," by Buddy Youngreen, 346
- "Angus M. Cannon and David Whitmer: A Comment on History and Historical Method," by Donald Q. Cannon, 297
- "Black Hole," a poem, by Marden J. Clark, 106
- "The Brodie Connection: Thomas Jefferson and Joseph Smith," by Louis Midgley, 59
- "'Brother Joseph Is Truly a Wonderful Man, He Is All We Could Wish a Prophet to Be': Pre-1844 Letters of William Law," by Lyndon W. Cook, 207
- "The Council of Fifty and Its Members, 1844 to 1945," by D. Michael Quinn, 163
- "Early Mormon Imprints in South Africa," by David J. Whittaker, 404
- "Emulsion," a poem, by Dennis Smith, 198
- "'God's Base of Operations': Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission," by Gustave H. Blanke with Karen Lynn, 83
- "The Historians Corner," by James B. Allen, ed., 93, 297, 401
- "'I Have Sinned Against Heaven, and Am Unworthy of Your Confidence, But I Cannot Live without a Reconciliation': Thomas B. Marsh Returns to the Church," by Lyndon W. Cook, 389
- "Inside Brigham Young: Abrahamic Tests as Preparation for Leadership," by Ronald K. Esplin, 300
- "The Irrigation Turn," a poem, by Sally T. Taylor, 206
- "'It Seems Like Heaven Began on Earth': Joseph Smith and the Constitution of the Kingdom of God," by Andrew F. Ehat, 253
- "Jerusalem Garrison 34 A.D., a poem, by Lynda Mackey, 68

- "Jonah's Morning Song," a poem, by Karen Marguerite Moloney, 122
- "A Letter Regarding the Acquisition of the Book of Abraham," by Christopher C. Lund, 402
- "The Miller, the Bishop, and the 'Move South,'" by William G. Hartley, 99
- "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," by Paul D. Ellsworth, 71
- "More Than Meets the Eye: Concentration of the Book of Mormon," by Steven C. Walker, 199
- "Mormon Bibliography 1978," by Chad J. Flake, 111
- "Mormon Bibliography 1979," by Chad J. Flake, 417
- "Nephi's Outline," by Noel B. Reynolds, 131
- "Nostalgia," a poem, by Ann Best, 38
- "One of the Martin Company," a poem, by Dian Saderup, 348
- "Persons for All Seasons: Women in Mormon History," by Leonard J. Arrington, 39
- "The Priesthood Reorganization of 1877: Brigham Young's Last Achievement," by William G. Hartley, 3
- "Sealed in a Book: Preliminary Observations on the Newly Found 'Anthon Transcript,'" by Danel W. Bachman, 321
- "A Shaker View of a Mormon Mission," by Lawrence R. Flake, 94
- "Some Thoughts on Higher-dimensional Realms," by Robert P. Burton and Bruce F. Webster, 281
- "Sons of the Martyrs' Nauvoo Reunion—1860," by Buddy Youngreen, 351
- "Strawberry Canal," a poem, by Dennis Smith, 252
- "Sweet Counsel and Seas of Tribulation: The Religious Life of the Women in Kirtland," by Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, 151
- "Times of Refreshing: 1820," a poem, by Allie Howe, 350
- "Who Wrote the Book of Mormon? An Analysis of Wordprints," by Wayne A. Larsen, Alvin C. Rencher, and Tim Layton, 225
- "The Xanthines: Coffee, Cola, Cocoa, and Tea," by Clifford J. Stratton, 371
- "Years, Passing," a poem, by Christie Lund Coles, 37

BOOK REVIEWS

- The Bishop's Horse Race*, by Blaine M. and Brenton G. Yorgason, reviewed by Jack A. Nelson, 438
- By the Hands of Wise Men: Essays on the U.S. Constitution*, by Ray C. Hillam, ed., reviewed by Donald Q. Cannon, 219
- Heaven Knows Why*, by Samuel W. Taylor, reviewed by Richard H. Cracroft, 124
- A More Certain Testimony: A Mormon Epic*, by R. Paul Cracroft, reviewed by Charles D. Tate, Jr., 431
- Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures*, by F. LaMond Tullis, ed., reviewed by Ishmael Stagner, 311
- Reflections on Mormonism: Judaeo-Christian Parallels*, by Truman G. Madsen, ed., reviewed by Scott Kenney, 433
- Roots of Modern Mormonism*, by Mark P. Leone, reviewed by Steven L. Olsen, 222
- Science and Religion: Toward a More Useful Dialogue*, vols. I and II, by Wilford M. Hess, Raymond T. Matheny, and Donlu D. Thayer,

reviewed by William E. Evenson,
313

The Windwalker, by Blaine M.
Yorgason, reviewed by Jack A.
Nelson, 438

SUBJECTS

Aaronic Priesthood, reorganization of,
7

Age, poem, 37

America, sense of mission, 83

Anthon, Charles, and the Book of
Mormon, 321

Anthon Transcript, 1980 discovery,
321; other copies, 346

Anti-Mormon literature, 111

Bible (King James Version), and Book
of Mormon, 199

Bibliography, 111, 417

Blakeman, Elisha D., journal excerpts,
95

Book of Abraham, Albert Brown letter
on acquisition of, 402

Book of Mormon, and the Anthon
Transcript, 321; authorship and
wordprint analysis, 225; concen-
trated style of, 199; literary struc-
ture, 131

Boys, poem, 198

Brodie, Fawn McKay, on Thomas Jef-
ferson and Joseph Smith, 59

Brown, Albert, letter on acquisition of
the Book of Abraham, 402

Caffeine toxicity, and the Word of
Wisdom, 371

California, poem, 280

Cannon, Angus M., and David
Whitmer, 297

Carter, Phoebe W., conversion, 152

Chiasmus, in the book of Nephi, 136

Clayton, William, journal excerpts on
Council of Fifty, 266

Cocoa, and xanthine abuse, 371

Coffee, and xanthine abuse, 371

Cola, and xanthine abuse, 371

Constitution of the Kingdom of God,
and the Council of Fifty, 259

Council of Fifty, and the Constitution
of the Kingdom of God, 253;
history, 163; meeting list, 275;
membership list, 193

Crosby, Caroline Barnes, in Kirtland,
154

Epic poetry, review of *A Certain
Testimony*, 431

Eternal progression, and hyperspace,
294

Foote, Warren, journal excerpts, 100

Fourth-dimensional realms, 282

Harker, Joseph, journal excerpts, 103

Harris, Martin, and Charles Anthon,
321

Haven, Jesse, and early Mormon im-
prints in South Africa, 404

High Priests, 1877 reorganization, 31

Hofmann, Mark, and Anthon tran-
script, 325

Huntington, Prescindia, in Kirtland,
156

Hyperspace, as a fourth dimension,
282

Irrigation, poem, 206

Jefferson, Thomas, according to Fawn
M. Brodie, 59

Jessee, Dean, and the Anthon
Transcript, 327

Jesus Christ, poem, 68

Kingdom of God, 18 April 1844
meeting, 257

Kingdoms of Glory, and hyperspace,
293

Kirtland, women in, 151

Kitchell, Ashbel, journal excerpts, 95

Law, William, letters concerning
Joseph Smith, 207

Literary structure, in the Book of Mor-
mon, 131

Marsh, Thomas Baldwin, reconciliation
to the Church, 389

Martin Company, poem, 348

Mob violence, and martyrdom of
Joseph Smith, 71

Mormon culture, 222

Mormonism, review of *Reflections on
Mormonism*, 433; sense of mission

- in America, 83; Mormons, Shaker viewpoint, 94
- "Move South," journal excerpts, 100
- Nauvoo, described in 1860 letters, 357
- Nauvoo Reunion of 1860, 354
- Nephi, literary structure of, 131, 204
- Newspaper accounts, martyrdom of Joseph Smith, 83
- Nibley, Hugh, and Fawn M. Brodie, 59
- Ordinations, and women, 160
- Priesthood, reorganization of 1877, 3
- Psychohistory, in the books of Fawn M. Brodie, 59
- Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and the Council of Fifty, 163; 1877 reorganization, 28
- Richards, Mary Haskin Parker, journal excerpts, 43
- Salvation, poem, 150
- Science and religion, 313
- Self-realization, and women in the Church, 52
- Sessions, Patty Bartlett, journal excerpts, 44
- Seventies, 1877 reorganization, 28
- Shakers, and Mormons, 95
- Smith, Emma Hale, in Kirtland, 151
- Smith, Joseph, Jr., according to Fawn M. Brodie, 59; and Book of Mormon authorship, 225; and mobocracy, 71; and the Anthon transcript, 340; and the Council of Fifty, 154, 164, 253; and the spirit world, 288; and women in Kirtland, 151; and women in the Church, 40; Martyrdom, 351; national press reaction to Martyrdom, 71; William Law's letters concerning, 207
- Smith, Joseph F., 1860 letter to George A. Smith, 361; 1860 letter to wife Levira, 357
- Smith, Lucy Mack, in Kirtland, 153
- Smith, Lucy Meserve, journal excerpts, 46
- Smith, Samuel H.B., 1860 letter to George A. Smith, 360
- Smith Family, 1860 Nauvoo Reunion, 351
- Snow, Eliza R., "Stanza on the Presentation of the Book of Mormon to Queen Victoria," 415
- Some of the Principal Doctrines or Belief of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*, description and reproduction, 404
- South Africa, early Mormon imprints in, 404
- Space, poem, 106
- Spirit world, and hyperspace, 290
- Spiritual gifts, among women in Kirtland, 157
- Stake presidencies, 1877 reorganization, 30
- Stakes, 1877 reorganization, 5
- Statistics, and Book of Mormon authorship, 225
- Stylometry, and Book of Mormon authorship, 226
- Tanner, Mary Jane Mount, journal excerpts, 52
- Taylor, John, and priesthood reorganization, 6; and the Council of Fifty, 186, 259
- Tea, and xanthine abuse, 371
- Temples, and priesthood reorganization, 8
- Theology, and the Council of Fifty, 255
- United Order, and priesthood reorganization, 9
- United States, sense of mission, 83
- Wells, Emmeline B., journal excerpts, 53
- Whitmer, David, testimony of the Book of Mormon, 297
- Women, in Kirtland, 151; in Mormon history, 39
- Word of Wisdom, and xanthine abuse, 371
- Xanthine abuse, and coffee, cola, cocoa, and tea, 371
- Young, Brigham, and the Council of Fifty, 175, 268, 276; and women in the Church, 48; letter to Mary Ann, 300; priesthood reorganization of 1877, 3; and the spirit world, 289
- Young, Mary Ann Angell, letter from Brigham Young, 302

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY STUDIES is a voice for the community of Latter-day Saint scholars. Contributions dealing with LDS thought, history, theology, and related subjects will receive first priority.

BYU STUDIES is a serious venture into the study of the correlation of revealed and discovered truth. Dedicated to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge, BYU STUDIES welcomes articles from all fields of learning. They should be written for the informed nonspecialist rather than the specialized reader in the technical language of the field. Creative work—poetry, short fiction, drama—is also welcomed.

Except for unusual cases, contributions should not exceed 4,000 words (approximately 15 double-spaced, typewritten pages). Manuscripts should conform to the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*, and footnotes should be placed on a separate page at the end of the article.

Each author will receive twenty offprints and three copies of the number in which his contribution appears.

Send manuscripts to Brigham Young University, Dr. Charles D. Tate, Jr., Editor, Brigham Young University Studies, A283 JKBA, Provo, Utah 84602.

Brigham Young University Studies is being listed in *Current Contents:*
Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences
and in *Arts and Humanities*
Citation Index.

