Brigham Young University Studies

A Voice for the Community of LDS Scholars

Volume 23 Fall 1983 Number 4

CONTENTS

Editor's Column
EDWARD A. GEARY 387

"Strains Which Will Not Soon Be Allowed to Die...":
"The Stranger" and Carthage Jail
MICHAEL HICKS 389

C. C. A. Christensen on Art
RICHARD L. JENSEN, translator 401

from A Milesian Tel in Southern California
A Poem Series
KAREN MARGUERITE MOLONEY 417

Saints and the San Francisco Earthquake
WILLIAM G. HARTLEY 430

The Taciturn Phylactery, A Poem
RANDALL L. HALL 460

The Window Effect
PAULINE MORTENSEN 461

A Scarcity, A Poem
JOHN DITSKY 466

Chartering the Kirtland Bank
DALE W. ADAMS 467
Notes and Comments

The Appearance of Elijah and Moses
in the Kirtland Temple
and the Jewish Passover
STEPHEN D. RICKS 483

Jesse Gause: Joseph Smith’s Little-Known Counselor
D. MICHAEL QUINN 487

Creator, A Poem
CLINTON F. LARSON 494

Request, A Poem
CLINTON F. LARSON 495

The Dancing Beggar of London, A Poem
ROBERT A. REES 496

Watermelons, Alma 32,
and the Experimental Method
JOSEPH THOMAS HEPWORTH 497

Book Reviews
DAVID J. WHITTAKER

Leonard J. Arrington, ed.,
with Thomas G. Alexander, Donald Q. Cannon,
Richard H. Cracroft, and Neal A. Lambert,
Voices from the Past:
Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographies
MARK GRANDSTAFF 502

Victor L. Ludlow,
Isaiah: Prophet, Seer, and Poet
PAUL Y. HOSKISSON 503

Gene A. Sessions, Mormon Thunder:
A Documentary History of Jedediah Morgan Grant
RONALD W. WALKER 508
Editor’s Column

When the Comte de Vergennes announced that Thomas Jefferson had replaced Benjamin Franklin as the U.S. envoy to France, Jefferson is reported to have replied, “I succeed him; no one could replace him.” Charles D. Tate, Jr., may not be such an altogether irreplaceable man as Franklin, and I am certainly no such successor as Jefferson; nevertheless, Jefferson’s witty and incisive words express what I feel in following Chuck Tate as editor of BYU Studies.

After sixteen years as editor, Chuck (to use the name I have called him by since we were office-mates in the attic of the Maeser Building twenty years ago) has accepted a call to preside over the Missouri St. Louis LDS Mission. He has been laboring in this new assignment since July, from all reports with the same dedication, energy, and good spirits that he devoted to BYU Studies. At the same time, I have been trying to learn the editorial ropes while stumbling around in some rather big shoes.

Chuck was not the first editor of BYU Studies, nor the sole architect of its success; but the journal he inherited in 1967 had a history of low circulation, irregular publication, and uncertain institutional support. Chuck’s editorship coincided with an increased commitment by the University administration to support a serious journal for Latter-day Saint scholars. Over the years Chuck built upon that commitment, attracted and developed writers, expanded the readership, improved the design and production quality of the journal, and made BYU Studies into a publication of which the University can be proud.

Chuck would be the first to point out that he did not accomplish these things single-handedly. The journal has had the benefit of a distinguished Board of Editors, willing and competent referees for manuscripts, associate editors, book review editors, editorial assistants, and a series of student interns who have done vital work in checking sources, correcting errors, typesetting, proofreading: work which readers are aware of only when it is done badly. During the last few years, Chuck has depended especially heavily on Richard G. Ellsworth, as associate editor, and Linda Hunter Adams, as editorial
assistant. Richard Ellsworth has also moved to a new assignment as chairman of the Department of University Studies. Linda Adams remains with the journal in the new position of managing editor, supervising copy and production and directing the training program which is an important part of BYU Studies’s contribution to the University.

I am delighted to be working with Linda and also with David J. Whittaker, our very able book review editor. I am also delighted that Richard L. Anderson and Ronald W. Walker have agreed to serve as associate editors. Richard Anderson, professor of ancient scripture and director of the Bible Section of the Religious Studies Center at BYU, is one of the most respected scholars at the University, with extensive publications in Mormon history as well as in scriptural studies. Ron Walker, senior research historian with the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History and associate professor of history and Church history, is similarly respected for his sound scholarship and fine writing and has won several awards in recent years for the excellence of his work. I have known and admired both men for a long time and feel honored to be working with them.

With the high professionalism of this editorial team, I am much less apprehensive than I would otherwise be about succeeding Chuck Tate as editor. We will be working closely together in formulating editorial policy and direction. BYU Studies will change somewhat in the next few years, as it has changed and developed over the years under Chuck. My editorial tenure will be much shorter than his, but I hope that my associates and I can continue to build upon the foundation we have inherited.

Edward A. Geary, Editor
"Strains Which Will Not Soon Be Allowed to Die . . . ": "The Stranger" and Carthage Jail

Michael Hicks

Four years after his death, James Montgomery (1771–1854), beloved as "The Christian Poet" of the nineteenth century, was celebrated in a leading Methodist journal: "His poetry has stood the test of searching criticism, and he has left some strains which will not soon be allowed to die in silence."¹ Montgomery himself had been more soberminded and pragmatic in estimating the worth of his own verse. When asked by an attorney which of his poems would survive, he replied, "None, sir." then added, "unless it be a few of my hymns."² It would have certainly surprised this Moravian bard to see the fate of one of his more obscure devotional poems, one he probably never meant to be sung. His small work beginning "A poor wayfaring man of grief . . . " travelled to America, was set to a Methodist Episcopal tune, altered in the frontier folk hymn tradition, and finally immortalized by its performance at the Carthage, Illinois, jail. Because of the events surrounding that performance, Latter-day Saints will doubtless preserve and enshrine this poem in song long after Montgomery's other works have faded.

Himself twice imprisoned (for his politics), James Montgomery wrote in December 1826 the beginnings of a poem he would title "The Stranger and His Friend." Two months later, he described the occasion of its composition in a letter to a lady friend's brother:

Except the first verse (composed in the dark in the coach on the morning that I set out from Sheffield to York), the sketch was written with pencil on a scrap of blank paper which I found in my pocket while I was travelling alone in a chaise from Whitby to Scarborough, on that tempestuous Saturday, ten days before Christmas. These stanzas, so inspired by "vapours, clouds, and storms," on the wild and melancholy

¹Methodist Quarterly Review 40 (January 1858): 165.
James Montgomery

moors along that lofty coast, were afterwards painfully, yet pleasantly, elaborated in my walks during the short stay which I made at Scarborough; and I shall never forget the accomplishment of the fourth verse [which begins, "'Twas night; the floods were out . . . '"], on the height of Oliver's mountain, on a gloomy, threatening afternoon, which naturally made me anticipate the horrors of such a night as is there described. 5

Once he had finished the poem, Montgomery, as was his custom, sent copies to friends for their comments. Encouraged by their response, he published the poem sometime in the following months of 1827. 4 Within a decade the poem was available throughout Britain and America in various editions of his collected works. Ironically, the poet never included the poem among his hymn texts. He intended "The Stranger and His Friend" to stand alone as a devotional narrative.

Montgomery's hymns and poems enjoyed a vogue among all Christian denominations because of their simple portrayal of traditional values in usually clear images and handy rhymes. Hence, his poetry was often reprinted in Christian periodicals and anthologized in verse collections and yearbooks of miscellany such as the Forget Me Not. 3 Although the Latter-day Saints in the 1830s and 1840s were endeavoring to create a Mormon poetry—often by adapting well-known secular lyrics—they too were attracted to Montgomery's work. Indeed, Montgomery became the single most frequently published non-Mormon poet in the newspapers of Nauvoo. 6

Among the sectarian newspapers that occasionally published Montgomery's poems was the Methodist Episcopal organ of New York, The Christian Advocate. A prominent contributor to that paper, and for many years its assistant editor, was a British emigrant churchman and amateur musician, George Coles (1792–1858). In 1835, probably while he was living in Poughkeepsie, New York, Reverend Coles composed a modest, straightforward tune which he named for one of the venerable congregations in New York City, a church where he occasionally guest-preached: "Duane Street." This tune was but one of the dozens he composed, but it is the only one

---


4Montgomery, as was customary, usually published his poems in newspapers or other journals before they were collected into books.


6See, for example, "The Crucifixion" (Wasp, 20 August 1842); "Friendship, Love, and Truth" (Times and Seasons, 6:927); and "The Grave" (Nauvoo Neighbor, 23 August 1843).
that seems to have caught on and that still survives in contemporary hymnody.7 The tune has set many texts: “Jesus, Thou from Whom All,”8 “Looking unto Jesus,” “Robe of Righteousness,” and “The Hiding-Place”9 are but a few. Although it is not clear whether Coles originally had Montgomery’s poem in mind as a text for his tune, “Duane Street” became associated with “The Stranger and His Friend” from its earliest days. The joining of Coles’s music with Montgomery’s words resulted in a song known as “The Stranger,”10 a ballad which found its way into the American singing school tradition. “The Stranger” became the basis for the song sung by John Taylor at Carthage Jail and eventually transcribed into LDS hymnals as “A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief.”

The frontier singing schools of the nineteenth century, which helped the song evolve into its present form, differed sharply from their earlier counterparts. The first singing schools had been founded by eighteenth-century American Protestants who, concerned about slovenly congregational singing habits, wanted to foster the technique of “regular singing” and discourage the “old way of singing.” (Regular singing followed the printed versions of tunes, while the old way toyed with their rhythm, embellished their pitch structures, and freely inflected the tunes according to oral traditions.) The singing schools were meant to curb the oral traditions into more precise and rigid forms bound to the printed page. Schools usually met one or two nights a week for several weeks. During that time, the local congregational chorister taught the rudiments of music-reading and proper vocal technique and rehearsed the choir of students in part-songs, usually hymns, anthems, and fuguing pieces. At the culmination of the school the students gave a public concert.

---

7According to Katherine Smith Diehl, Hymn Tunes, an Index (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1966), who surveys seventy-eight widely used hymnals of recent years, the tune “Duane Street” appears in only one (see n. 8). “A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief,” both in its text and in its tune, is unique to the LDS hymnal among those indexed in Diehl’s work. It appears as Hymn 153 in the current LDS hymnal.

Although “Duane Street,” his most popular tune, remains rather obscure, Reverend Coles was quite prominent in his day as a lecturer, journalist, and author of several books, including the popular Heroines of Methodism, which went through many editions in the second half of the century, and three autobiographical works. A brief summary of Coles’s life and career can be found in Samuel A. Seaman, Annals of New York Methodism, 1766–1890 (New York: Hunt and Eaton, 1892), pp. 251–52. See also the obituary in Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1838 (New York: Carlton and Porn, 1838), pp. 149–50. There is no available account of the composition of “Duane Street.” (Coles’s Incidents of My Later Years, which might shed some light, is regretfully missing from its only known location, the Library of Congress.) In My Youthful Days (New York: Lane & Scott, 1852), Coles constantly quotes Montgomery, whom he refers to as “my favorite bard” (p. 65).

8Song of Praise (London: Oxford University Press, 1926).

9The Baptist Hymn and Tune Book (Philadelphia: The Bible and Publication Society, 1873), nos. 412, 434, and 327.

10The Coles-Montgomery song was called “The Stranger,” according to Original Sacred Harp (Denison Revision) (Collman, Ala.: Sacred Harp Publishing Company, 1971), p. 164. I have found no “published” versions of the song under that name. Nearly every publication refers to the Coles-Montgomery song simply as “Duane Street.” Isaac Woodbury’s Lute of Zion (1853) names it “Poor Wayfaring Man.”
However, by the late eighteenth century these church-sponsored singing schools were giving way to freelance schools run by itinerant singers, often troubadours who tended to stay closer to the old way of singing. By the early nineteenth century these itinerant singing schools were on the wane in their homeland, New England and the eastern states, but were flourishing in the South and on the frontier. They reached their zenith around midcentury, by which time singing schools had probably become the chief means of disseminating new sacred and devotional songs to frontier religious groups.

While the singing-school masters were roaming through western Illinois, a few of Mormon Nauvoo's leading musicians were attempting to "extend and elevate musical science" in their city.\(^{11}\) Gustavus Hills, professor of music at the University of Nauvoo, sponsored the foundation of a new musical lyceum four days before Christmas, 1841. The lyceum took as its texts Lowell Mason's "Manual of Instruction" and Porter's *Cyclopedia of Music*, written under Mason's direction.\(^{12}\) Both of these texts, as well as Mason's *Sacred Harp*, which was later sold at the *Times and Seasons* office,\(^{13}\) were part of the Boston Musical Academy's campaign against "unscientific" methods of music instruction and folk-entrenched musical repertoire. But the Musical Lyceum at Nauvoo undoubtedly had an uphill climb ahead. The tunes sung by the Nauvoo Choir reveal that the folk-hymn tradition and singing-school repertoire spurned by Mason's Boston Academy were very much alive in Nauvoo.\(^{14}\) And the Prophet Joseph Smith, "who organized the first choir in the church ... was a constant attendant at their singing schools," reports Joseph Young.\(^{15}\)

Popular folk-hymn tune books like B. F. White's *Sacred Harp* (1844), besides bringing together songs for congregational singing, often contained sections "consisting principally of pieces used in singing schools and societies." It was in this section of White's *Sacred Harp* collection that "The Stranger" first saw print, under the title of the tune "Duane Street." As was customary, the melody appeared in the tenor line, framed by a treble harmonization above and a foundational bass line below. On the following page is the tune as it appeared in the *Sacred Harp* (but without its shaped-note notation):

\(^{11}\) *Times and Seasons*, 3:666.
\(^{13}\) See the long-running back-page ads in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* in 1843.
\(^{14}\) See, for example, the Nauvoo Choir and Band concert program published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 26 February 1845. The folk-hymn tunes are "Jerusalem," "Denmark," and "Heavenly Vision."
From the Sound Harp

[Music notation]

Walter the Great, where art thou come? There was something in thy name I had not power to ask, my love.

Poor wretched heart of guilt! how dost thou love me now? When once had beauty for the lamb, thy court could now [music notation]

Dune Street. 1. A. D.

394
This tune strongly suggests yet differs from the tune sung by John Taylor at Carthage and throughout his life:

\[
\text{A poor way-faring man of grief Hath often crossed me on my way;}
\]

\[
\text{Who sued so humbly for relief, That I could never answer "Nay."}
\]

\[
\text{I had not power to ask his name, Whither he went, or whence he came;}
\]

\[
\text{Yet there was something in his eye That won my love, I knew not why.}
\]

Though their keys are a half-step apart (A–A flat) and their meters are different, the similarities in pitch and phrase structure are certainly strong enough to identify "Duane Street" with "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" as it appears in the LDS hymnal. The differences may be accounted for in several ways. As with all folk music, the printed versions of these frontier hymns were often only general guides for performance, rough patterns with which great liberties were taken. Even significant differences in meter such as exist between "Duane Street" (4/4) and "Poor Wayfaring Man" (6/8) were not uncommon in song variants. "All Is Well," for example, which appears also in White's Sacred Harp in 4/4 appeared just two years earlier in the anonymous Revival Melodies in 6/8.16 (The same tune, appearing presently in LDS hymnals as "Come, Come Ye Saints," even mixes 3/4 and 4/4.) To this day among Sacred Harp circles, the modern descendants of the singing schools and harbingers of the old way of singing, no printed musical text is considered the arbiter of singing practice.

---

16See David W. Music, "A New Source for the Tune 'All is Well,'" The Hymn 29 (April 1978): 76–82.
Although I have found no direct evidence that John Taylor learned the song in a singing school, there is reason to conclude he probably learned the song by ear. First, then as now, the great majority of the folk-song repertoire of which "The Stranger" was a part was transmitted orally. Second, White's Sacred Harp was not published until late in June 1844, after the June jailing at Carthage. It is conceivable that a loose-leaf printing of the song could have made its way into Nauvoo earlier than that; but, again, with folk music the printed version usually appears after the oral version. Faithful reliance on the printed page is a recent phenomenon in most sacred and devotional singing (despite the efforts of our Protestant progenitors), and among authentic folksingers it remains a rare phenomenon.

In any case, what John Taylor sang at Carthage Jail was no doubt sung from memory on that occasion. Songs, like rumors, have a way of changing in the transmission; the whole history of music confirms this. One can only speculate on the embellishments and variations he himself may have contributed to the song he learned in Nauvoo. But, perhaps not surprisingly, in view of the influx of British culture at Nauvoo, the flowing triadic melody of "A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief" seems to have a distinctly British flavor, peculiarly reminiscent of English and Irish folk and show tunes.

We may never know exactly how the altered Coles tune set with Montgomery's poem entered the Mormon musical scene at Nauvoo. Certain details of its performance at Carthage, however, need clarification—as the secondary literature reveals. Some or all of these points of detail, frequently a little clouded by misunderstanding, appear in every secondary recounting of the Carthage singing episode I have encountered:

1. The song was "popular" in Nauvoo.
2. The song was initially sung at the request of either the prisoners en masse or Joseph Smith himself.
3. The song was sung to "cheer up" the prisoners.
4. John Taylor sang "all fourteen verses."
5. When he had finished singing, John Taylor was asked by Joseph (or Hyrum) to sing the song again.

A careful reading of John Taylor’s own published account of the episode and other relevant documents clears up some of these points and gives a fairly sharp picture of what happened.

Was the song, in fact, “popular” in Nauvoo? Determining the popularity of any song or piece of music is always vexing to the musicologist. With so-called serious music there are some clues: one may examine concert programs, newspaper reviews, publication statistics, and so on. With folk music there are no such indices of use. “The Stranger” does not appear in verse, nor is it mentioned by any of its known titles in newspaper accounts of musical events in Nauvoo. Neither can I find any evidence the song was published anywhere prior to the Carthage jailing. These facts do not prove that the song was not popular, but they cannot confirm it was.

If we look for evidence in Taylor’s account, we find only the barest implication that the song was well known: John Taylor knew it and sang it twice, both times, apparently, by request, as I will show later. The men at Carthage Jail that afternoon may have been more or less representative of the tastes of the Nauvoo public at that time. But John Taylor relates simply that he sang “a song, that had lately been introduced into Nauvoo.”18 In light of the known evidence, all we can safely say is that the song was fairly new at Nauvoo, very popular at Carthage Jail on 27 June 1844, and that it grew in popularity in the coming years.

Did John Taylor intend the song to cheer the others? Not exactly. The song, as he explains it, was more or less an expression of their common anxieties. As songs at their best always do, this ballad distilled the sensations of the moment into a simple tale with an infectious tune:

We all of us felt unusually dull and languid, with a remarkable depression of spirits. In consonance with those feelings I sang a song, that had lately been introduced into Nauvoo, entitled, ‘A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief’, etc.

The song is pathetic, and the tune quite plaintive, and was very much in accordance with our feelings at the time for our spirits were all depressed, dull and gloomy and surcharged with indefinite ominous forebodings.19

It may also be that the prisoners strongly identified with that verse most relevant to their situation:

---

19Ibid.
In prison I saw him next, condemned
To meet a traitor's doom at morn;
The tide of lying tongues I stemmed,
And honored him 'mid shame and scorn.
My friendship's utmost zeal to try,
He asked if I for him would die;
The flesh was weak; my blood ran chill;
But the free spirit cried, "I will!"

Indeed, according to the amalgamated History of the Church account of that afternoon, Willard Richards used language and sentiments similar to that expressed in this stanza:

"If you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you should go free." Joseph said, "You cannot." The doctor replied, "I will." 20

The others present that afternoon certainly had demonstrated, in deed if not in word, the same willingness and "utmost zeal." If the song cheered them at all, it was in its promise of eventual revelation and reward as tokens for their sacrifice.

The notion that John Taylor sang "all fourteen verses" arises from the peculiar quatrain versification given in the History of the Church. 21 The song and the Montgomery poem both consist of seven eight-line stanzas. Pyper, and Cornwall echoing him, both err in stating that the original poem was published in four eight-line stanzas. 22 (They were probably thinking of its appearance in the LDS Psalmody, where it did have only four verses.) But their error raises the worthwhile question of how many verses John Taylor might actually have sung. The original Sacred Harp printing (1844) gives only the first verse. One of its direct descendants, the Hesperian Harp (1848), gives five verses. An 1883 version also has four verses. 23 It was apparently not uncommon for singers to drop some of the inner verses as long as the climactic final verse could round off the text. John Taylor, singing from memory a song probably learned by ear, may well have sung less on that occasion than the complete text printed in the current LDS hymnal.

However many verses he sang, the chronology of their performance remains unclear. Willard Richards mentions the song only once—after the 3:15 P.M. notation in his diary. The attack on the jail, of course, according to John Taylor’s bullet-stopped watch, took place at

20Ibid., 6:616.
about 5:27 P.M. Wilford Woodruff, supervising in the compilation of the History of the Church in 1856, proposed that John Taylor as the only living survivor write a definitive account. In a letter written to John Taylor in the summer of that year, Wilford Woodruff specifically asked him to clear up the particulars of when the repetition was sung.

You sang 'A poor wayfaring Man of Grief' at quarter past 3 p.m. of the 27th: was it Joseph or Hyrum who requested you to repeat it? I have always understood that you no sooner finished singing it the second time than the firing commenced; if so there must have been a considerable interval between the two exercises. What were the facts?24

John Taylor, in his final account, relates only that the space between the two singings was "a lapse of some time."25 So the song appears to have been repeated not immediately after the first time through, as is sometimes suggested, but rather at some unspecified time within the slightly more than two hours that followed before the shooting began.

It is surely not the intrinsic worth of the song that assures its durability among Latter-day Saints, but rather its connection with the Prophet's death. It has gained its reputation as a song endeared to Joseph and requested by him in his last hours. The evidence, however, weighs against this belief.

There are, of course, essentially two sources for first-hand information on the singing incident at Carthage: the two survivors of the attack, Willard Richards and John Taylor. Willard Richards, in his diary of that afternoon, records simply, "Taylor sang 'poor wayfaring man of grief'."26 When the diary was being prepared for publication in the mid-1850s, the statement was added that Joseph requested a repeat of the song. It was known that the song had been repeated, and legend was already ascribing the request it be sung again to Joseph Smith.

John Taylor endeavored to set the record straight in a commemorative discourse on the tenth anniversary of the Martyrdom. His own recollection, as the principle figure in the whole affair, was that Hyrum had requested the song both times: "I remember Bro Hyrum requested me to sing a poor wayfaring man of grief which I done he requested it the 2nd time."27 Two years after this discourse, John Taylor prepared his extensive written recollection of the incidents at

24Wilford Woodruff to John Taylor, 30 June 1856. Manuscript is in possession of the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; hereafter cited as Church Archives.
26Willard Richards Diary, 27 June 1844, Church Archives.
27John Taylor, Discourse of 27 June 1854, transcript in Church Archives.
Carthage. There he fails to mention Hyrum’s initial request but gives further details on his second request:

After a lapse of some time, Brother Hyrum requested me again to sing that song. I replied, ‘Brother Hyrum, I do not feel like singing;’ when he remarked, ‘Oh, never mind: commence singing, and you will get the spirit of it.’ At his request I did so.28

It would not have been uncharacteristic of Joseph to ask for a song. Indeed, writes Benjamin F. Johnson, Joseph was fond of various informal entertainments, ‘but to call for the Singing of one or more of his Favorite Son[g]s was More frequent.’29 In the case of ‘A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief,’ however, there is no evidence Joseph did so, much less that this song was his ‘favorite hymn’ or any other such appellation as occasionally attaches itself to it.30

Even so, Mormons need not diminish the song’s place in their hearts. By whatever name it is known, ‘The Stranger’ still occupies a crucial moment in one of the most solemn hours in Mormon history. Its tune brings to modern tastes the flavor of a rich and bygone devotional tradition. More importantly, its poetic text remains one of the finest expositions of the principles Jesus expounded, and to which Montgomery referred in his superscription to ‘The Stranger and His Friend’:

‘Ye have done it unto me’ (Matt. 25:40).

28 History of the Church, 7:101-2.
30 See McGavin, Nauvoo the Beautiful, pp. 130, 136.
C. C. A. Christensen on Art
from the Salt Lake City Bikuben
February–March 1892

Translated, with an Introduction,
by Richard L. Jensen

The homespun quality of his painting, enhanced by evident ability as a painter, has marked the work of C. C. A. Christensen as representative of Latter-day Saint experience in the nineteenth century.1 Converted to Mormonism in Denmark in 1850, Christensen immigrated to America in 1857 and pulled a handcart to Utah. In the wake of his conversion, proselytizing and emigration seemed so urgent that he gave up hopes of a career in art, although he had the beginnings of a solid training at the Royal Academy of Fine Art in Copenhagen. But after rigorous pioneering years in Utah, farming and painting homes and theater scenery, he found that through historical and religious painting he could help reinforce the faith of his fellow settlers and at the same time gain a modest income from his art. Thus he became one of the most effective narrative painters of Mormondom. Best known for his epic historical ‘‘Mormon Panorama’’ and paintings of the pioneering experience, he produced numerous other works, many of which are to be featured in a major exhibition in the opening months (April–October) of the Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City, Utah.2

Christensen’s writing parallels his painting in opening windows on nineteenth-century Mormonism. Though articulate in English, Christensen made his real contributions in Danish, his native language.3

Richard L. Jensen is a research historian for the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

The colored photographs of C. C. A. Christensen’s paintings at the end of this article are courtesy of the Museum of Church History and Art, the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers Museum, and some private collections. BYU Studies appreciates the use of these illustrations.


2The new Museum of Church History and Art is located across the street west of Temple Square, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Photograph of C. C. A. Christensen, ca. 1895, at about the age of sixty-five
The following essay is part of an extensive correspondence published throughout three and a half decades in *Bikuben*, a Latter-day Saint newspaper for Danish and Norwegian immigrants in the Mountain West.

Writing in 1892, at the peak of his artistic career, C. C. A. Christensen sought to promote art appreciation among his fellow immigrants and to encourage art education in the public schools. His essay reflects an approach which has been characteristic of Scandinavia since his time. Christensen identified handicrafts, architecture, and industrial design within the domain of fine art. For him, an attractive homemade quilt deserved the same admiration as a good painting. He saw skill in drawing, the exclusive emphasis of his own early training at the Royal Academy, as the key to artistic achievement.

The Latter-day Saint world view was central to Christensen’s thinking on art. His essay demonstrates the inclination of nineteenth-century Mormons to find their temporal endeavors relevant to building the kingdom of God, and thus to preparing for a more glorious society in the hereafter. Expectations of the Millennium, the first feature of Mormonism to arouse Christensen’s interest, remained a motivating force throughout his life. This is evident in this 1892 essay, which sees art education for the Latter-day Saints as both an enhancement for sale of their products and a necessary preparation for welcoming the Savior at the Second Coming. Opposed to “spiritualizing” the scriptures, here he focuses literal interpretations of holy writ on tangible expectations.

Christensen was intrigued with pre-earth life and the hereafter, with the human spirit and its capabilities. Aware of progress in British industry and of Horace Mann’s educational reforms, this Sanpete County homesteader sought to promote similar advances among his own people. While this essay gives insights into the nineteenth-century world in which C. C. A. Christensen lived, several of his observations on the plight of the Latter-day Saint artist and the condition of art among his people seem uncannily applicable in our time.4

---

4Christensen’s article, “De skjønne Kunster,” was serialized in *Bikuben* 18 and 25 February, 3 and 31 March 1892. While my translation is reasonably exact, I have deleted a few redundant phrases and divided some of the original paragraphs to improve readability.
The Fine Arts

C. C. A. Christensen

As an attempt to awaken more than the ordinary interest for the fine arts among the Scandinavian populace, and perhaps thereby indirectly also among other nationalities here in our blessed and progressive Utah, let me herewith set forth some of my views on the meaning and importance of the same, particularly for the rising generation. Pictures and decoration have now become such a necessity in our enlightened age that the art of drawing is considered equal to the art of writing and other ordinary school-learning in every up-to-date school system, and therefore it occupies its place as such in instruction. Nevertheless, little is done in that direction in our district schools here in Utah. Our institutions of higher learning, such as the university and the different high schools and seminaries, have, to be sure, done something, but far from enough in that regard, probably for entirely natural reasons, since they generally must struggle for their existence because of a lack of interest in the advantages and necessity of joining in the mighty progress of our age in the area of art and science.

Many still believe that it is a virtue to be thrifty, and they limit themselves to the "bare absolute necessities," meaning thereby food, clothing, housing, and whatever is required for economical home management. Yet hardly a thought is given to the fact that even from such a restricted point of view the products of art will greet the eye in a great many forms. As an example we will imagine a visit to the home of an ordinary Danish farmer in Sanpete, which is perhaps the most conservative part of Utah. Upon entering we find the rug woven of old cloths, but clean and with different colors and patterns according to the taste and ability of the housewife. Next we find pictures, mirrors, flowers in pots and glasses and frames, the latter perhaps partly the work of the daughter. Next the wallpaper attracts our attention with its pretty patterns and tasteful colors. Then there is the furniture, and especially the quilt, which was completed by the sisters during a jolly party a few days ago. If the visitor belongs to this interesting sex which bears the nickname "the fair," it goes without saying that this latter masterpiece will be particularly noticed and admired. That perhaps at times it has served largely for women as a dress or other item of clothing, or served in the army as a piece of an outfit, is irrelevant, for now female ingenuity has actually dedicated
these old remains of the glorious days of the past to a place in the holy of holies, the pride and joy of the housewife: the bedroom.

There is no denying that the useful and the tasteful are brought here into pleasing harmony without having interfered with our general ideas of what is necessary. If we behold the housewife's and the daughter's clothing, we find a multitude of different patterns in the color and other properties of the material, as well as in the style and accessories of the dress, according to the owner's taste and ability to beautify herself and her surroundings in the home. Finally, when the table is set, we find plates and cups decorated with pictures and formed according to the most appealing design to please the eye, as well as to be useful in containing the well-cooked dishes which are served. Usually even these, particularly the cakes, are small works of art, particularly at wedding celebrations and other large gatherings. Even the stove is polished and, black as it is, is still decorated with cast iron flowers on all its doors.

The fundamental basis for all the tasteful objects in an ordinary farm home is the sense of beauty and artistic diligence. When this is brought to the highest level of perfection, it is called art, whether he or she who makes use of it is rich or poor, learned or unlearned, understands art or not. He or she who produces these beautiful and useful objects benefits mankind in general and himself/herself as well, and should be considered a benefactor of society. If it were possible to imagine suddenly being placed in a dugout, with a tattered rug for a door, a plank with unplanned legs underneath for chair and sofa, an old chest or empty barrel for a table and flour container, and then having clothing and education of the mind on the same scale, one might perhaps get a partial idea of the changes which have taken place in our earlier notions about what was a necessity. We would miss these ordinary household conveniences, which now make life pleasant and (perhaps imperceptibly) ennoble the minds of both young and old. Necessity and a barbaric taste once made the revolver and the Bowie knife the most sought-after adornments of the young man, and if he could add a wolf tail on his hat and a pair of really jingling spurs he was the lion of the day and thus an object for the admiration of the girls. At social gatherings he sought to imitate the yells and gestures of the wild Indian, and this generally happened even in the ballroom in the good old days. But would we now be satisfied if the conditions of that time were reestablished? That we were contented and happy then is no proof that such conditions would be satisfactory now. Time has changed both us and our notions in many regards, and every step forward in the right direction will
bring us closer to the goal which God has set for mankind to aspire to in this life, with the promised opportunity for further progression in the life to come.

When God created the world in the beginning, he made everything "very good." The surface of the earth constituted the most beautiful panorama, wherever the eye might turn. Mountains, valleys, and plains were decorated with trees, bushes, grass, and flowers. The latter in particular testified to the masterful ability of the great creator to make beautiful shapes and colors to gladden the sight. He also provided each with its own particular smell and taste, as well as the ability to heal, in case men became subject to death through transgression. Thus he was the great master of all gardeners and artists in painting. He was astronomer, geologist, mineralogist, botanist, physiologist, physician, lawgiver, and architect from the beginning and was completely conversant with all the so-called discoveries, sciences, and arts of all time, and consequently he must still possess all these attributes and make use of them in the sphere in which he operates. As a famous scientist declared on his deathbed, he found himself like a child who had gathered together on the edge of the seashore a few pretty rocks from the sand, but who still found that the ocean and the grains of sand were in an inexhaustible supply. What mankind has achieved through the condescending guidance of Providence in six millennia is only a little in comparison with that which has not yet been achieved. But the little which has been won is invaluable as the necessary condition for being able to obtain more.

Our earthly life is intended to be an institution of learning, in which we are educated for the more perfect hereafter. From the cradle to the grave we undergo a series of changes in our notions and ways of thinking, as well as in our physical organization. The child, the man, and the old man are markedly different from each other in intellect and strength, and as a result their enjoyments in life are also different. The child’s play is not suited to the man, nor to the grey-haired old man or woman, and yet there was a time when these elderly people enjoyed playing with toys, just as their grandchildren do now. As we approach the threshold to eternity, our notions mature, and we comprehend that childish things are only suitable for children, that we have more important work to perform, that our future reaches out beyond the boundaries of our earthly existence, and that our duty, as well as our welfare, is closely related to the use we have made or make of time. The conveniences which the civilized part of the world now enjoy are a result of a gradual progression through which mankind has passed from the barbarism of ancient
time to the exalted status of present society, and all Christians believe
that heaven, which is their hope, is governed in accordance with the
most perfect principles, the only principles whereby eternal happiness
can be obtained and maintained. That the fine arts occupy their
proper place in heaven is perhaps not understood by the sectarian
world, which spiritualizes and misinterprets everything the holy
prophets and apostles have written about the future joyful place of
abode of those who are saved. But all Latter-day Saints should cer-
tainly comprehend that the new Jerusalem and other heavenly places,
which have been described by holy men who were permitted to behold
them in all their glorious reality, were not established or constructed
without a plan, by unskilled barbarians.

In reading the Revelation of John, chapter 21, we find that an
angel carried him away in the spirit to a large and high mountain and
showed him the great city, the holy Jerusalem, which descended out
of heaven from God. It had the glory of God, and its brilliance was
like that of the most precious stone, like crystal-clear jasper. It also
had a large, high wall with twelve gates, and over the gates twelve
angels and names written upon them, which were the twelve tribes of
the children of Israel (v. 10–12). These gates were oriented toward
the four cardinal points of the compass. They were each made from a
pearl, and one can imagine that in the execution and beauty of the
work they were not inferior to the most expensive materials.

To avoid tiring the reader by citing abundant testimonies from
the Bible and other holy scriptures, I will simply ask everyone who
might want such scriptures to read them himself and consider what
he reads. Every city consists necessarily of a collection of buildings,
and therefore this glorious city must have buildings, without which
there could hardly be a city or streets. Since these are often said to be
“paved with pure gold,” it is self-evident that this beautiful metal
must have been abundantly utilized in the residences of the redeemed
and in other buildings. That precious stones were available and
constituted building materials for the wall around the city should also
be sufficient testimony that houses, temples, and other public build-
ings were built of such materials, and by skilled craftsmen and artists.
The angel “had a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates
thereof, and the wall thereof” (v. 15). 5 Here we find the surveyor,
and perhaps an architect in the same heavenly personage, condescend-
ing to manifest and explain for the astonished ancient apostle his
future place of abode when his mission here below had come to an

5Unless otherwise noted, translations of biblical citations have been taken from the King James Version,
the Bible most commonly used by Latter-day Saints in the nineteenth century.

407
end. This glorious city was also shown to Abraham, “For he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God” (Heb. 11:10).

The Latter-day Saints have been taught that Enoch, the seventh from Adam, built a glorious city which he called Zion, and that this city was taken up to heaven a short time before the Flood lifted the ark on its angry waves, while the wicked perished. Every thinker will doubtless perceive that if this is really the case, Enoch must have been very advanced in the art of building and other related arts and sciences, for it would be unreasonable to imagine that a city which only consisted of miserable earthen huts or houses in the ground would be moved and placed beside the holy Jerusalem which was shown to John and which was the tent of God and the home of the redeemed in heaven. Whether it was the same city or another which was shown to John we do not know; but it is clear that there was a city “whose builder and maker is God” in Abraham’s day, for without that he could not have hoped to go there. For three hundred years Enoch walked with God and was instructed by him, and it is no wonder that he then could build a city according to the heavenly pattern, according to all the perfect principles of art and science. Therefore it could properly be said that “its builder and maker was God.”

Not long afterwards, Noah was commanded to build the ark, using precisely specified dimensions and probably an accompanying drawing, just as Moses several hundred years later was instructed about the Tabernacle with all its vessels and adornments, and was commanded to “look that thou make them [all these things] after their pattern, which was shewed thee [Moses] in the mount” (Exod. 25:40). In reading chapters 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30, we find the Lord further instructing Moses about dimensions and materials for every part of the various objects which were to be made by the artists and craftsmen of Israel “after their pattern, which was showed him in the mountain.” The thirty-first chapter begins thus:

And the Lord spoke unto Moses, saying, See, I have called by name Bezaleel the son of Uri, the son of Hur, of the tribe of Judah: And I have filled him with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, To devise cunning works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, And in cutting of stones, to set them, and in carving of timber, to work in all manner of workmanship. And I, behold, I have given with him Aholiab, the son of Ahisamach, of the tribe of Dan: And in the hearts of all that are wise hearted I have put wisdom, that they may make all that I have commanded thee. (Exod. 31:1–6)
Thereupon all the various objects are named which these artists should make after being especially endowed with the spirit of God.

Here we see inspired workers or artists in gold and silver and copper, under the guidance of Moses, the prophet, and his fellow helpers, who were "filled with the spirit of God, in wisdom, and in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship to devise cunning works," etc. If therefore the Lord had done likewise with Enoch and his people, and if over a period of several centuries they received practical instruction in art and science under the immediate direction of God, it is no wonder that the city could be found worthy of a place in a higher sphere, particularly when that dreadful event, the Flood, was imminent.

The art of building (architecture), sculpture, painting, and, as a foundation for all these, the art of drawing were thus heavenly sciences, which were, are, and always will be required in order to make the life of mankind pleasant and useful. They are now in practical use both in heaven and on earth among all intelligent beings who have made progress in intellectual regards.

When Solomon was about to build the world-famous temple in Jerusalem, he had a delegation appeal to the king of Tyre to send skilled workers and artists to take over the supervision of this great endeavor. That the Israelites were the Lord’s chosen people and that Solomon himself was perhaps the most important monarch of his time did not qualify them for the work of building the temple, with its many precious works of art. The Lord had, to be sure, given Solomon great wisdom in many respects, and much riches in gold, silver, and other costly things besides. But he made use of his wisdom on this occasion by seeking the necessary help among the people of the neighboring king, the Phoenicians, who were at that time more civilized. The Jews were presumably, then as now, a commercial nation, who only cared to learn the quickest way to make money, and therefore did not educate themselves in art or science beyond what was absolutely necessary.

And Solomon sent to Huram the king of Tyre, saying, As thou didst deal with David my father, and didst send him cedars to build him an house to dwell therein, even so deal with me. Behold, I build an house to the name of the Lord my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him sweet incense, and for the continual shewbread, and for the burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths, and on the new moons, and on the solemn feast of the Lord our God. This is an ordinance forever to Israel. And the house which I build is great: for great is our God above all gods. . . . Send me now therefore a man cunning to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in iron, and in purple, and crimson, and blue, and that can skill to grave with
the cunning men that are with me in Judah and in Jerusalem, with whom David my father did provide. . . .

Then Huram the king of Tyre answered in writing, which he sent to Solomon, Because the Lord hath loved his people, he hath made thee king over them. Huram said moreover, Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, that made heaven and earth, who hath given to David the king a wise son, endued with prudence and understanding, that might build an house for the Lord, and an house for his kingdom. And now I have sent a cunning man, endued with understanding, of Huram my father's. The son of a woman of the daughters of Dan, and his father was a man of Tyre, skillful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen, and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving, and to find out every device which shall be put to him, with thy cunning men, and with the cunning men of my lord David thy father. (2 Chron. 2:3-14)

Thus we see again that training and suitable skill in art and crafts were required in order to build the Lord a house on earth, in which the ordinances can be performed which are necessary for salvation of mankind both here and hereafter. Piety and pious devotion alone, in the ordinary sense, will not enable one to perform work for which many years' training and practical experience are required, even with the wisdom and wealth of a Solomon besides. What Solomon could not find among his own people he had to compensate for by importing from the neighboring kingdom, which was no doubt very humiliating for both Solomon and his people. That is the way it has also turned out in our times, unfortunately.

From the above it can be seen that the Lord does not consider human skill to be merely a luxury branch of scholarship that might come into play as a pastime; but rather to be both useful and necessary in order to obtain temporal and eternal bliss, in connection with our intellectual development in other areas. We do not mean by this that all people must become trained as artists in order to be saved in the kingdom of God, but that some, who have talents in that regard, should develop these talents, just as all other gifts which God gives to mankind for the benefit of his kingdom or all mankind. Paul's excellent comparison with the various members of the body (1 Cor. 12) can with good effect also be used with regard to the social aspects of the body of the state, and in a slightly modified form:

But the manifestation of the spirit is given to every man to profit withal . . . . God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that those who perform mighty works, then those who have gifts to heal, to govern, to speak in various tongues. Are all apostles? Are all prophets? Are all teachers? etc. (1 Cor. 12:7, 28-29)

---

6For the remainder of this sentence we have followed the Danish, which varies from the King James Version.
I will continue this comparison as it can be applied to a commonwealth or to the church in connection with the temporal progress of the same. The Spirit of God equips mankind with many different talents or abilities for the benefit and joy of all his children on earth, just as he gave them the gospel with all its spiritual gifts, although not everyone makes use of them to the same degree or at the same time. He (the Spirit of God) equipped some with great wisdom to discover the hidden treasures of nature in the area of science. He endowed others as architects, engineers, speakers, statesmen, poets, and artists. Others he gave abilities as agriculturalists and cattle husbandmen, as well as genius in the various trades, ‘‘But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he [the Spirit of God] will’’ (1 Cor. 12:11).

Here I ask with Paul: Are all artists? Are all artisans? Or should all be farmers?

For the body is not one member, but many. If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body? If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling? But now hath God set the members every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one member, where were the body? But now are they many members, yet but one body. And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble, are necessary. (1 Cor. 12:14–22)

Thus one class of society cannot say of one or more of the others that because they do not belong to the same one, they are either unnecessary or at any rate less valuable elements of society. Agriculture is no doubt among the most important branches of business in society, and perhaps its most important foundation, like the root, which gives the trunk and branches of the tree nourishment and strength to bear fruit. Yet it cannot be denied that it is for the fruit that the tree was planted, nor that it is in order to enjoy the fruits of the many branches of industry of an advanced civilization that the farmer patiently cultivates the ground and awaits his pay until harvest. If it were not so, he would make do with tools and home implements of stone and wood, as did our fathers in ancient times. Even if he were a sort of artist at thousands of things who could use the ax, the saw, and carpentry tools of modern times, still he would not be able to produce iron or manufacture the tools himself.
Our age has certainly made great progress in art and industry. Through machine-powered factories tens of thousands of useful and attractive objects now found in almost every home are made cheaply and are therefore obtainable for the poorer classes of society. This happy result is the fruit of "the gifts of the spirit" to individual persons who thus have become the benefactors of our generation. Just think of so lowly an object as a match or a pin, which is now sold so cheaply because machines produce these objects in such quantity that, for example, matches are sold at a profit for the price of a cent or less for a boxful, which amounts to about 144 matches. Anyone who has seen the way this is done can partially understand how it is possible, but he must also admire the inventor of the machines. It has probably cost him or those who have constructed these and thousands of other labor-saving machines many sleepless nights, and in many instances it has subjected these benevolent speculators to temporary distress and contempt, sometimes even to violent persecution. But now mankind enjoys the fruits of these martyrs of art and industry, just as we do in religion from those of the churches.

But how few is it who think of the fact that there must necessarily be a foundation, a root, upon which all these products are based? This root is inspiration, or the workings of the Spirit of God upon the spirit of man. A wise man has said, "There is a spirit in man, but the spirit of the Almighty enlightens his understanding." Although mankind calls this inventiveness, all sciences existed with God from the beginning and were put to practical use in the creation of this and other globes. All science and art of the present must exist in perfection in heaven and must be more or less understood by the happy beings who are there in His immediate presence.

Enoch's Zion, "The city, whose builder and architect is God," "the holy Jerusalem," and "the new Jerusalem" were all built according to plans and calculations which made them beautiful and comfortable for their inhabitants. It must not have been a matter of the absolute bare necessities. Fortunately misers (who are idol-worshippers) will not be admitted there; they would hardly approve of the lavish use of gold and precious stones which is found there, but would start by suggesting a substantial reduction in the heavenly budget. If the spirit of God here on earth inspired men to devise works of art for use in religious services in all their imperfection, during the Mosaic dispensation, can we find it reasonable that it should be inactive in the area of art in the place where everything is perfect, and where there is no lack of materials or instruction? Is there not rather a probability bordering on certainty that in our first
spiritual probationary state, perhaps before this world was created, or at least before we received our earthly existence, we were taught in all the sciences and arts which mankind has later made use of here on earth—no doubt to a far lower degree of perfection but yet as a result of the revelations of the spirit, which is given to us for our use and enjoyment? How can the spirit “manifest” that which does not exist? In that case it should rather be called “discovery of the spirit,” certainly not manifestation.

If we believe that spirits were sufficiently enlightened to be able to take sides in heaven, which led to rebellion and war, is it not then reasonable also to believe that the same spirits were enlightened and educated in other areas, rather than only having studied politics? Politics in heaven? What an awful thought! And yet one must be content to believe that Lucifer was once there as well as the Son of God, that there was a rebellion, and that a great multitude of spirits were cast out and thereafter had to bear the loathsome name of devils. One logical conclusion draws others along behind it. The abilities which one manifests early in life are weak resoundings of our earlier training in our first spiritual existence. This explains certain phenomena which otherwise would seem unnatural. Children have often shown surprising abilities and proficiency in certain areas, like music, drawing, mathematics and other sciences, at a very young age. Jesus himself was this kind of child wonder, and amazed the scribes with his questions and answers when he was only twelve years old. Many other similar examples have taken place in our own time. Much more could be said on this subject from this point of view, but here we will leave that train of thought and return to earth and our own practical time and see how the fine arts, as they are called, not only are utilized, but also demand recognition as an absolute necessity in almost all branches of business in our enlightened age.

Although it assuredly must have great significance for Latter-day Saints that art finds so much recognition from God and so much use here on earth among mankind in connection with revealed religion, it is of no less interest for some of them to get some idea in a financial way of the effects of art and the taste thereby developed for what is beautiful and appealing to the eye. For the dollar question is, as I said before, of much importance in this world. One finds, as previously mentioned, that everything of beautiful form and color owes to decorative art its advantages over that which is merely usable without regard for appearance.

Decorative art has a bearing upon all branches of business. It is utilized by barbaric savages, who adorn themselves with feathers,
corals, and the teeth of wild animals, or tattoo or paint their faces, as well as by the fashionable ladies of our day, who make their faces up and decorate themselves with the jewelers' prettiest gold jewelry. The propensity to improve or at least change one's appearance, with or without clothing, is found in all peoples, at all places, and at all times, among the old as well as the young, the poor as well as the rich. Their environment is affected by the same sense of beautification, and this has brought about the infinite number of requirements which are made of mankind's means of production, in our time as well as in olden times.

People's tastes and the requirements which result from them are widely varied, and therefore the necessity is greater for the diversity found in the form and color of everything we use. Thus the products of decorative art are multiplied infinitely. Just imagine the patterns of wallpaper and the patterns and colors of clothing, which are all "thought out" by artists before the factories are prepared to produce them. The many millions of people who find an occupation and a means of living in these and many other kinds of factories therefore owe decorative art, and along with it the artist, for their livelihood. The merchant, the shipowner or the railroad company, as well as the state, each in his way, benefits directly from the sale of all these products of industry, which are now considered necessities but generally vary in price because of their appearance. Even the factory owes its existence to the architect, and the same can be said of our ships, railroads, and machines. All is based on the ability of the builder to "think out" and by drawing to elucidate his ideas. That which is most attractive when combined with usefulness, always has the advantage.

Since the art of decorating and drawing is thus brought to bear on almost everything we use daily, it would seem self-evident that at least the beginning fundamentals of drawing and decorative art should be given the attention in our common schools (district schools) which is merited by its great importance. The art of writing is nowadays recognized as an absolutely necessary element in our schools; but it has not always been so, for there are still many thousands who cannot write their own names, much less express their thoughts on paper. The time will also come when we realize the necessity of instruction in drawing in our schools, just as we now realize the necessity of the art of writing.

A little history will perhaps help to confirm my opinion. As everyone knows, England is a country of factories, and consequently decorative art has been utilized for centuries in producing countless
patterns which made their fabrics saleable in other countries. But it was not merely fabrics which engaged the genius of the artist, but a great many other articles which were exported by the English people to other lands and which gave them means to live, almost without producing bread from the earth. It was therefore found necessary not only that the artist and the factory owner should have a knowledge of what was really attractive according to true taste, but that the worker should have some training in that area. Drawing was therefore introduced into most schools, as a result of the unfortunate experience they had had through neglecting it. In his younger years Prince Albert7 traveled to various countries and thereby came to the conclusion that the English people were far behind the French and certain other nations with regard to the appearance of their products, although these were comparable with regard to quality and price. Thus he made the plans for the first great World’s Fair in London (1851), and exhibited to the surprised factory people the clearest proofs of their imperfection, and of the reason—heretofore not understood—that the goods of other countries were beginning to displace the English. Consequently the government, as well as the people, became aware of the situation and hurried to remedy their neglect. Art academies and technical schools were established in all parts of the country, and a couple of decades ago there were already two thousand students studying to become teachers in drawing and decorative art, while more than fifty thousand of the working poor class of the people were receiving instruction in drawing in the common schools. The results were apparent at the next great World’s Fair in Paris (1867) in that in only sixteen years England had risen from being one of the lowest-placed nations to the first rank with its articles in art and industry. On this occasion the United States was still in its earlier place—at the bottom.

As a striking demonstration of the financial results this system has had, we will add that English porcelain goods have risen in price and sales to a surprising degree since a certain factory owner (Wedgwood) engaged the sculptor Flaxman to copy his models from antique Greek vases, whereby these goods became world famous and found rapid sales. Thus these clay pits were at once made into lucrative gold mines and gave many thousands of people increased employment and earnings. It is claimed that by founding art collections and art schools England has increased its industry by fifty percent in the past twenty years.

7Consort of Queen Victoria.
When we turn to the continent we find that silk goods from Lyon, as well as woven tapestries (Gobelins) owe their world fame to the refined taste in color which was taught in the many art schools of France. The same can be said about Brussels carpets and tapestries from little Belgium.

In Massachusetts, in our own country, it has come to the point that drawing is considered a necessity in conjunction with a good general education in the schools, and a law has been passed which directs that all children are to have access to free instruction in drawing in either day schools or night schools when they are over fifteen years old. This, then, is something, but not much for our proud America, which always boasts of its schools. In most cases such instruction in drawing is limited to "copying poor little pictures." Yet this is of little practical use unless it is accompanied by training in the principles upon which decoration and other drawing are based. Seldom is there mention of the rules of tastes, proportion, or color, nor is instruction given in geometrical drawing, which is the basic principle for all decoration. Unfortunately, the result is seen all too clearly in our tasteless buildings, decorated with whatever is at hand in many instances, which regretfully serve only to proclaim our great ignorance and arrogance.

Now and then attempts have been made to excuse our neglect in this area by saying that there is not time to introduce more subjects for instruction in the schools. The children cannot find time to learn more. Let me suggest in reply that instruction be given alternately in writing and in drawing. These subjects are so closely related that instruction in the one subject will help promote the other. Horace Mann, a famous professor, has said: "I believe that a child will learn to draw and write more quickly than he will learn only to write."

In thus concluding this topic, which is of so much interest to me, let me again recommend its great importance for our young, flourishing Utah, with its great future for our children, to our school principals, teachers, and parents, as well as to young students and artisans, for it will be impossible for the coming generations to find ground enough in Utah to till; therefore they should be educated sufficiently early for other occupations.
from A Milesian Tel in Southern California

for John Moloney
(6 January 1904—20 November 1983)

Karen Marguerite Moloney

And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers.
(D&C 2:2)

Karen Marguerite Moloney is a doctoral candidate in English at UCLA.

Milesian in its broadest sense means Irish. More particularly, a Milesian is a descendant of Milesius, legendary father of the Irish race.

Both Newtownsandes (referred to on maps as Moyvane, the town’s original Irish name) and Ballybunion are towns, Newtownsandes about fifteen miles inland from Ballybunion, on the mouth of the Shannon. Knockanure is a village. Coilagurteen and Knockenagh are townlands, Ireland’s smallest division of land. In the 1800s both Knockanure and Coilagurteen were part of the parish of Newtownsandes. Parish records for Knockenagh are kept in Ballybunion. The name Timothy is anglicized from Tadhg, Gaelic for “poet.”
PROLOGUE

I

Whittier, California

I'd practice all day long, then sing
"When Irish Eyes Are Smiling"—
Still off-key—
When my daddy came home from work.

But my name—
Now that
Was an altogether different matter:

"Moloneybaloney, moloneybaloney!"

"No. Phonybaloneymoloney."
(That's what my father said to say.)
"Sticks and stones can break my bones . . ."

"Bonymoloneymacaroni, baloney!"

Then Uncle Ed mailed around a family tree:
"O'Maoldhomhnaigh—
Descendant of a Church devotee."
And I saw my father had a father,
And so did he, four fathers back—
To Timothy.

Did he look like me?
HERITAGE

(as told beside a turf fire by an heir)

Coilagurteen, County Kerry, Ireland

Timothy Molony built roads,
Farmed these green fenced fields
Across the bogs from Knockanure,
Kept a journal on a payroll slip,
Married Kate, the Enright girl,
Sired Edmond at rest with them in Gale,
Emigrants, and John—

Who married Ellen of the Doody farm next door,
Dispersed eleven children to the wind,
And passed the farm to Timothy called Thady—

Who wed Johanna Loughnane,
Sired Michael, buried as a baby,
Five daughters, and a son named John—

This smiling, aging Kerryman,
Whose stretched ancestral roots,
As yet unsnapped,
Still web the Shannon back to County Clare,
Foreclosed there, somehow, long ago, foretelling
These embers of an ancient clan gone dim,
Yet fanned beside this turf fire by an heir.
"IT’S THE VIEW FROM THERE IS GRAND"

"So you want to see the old graveyard. The Moloneys are out in Gale, I’m sure . . . Though you might find some Dinneens. But understand

The names are gone now, mostly, or hard to read. It’s the view from there is grand—All the valley peaks at Knockanure."
XIII

THE HILL IS ALIVE

For Mary, third cousin once removed

Graveyard, St. Brendan’s Abbey, Knockanure

This relic nave, roof caved to Cromwell’s cannon balls,
Stood sentinel through Civil War, emboldened hope
When victories blazed lanterns on its walls.
The hill rolls slowly, singing it to sleep.

Amused among the gusts of grass and stones,
You played here as a child. You loved to peep
Around the doors of tombs, primed for skeletons—
But counted on the dark in which they sleep.

The hill is alive twilight is afoot

You come here often now to feel the valley spread,
To soften in the soft rain and listen to the scoop
Of Kerry’s wind, to dream among the dead.
You dipped us gently on our fathers’ sleep.

We spread like rivulets, meandering down,
Then wound our way back, poling the deep
Grass around islands of lichen-laced stone.
The hill rolled slowly, singing in its sleep.

The hill is alive twilight is afoot
Afloat on the waves of centuries
John found it first, all teeth intact, white, occult
Survivors nestled in a refuse heap
Within the abbey walls, the vestige of a vault
Collapsed upon its coffins in their sleep.

You raised the bone and called me to your side:
"Where are your songs, old mandible, old chap?
Not one to mock your grinning, ancient bride?
Ancestral kiss, conceive us as you sleep."

The hill is alive twilight is afoot
Afloat on the waves of centuries
Break on these bones shall live.

I watched you turn it slowly in your hand
And scan it with a thoughtful fingertip.
You mused as you returned it to the mound,
"This might once have robbed me of my sleep."

Below, the cows fanned out down through the town,
Herded from their fields, their udders ripe,
Their low mooing mixing with the wind.
The hill rolled softly, singing in its sleep.
XIV

"FOR MANY AVOID . . ."

(A)

Ballybunion, County Kerry

Jotted on a time card:
1851 October 7th My son Patsy left home

"Father,
I'm hoping you can help me. My great-great-great
Grandparents are buried down the road in Gale,
A long walk away from where they lived—
In Coilagurteen—on the road to Newtownsandes.

You see, I'm thinking, maybe, Kate
Was raised near here, so married here and not
In Newtownsandes, the parish of their farm.
Do your books go back that far?

Kate was an Enright, and my cousins say
There are lots of Enrights still, just down in Doon.
In fact I met an Enright—married to a Brown—
Just yesterday. Catherine. Her family calls her Kate.

She's a cousin, too. Kate's grave in Gale
Is in the Enright plot these Enrights claim.
Could I see your books, Father?
I can guess the date—and I know the name."

423
CHORUS

Oh, by the way, are you a Catholic?
Are you Catholic, by the way?
You bring the faith with you, I suppose
Latter-day Saints? Saints today?

Map courtesy of John Bartholomew and Son, Edinburgh

424
". . . YOUR HELPING HAND."

(B)

The Presbytery, Ballybunion

Chuckling, "Alex Haley and his roots,"
He left me with the oldest register,
My toes already numb inside my boots.

I held the wooden binding of the book
And opened, in another routine check,
To where I thought the marriage entries were.

The ink was crusted, thin and brown with age.
I ran my finger down the brittle page
And stopped half-way. "Baptized—this 24th day

Of January, 1832,
By Father Keane in Ballydonoghue,
In Holy Catholic Rite, Patrick, son

Of Timothy Molony and Catherine Enright
From Knockenagh, near Gale." That night,
Beside his fire, I told a tale to John.
EMIGRANTS
(as told beside a turf fire by an heir)

Coilagurteen

Timothy Molony built roads,
Farmed the green fenced fields
Of Knockenagh, near Gale,

Began a journal on a payroll slip,
Married Kate, the Enright girl,
And sometime after 1836,

Moved Kate and three small children here from Gale,
Uprooted likely at a landlord’s whim,
Sired three more sons before the famine came

(No entry of its horror countrywide),
Sired two more sons, replenished, multiplied,
Though only two would stay on Irish soil:

John—wed to Ellen Doody, given the farm
Bequeathed in turn to two succeeding heirs,
Our heritage preserved, our turf fire warm;
And Johanna—bride to Geoffrey O'Donoghue (Not counting Edmond, child of famine years, Unmarried, died in 1872).

The famine eased, the scattering began:
Jame$—second of the five to emigrate,
Sent £10 home in 1861;

William—professed a priest in 1868,
Carried the faith astride a donkey's back,
With all the Irish missionary's pluck,

To mining camps in California's hills.
Maurice travelled very different trails:
"Illinois attorney-general, 1895;"

Kerry's pride in his achievements still alive.
(One visit home in style made sure of that:
A tomb in Gale for Timothy and Kate—

"Erected by Maurice" chiselled on the base.
Kate Entright Brown remembered well the fuss.)
Margaret—married Patrick Looney, last to leave,

Last departure over which to grieve.
Patrick, their firstborn, was the first to go:
One immigrant I must look inside to know.
The cliffs at Ballybunion front a wild Atlantic,
The same cold sea
That Patrick crossed in 1851
For Indiana,
"Paddy" scarcely long enough to wed,
Plant a seed, and send brown eyes to me;

Killed by a train before the son was born
Who sired a son in turn
Who sired a son
Who sired me
One hundred years after Patrick crossed the sea—

A pink-haired daughter born the twelfth of May,
A cache of Celtic seed in Friesian mulch—
Timothy’s green fields in L.A.
And Catherine’s variation on a theme
(Kate become Karen in keeping with the times);

The dust of dreams blown ever farther west
In auburn afterglow to meet the east,
The view from Knockanure to County Clare,
Reflections of the eighth of Banquo’s sons—
A vision without end (without beginning):
Star of Abraham, heir of Ephraim, temple of Elijah
Pulsing with the blood of Irish bards—
A turning and returning—
Shards freckling on a mild Pacific coast
In the image of my fathers (bone of their bones):

Balm upon the gall of penal law
And manna to their famine,
Vindication of their vigil
And their efforts canonized in latter days
In a savior on Mount Zion:

A mystic toned in thick commercial smog,
Turf portioned from a bog,
Carried smoldering here,
But kindled long ago in County Clare—
A Milesian tel in Southern California:

Warm Whittier womb,
Cradle, loom,
Daughter in whom,
Anointed and transfigured,
The eyes and faith of Timothy survive—
Transmitted and transplanted and alive.

—Karen Marguerite Moloney
San Francisco City Hall

Reprinted from Young Woman's Journal (Salt Lake City: Edited and published by the General Board of the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Associations), 17:268.
Saints and the San Francisco Earthquake

William G. Hartley

In mid-April 1906 about one hundred and twenty-five Latter-day Saints lived in San Francisco, the "Paris of the West," whose hilly neighborhood straddled the San Andreas fault line. In addition, the city constantly drew visiting Saints—tourists, business people, travelers, and guests. LDS medical and university students were also temporary residents. The local branch had several dozen members scattered throughout the crowded city. The headquarters building for the California Mission, where President Joseph E. Robinson, his young family and several missionaries lived, stood at 609 Franklin Street—affectionately called "Six-Ought-Nine" by missionaries.¹

The dramatic experiences of the Saints who witnessed the terrible earthquake on 18 April 1906 became etched in memory but not written in the historical literature of Mormonism. The best surveys of LDS history in California, Dr. Eugene Campbell’s dissertation and Leo J. Muir’s two-volume history, give the earthquake only brief mention. To piece together the story of the Saints and the earthquake, this account draws from materials published in 1906, from contemporary diaries and correspondence, and from oral and written reminiscences by Saints who were there.²

THE PRE-EARTHQUAKE CONFERENCE

Upon his return from the April 1906 LDS general conference in Salt Lake City, President Robinson called a California Mission conference, which took place at "609" on Sunday and Monday,


15 and 16 April. The conference provided Saints a spiritual "high" barely before tragedy taxed their inner reserves. "The Lord... poured out His Holy Spirit in rich abundance and power at our meetings," President Robinson reported to LDS Church President Joseph F. Smith; "it is seldom that I have seen more love, humility, and trust manifested." When President Robinson arose to conclude the meetings late Monday afternoon, he closed by quoting prophecies about the last days, including Luke 21 in which Jesus warns of wars, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. The meaning of that scripture became much clearer to him two days later.

"Six-Ought-Nine" hosted one last gathering before its Wednesday destruction, a Mutual Improvement Association social on Tuesday night to conclude the mission conference. In attendance were missionaries, San Francisco Branch members, and LDS visitors to the city, including former Apostle Matthias Cowley and wife Nora, and Bishop John R. Welker from Arizona. Also joining the party were five Elders bound for Samoa and Australia: Leo L. Gardner, William Keison, R. S. Rimington, Mark Hardman, and Alex Layton. The five had arrived in the city that afternoon, left their baggage at the train depot to be transferred to a steamship wharf, and checked into a local hotel.

Although the social lasted until after midnight, Elder J. R. Shepherd was called upon at 10:00 to offer a family prayer for the group. He prayed that something awful would happen to wake up San Francisco and make it receptive to the gospel. President Robinson and Elder Cowley could not say "amen" and told the elder it was not right to "pray for trouble." The next morning, after the earthquake, the Robinsons had to comfort the elder and convince him that his prayer had not caused the disaster.

At the social the Saints were encouraged to attend a branch picnic to be held the following day at Golden Gate Park. Then, leaving "609," the Cowleys, Bishop Welker, the Pacific elders, and other guests and missionaries returned to their hotels or rented rooms throughout the city. About twenty missionaries spent the night at "609."
THE EARTHQUAKE

Early Wednesday morning, 18 April, while most of the Saints slept, two former Utahns worked. Race Whitney and Wally Young, newspapermen with the San Francisco Chronicle, finished an article for a morning deadline. When they stepped from the Chronicle office and walked on Eddy Street toward their hotels, they noticed the eastern horizon above Oakland, across San Francisco Bay, turning blue and the San Francisco streetlights dimming for the expected sunrise.

Suddenly, at 5:13 A.M., they heard a deep rumbling in the distance, then a concussive sound. The streets and buildings started to move and shudder, and power lines and cable car tracks jerked and swayed. They heard the creaking, grinding and splintering of wooden buildings. Brick chimneys and walls crashed through roofs and tumbled to sidewalks. "We were standing in the front of the Auditorium Hotel [113 Eddy Street] when the crash came," Race wrote to his Apostle–father, Orson F. Whitney. "Instinctively we started for the middle of the street, and where we had stood less than one second before, there was a pile of bricks seven feet high." Then, spreading their legs apart for balance, they waddle-ran sixty feet, barely outdistancing four more stories of the hotel that tumbled down. Surviving the hotel’s collapse was their first miracle that morning. Wally moved into the middle of the street for safety, but then Race yelled to him and pointed to a dangling mass of waving electric wires overhead. Wally jumped to the sidewalk while "the wires came down; sputtering and tearing up everything they touched. That we were not both electrocuted was the second miracle of the morning," Race wrote. Astounded by what was happening to their city, the two wondered if perhaps they were the only newspaper reporters to be witnessing the sudden devastation.9

A massive tear in the earth’s crust had moved across the Pacific Ocean floor at a speed of two miles per second, or 7000 miles per hour, and struck the California coast ninety miles north of San Francisco. Following the San Andreas fault, it wrecked Fort Bragg, ripped south and demolished forests of redwoods, shifted billions of tons of earth, collapsed the Russian church at Fort Ross, destroyed the city of Santa Rosa, cracked through San Francisco, made shambles of Stanford University at Palo Alto, jarred San Jose, destroyed the state insane asylum at Agnew, and sped south to Salinas. The quake

shook a path of destruction twenty to forty miles wide and two hundred miles long. As instant furrows showed, the surfaces along the crack line sometimes shifted twenty feet apart. The quake rated 6.3 on the Richter scale.10

The first quaking lasted forty seconds, but it seemed longer than that to the two reporters. Then, after a ten second pause, the quake resumed for another twenty-five seconds. Thirteen minutes later came the first of several strong aftershocks. During the quake the city resembled “a terrier shaking a rat.”11 The earth sometimes rose three feet, streets cracked open, water and gas poured up from holes in the ground, and church bells jangled with abandon.12

Florence Hill, a Latter-day Saint who lived outside the city’s center, was asleep when the earthquake hit:

I cannot describe the feeling that came over me as the earth began to rock and the house to grind and twist. The bed was a toy tossed about by unseen hands. I lay staring at the ceiling, expecting every instant to see the walls crashing about me... I knew not where to go for one place seemed just as safe as another. A rumbling, roaring noise added to the horror.13

The Ernst J. Broberg family, members of the local branch, lived on the second floor of a row-house near Golden Gate Park. When the quaking commenced, Mrs. Broberg rushed from her bed to stand under a doorframe for protection. She held their three-month-old baby, and her five- and three-year-old boys clung tightly to her legs. The boys, Wally and Todd, remembered for the rest of their lives that moment when they saw pans flying off the stove, cupboard doors flapping wildly, and groceries and dishes tumbling to the floor.14

“Six-Ought-Nine,” three stories high, rocked as though shoved by “a giant’s mighty hand.” “I was awakened by a most terrible and horrible rending and tearing sound,” President Robinson said, “and the house at once began to sway and rock as though it would be dashed to the ground.” He called to his crying daughters to be calm and then “a more terrific shake came and I jumped out of bed to the middle of the room” but “by this time I could scarcely keep my feet.” He noticed “a haze, brown-like, seemed to darken the room, while the building groaned with rending and twisting.” Chimney

11Race Whitney to Orson F. Whitney, Deseret Evening News, 30 April 1906, p. 3.
12Bronson, The Earth Shook, p. 35; Thomas and Witts, San Francisco Earthquake, p. 71.
14Todd Broberg, telephone interview with author, 3 September 1982; Wallace Broberg, telephone interview with author, 3 September 1982, notes in author’s possession.
Joseph E. Robinson,
President of the California Mission

Members of the San Francisco Branch in 1902
bricks burst through the ceiling in another room. In the parlor the mantle and fireplace and a candelabra crashed to the floor. Finally, when “609” stopped shaking, President Robinson reached and comforted his terrified children. The mission home survived the quake with but slight damage.15

Looking out through a window he saw three dogs, tails tucked, trying to gain entry into any building, and a bewildered old man leaning on his cane in the middle of McAllister Street with his legs wide apart. “Then like a flash the street was full of people, most of them in their night clothes,” President Robinson said. The sidewalk beside “609” “was covered with a great heap of bricks from the chimney of the house south of us.” Broken glass was everywhere. President Robinson climbed into bed with his children to calm them.16

Mrs. Robinson noticed something ominous: “Papa, there are fires breaking out down town. Great clouds of smoke are rolling up everywhere!” “Papa” Robinson dressed quickly and went outside. He saw a fire burning three blocks uphill (west) from “609” on Golden Gate Avenue and another one three blocks south near Octavia and Fell streets. He rushed back into “609” and instructed Elder A. T. McCarty, the mission secretary, to pack up the mission records in case the fires spread. Someone tried the home’s water faucets, and no water came—the city’s water mains had broken.17

President Robinson worried about his missionaries, the branch members, and Saints scattered around the city. He felt official church responsibility for the welfare of all Mormons in the area.

Meanwhile, the first earthquake barely disturbed the sleep of the five Pacific-bound elders, even Elder Leo Gardner who slept with an arm draped on the sill of an open window. The previous day’s travel and late night party made them too tired to react. They were lodged in two rooms on the third floor of a five-story brick hotel. When noise down in the street became too disturbing, Elder Gardner peered out and saw people running in all directions and buildings collapsing amid dust and smoke. He and the four others dressed leisurely to go out and investigate. They had trouble prying their door open and then found “the hall was completely covered with plaster and rubbish.” They picked their way downstairs and then outside. There they discovered that the front and back brick walls of

the hotel had sluffed off, creating giant rubble heaps on the ground. A crowd in the street “all seemed to be going in one direction,” so the elders joined the stream. “It was just a mob of people in panic,” Elder Gardner commented. Then, fearing their luggage might be in danger, they hiked to the train depot. The baggage agent said their trunks had been moved across the street to a warehouse then engulfed in flames. Two disappointed elders threw away their baggage claim tickets, but Elder Gardner picked them up, just in case.18

The five elders, strangers in the large, broken city, walked back to their hotel. This was about 8 A.M. Suddenly, an aftershock hit while they were in a narrow alley, showering down bricks and chunks of wood. Unhurt, they entered their damaged hotel, returned to their rooms, and, Elder Gardner said, “to our great astonishment we discovered that the two rooms which we five missionaries had slept in were the only two rooms in the entire building which were intact. There was not even so much as the plaster knocked off the ceiling of either room.” Collecting their few belongings, they left the battered hotel and hiked to ‘‘609.’’19

“My room was the only undamaged one” stories became commonplace in the city and among the Saints. Sister E. Wolfinger, a young LDS nurse at French Hospital, reported that all of the hospital’s rooms were damaged except the one where she was on duty. (After the quake she helped evacuate patients to tents in a nearby lot.) Elders E. H. Clark and S. A. Bunnell, lodged across the street from “609” at 606 Franklin Street, left their undamaged room only to find their building filled with cracks and broken plaster. “You Mormons got off easy,” the proprietor told them.20

Elders looking for Matthias Cowley found his Market Street hotel terribly damaged. “You are lucky to be alive,” rescuers told Elder Cowley while helping him down an outside ladder. He said his own room was undamaged, not even a crack in the ceiling. When he reached “609” he told the Saints that he was not harmed because “I dedicated my room to the Lord last night.” One amazed listener, six-year-old Inez Robinson, later said this was her “first testimony of prayer.”21

Gradually several Saints from throughout the city collected at “609,” including Bishop Welker and Sister Nash Rowlands, who was “terribly frightened—hair full of plaster.” By midmorning the

18Gardner Sketch.
19Ibid.
20Joseph E. Robinson to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1906; Desert Evening News, 27 April 1906, p. 1; Preece, “Story of This Old Down Quilt.”
21Preece, “Story of This Old Down Quilt”; Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 18 April 1906.
Pacific-bound elders as well as the Cowleys had reached the mission home. Sister Robinson fed the excited group some sandwiches and, because there was no water, the thirsty received bottled fruit and juice. President Robinson divided his missionaries and the Pacific elders into teams and sent them out to check on San Francisco Branch members. He visited a Hooper family and found the children upset. He administered to Sister Hooper, bedfast with rheumatism, and "she arose and dressed and was made whole" for the moment. Before noon the teams returned and reported. "I was thankful to my Heavenly Father to find all well so far as we could learn, and we heard from nearly all of them," the president said.22

The horrible stories the Saints heard about looters and pillagers marauding in their direction added to the Saints' fears. Brother Ernst Broberg, an American National Bank cashier who had just inspected his downtown bank and was carrying a gun, told President Robinson to arm himself "for the denizens of the Barbary Coast were coming up town before the flames, drinking, cursing, pillaging, and demon-like committing all kinds of abuses and wickedness. There was no law or order." Militia soon appeared on the streets, "young and untried boys," according to the worried mission president. He felt much better later in the morning when General Frederick Funston, recently returned from military duty in the Philippines and commander of two thousand troops at the city's Presidio garrison, began patrolling with "soldiers of experience." When the troops "with bugle calling and flag flying" rode down Golden Gate Avenue, a block from "609," President Robinson "wept for joy because I felt now the dread we had anticipated from Brother Broberg's warning was passed. The civil and federal authorities were getting the situation in hand."23

Having viewed nearby damage, heard wild rumors, and watched the sky fill with smoke, Saints at "609" became curious to see more of the incredible disaster. So they explored nearby neighborhoods, ruining their shoes on streets and sidewalks covered with broken bricks, boards, cement, and glass. Streetcars, their tracks twisted, severed, and blocked, could not run. Many houses tilted on twisted frames. The roaming Saints encountered shifting hordes of curiosity seekers and people fleeing fires which burned freely in several neighborhoods because firemen could pump no water from broken city water mains. "The sun looked like a huge ball—blood red—through

23Robinson Life Sketch.
the heavy smoke,' President Robinson said. 'As I noted the havoc wrought by the seismic force,' he recalled, 'I thought what poor, impotent things we are compared with the powers of the Infinite One. Here I could see how mountains shall rise and sink as He wills.'

The Saints learned, some the hard way, that martial law had been declared to prevent looting and to force-enlist laborers to aid the rescue crews. The militia had strict orders to shoot suspicious looking characters. Even shop owners could not enter their own shops nor grocers give away their own food. According to Elder Gardner, a police officer stopped him and six other elders at gunpoint and 'ordered us all into a basement and to help clear out the rocks and brick' and to look for survivors. They found no one, dead or alive, but saw bodies being pulled from nearby buildings.

THE DEATH OF '609'

The early morning fires near '609' were contained. But about 11 A.M., less than four blocks away, a woman tried to cook breakfast, and her chimney flue caught fire. Firemen were too busy elsewhere to respond to this new fire, now known as the famous 'Ham and Eggs Fire.' It spread slowly toward '609.' By midafternoon the Saints knew they must evacuate the mission home. Quick-thinking Sister Robinson had visited the nearby grocery when it opened that morning and bought loaves of bread and then, before the Saints deserted '609,' she packed up 'a good basketful' of food to take along.

In the early afternoon, firemen came to '609' and ordered everyone out. The mission home stood in a block being dynamited to stop the 'Ham and Eggs Fire.' Before leaving '609,' Elder Cowley led the Saints in a prayer for safety, and then the group hauled into the street about two dozen trunks, bedding, mission records, carpets, furniture, and the hand organ which the city's mayor, Eugene Schmidt, had recently donated to the branch. President Robinson said they had a 'strenuous time' emptying the home before the dynamiters arrived. To transport the piles of belongings, he flagged down two horse-drawn carts and willingly paid exorbitant fees demanded by the drivers. The '609' group, meanwhile, carrying trunks and loose

---

24 Robinson Life Sketch; Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 18 and 19 April 1906.
26 Gardner Sketch.
27 Robinson Life Sketch; Bronson, The Earth Shook, pp. 76–79.
belongings, joined their neighborhood's evacuation uphill and north two blocks and west one to Jefferson Park, a full city block of open space that became an instant refugee center. Carpets helped wall and roof in their possessions, giving a few lucky Saints some privacy and shelter that night.28

About 4 P.M., "609" was partly blown up by demolition teams. The rampaging fires then burned what was left of it. But the sacrifice paid off, and that flank of the fire line did not spread beyond the block where "609" had stood.

"THAT TERRIBLE WEDNESDAY"

Wednesday, 18 April 1906, was perhaps the longest day in San Francisco's history. During the long afternoon, unstoppable fires forced thousands of frightened people to flee to safety. Streams of people pooled in the city's open areas—vacant lots, public parks, cemeteries, and military bases. Mayor Schmidt appointed relief committees with authority to draft laborers to create needed medical, sanitary, cooking, and camping centers.

Lorenzo Lamont Snow, visiting the city, was lodged at the Graystone Hotel when the quake shook him awake. Forcing his jammed door open, he rushed into the crowd outside the hotel. "We were driven hither and thither by the fire," he said. Unable to reenter the hotel before it burned down, he lost $200 and all personal effects. From then until 4 A.M. the next day he labored with city work crews.29

LDS medical student Parley Pratt Musser, with his wife and baby, lived in a four-story apartment house at 915 Minna Street in the South-of-Market section. The tenants deserted the building after the initial quake, but Martha Musser handed the baby to Parley and said she would join them outside. Smelling gas, she found a wrench and bravely descended into the dark basement where, riding out three aftershocks, she turned off about thirty gas meters to the many apartments. When safely outside, she and Parley decided to save their household belongings despite approaching fires. Into deserted streets they hauled a 150 pound trunk, Parley's medical library bundled in a blanket, and two canaries. After one hour of back-breaking retreat, they were trapped by drifting smoke and advancing flames. Parley found some soft dirt and a tin bucket, dug a hole, and

28Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 18 April 1906; Joseph E. Robinson to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1906; Preece, "Story of This Old Down Quilt"; Gardner Sketch.
29The Logan Journal, 28 April 1906, p. 2.
buried his books. Fleeing unbearable heat, they hiked two more miles before finding safety. Then Parley, although exhausted, saw that his medical skills were needed, so he spent thirty consecutive hours dressing wounds and burns at an emergency hospital. Later he rescued his buried books, and on Saturday the family boarded a boat for Oakland.30

A seventeen-year-old Mormon, Harold Jenson, whose rewritten diary entry31 of sixteen typed pages, single spaced, provides one of the most detailed first-person accounts of a San Francisco’s experiences that disastrous Wednesday, helped his family barely escape from morning fires sweeping the area south of Market Street. His father, a tailor, pulled a hand truck carrying a trunk, loaded with tools and clothes, that “weighed a ton.” Harold’s mother pushed her husband’s wheeled sewing machine. Harold, his pockets full of small items, pushed his “wheel” (bicycle) on which were strapped a harp, two mattresses, and a bundle of belongings. The sidewalks—old, torn up, and “mostly wooden”—made progress slow as they moved south and then west, making a sweeping “U” to skirt and parallel the westward spreading fires.

The diary indicates that near Brannan and Sixth streets, Harold’s father became exhausted and stopped to rest. Fires burned within a hundred yards of them, and the family wondered, “Would we beat the fire?” When soldiers ordered everyone to move on before they dynamited the block, the father shook his head and murmured he could go no farther. Said Harold:

At that moment in my desire to get him out of the way, I was gifted with the strength of a Sampson, and how I thanked God after, that He had guided me from bad habits and also for the wonderful strength He gave me that day. On the impulse of the moment I picked him up as though he were but a mere child and sat him in the truck against the trunk. I got hold of the handles again and the big load seemed light as I wheeled it across the street and for half a block, while mother was close behind me wheeling the sewing machine.

Harold wrote that while dynamite concussions shattered windows next to them, they “struggled and pushed” their way through the crowd. They managed to hire “an old wagon ready to fall to pieces,” but even with it they moved slowly, having to dodge trunks, pianos, and furniture “strewn all over the street.” Their course was west on Fourteenth Street and north on Valencia. Near Market Street they

---

Scene on Howard Street

Reprinted from Young Woman's Journal, 17:270
avoided "soldiers who were confiscating all wagons," and turned west to Octavia, then north. Reaching Golden Gate Avenue, they found "a long train of wagons there in front as well as behind us." They skirted Jefferson Square—"one great mass of furniture and humanity"—hours before the "609" staff moved there. Joining the Hooper family, also LDS, they went up Turk Street to Fillmore, north to O’Farrell, and south on Divisadero to McAllister. Atop McAllister Hill, Harold said, "We got a splendid view of the burning city. All was fire, fire, oh God how our beautiful San Francisco did burn."

According to Harold’s diary, the Jensons continued west and then south across Golden Gate Park. By midnight they reached a ranch outside the city, but they could still see "the awful red sky" and hear "the reports of dynamiting." They gathered in the house "and a prayer was offered up to God for our deliverance and thanked Him for His protection and also for our city and its suffering thousands." Harold "tried to sleep but only a nightmare came; I dreamed I was in a burning building with no chance to escape."

Fires near Market Street also forced Utah artist John Willard (Will) Clawson and family from their home. Clawson’s studio was gutted and fires destroyed their priceless art treasures and household
belongings.32

Toward evening, the hotel where reporter Wally Young had been lodged caught fire, destroying his furniture and trunks. Race Whitney knew that his hotel, the Rex, at 242 Turk Street, was doomed as well; so the two newspapermen packed Race's trunks, grips, and typewriter and took them down to the sidewalk. "While in the hotel," Race recalled, "we helped some women to get out their traps [personal belongings], and Wally went to help them into a place of safety." When he returned, word came that the hotel would be dynamited in fifteen minutes, so, Race said, "I lugged my goods for a couple of blocks and finally secured an expressman to haul them a half mile further beyond the fire lines." He finally camped Wednesday night at a cemetery. Meanwhile, Wally Young found passage on a boat to Oakland where he helped publish a special earthquake edition of the San Francisco Chronicle.33

Rumors compounded the terror of the day. The quake had severed San Francisco's telephone and telegraph connections with the rest of the world, so Saint and gentile alike had no way to know how true stories were about Chicago sinking into Lake Michigan,

33Deseret Evening News, 30 April 1906, p. 3.
New York and Los Angeles being destroyed, and Salt Lake City being inundated by the Great Salt Lake.34

When nighttime drew Wednesday to a close, people could not sleep due to excitement and fear. Near dusk President Robinson moved his family and others from Jefferson Square. He took Bishop Welker, who was recovering from an operation, two or three expectant mothers, and the Cowleys to Sister Vandenberg Spurrier’s home at 440 Broderick Street. Mr. Spurrier, a professed atheist who had treated President Robinson coldly before, welcomed him into the home, shook his hand, and rejoiced: “Thank God, now we are safe!”—a strange utterance for an infidel, President Robinson observed.35

Many Saints, including the Pacific elders, spent Wednesday night at the Mormon camp in Jefferson Park. “It was a real trial,” Elder Gardner said, “to endure our thirst and to go without washing our faces and hands which were getting blacker with the dust and smoke.” He added that “there wasn’t much sleep that night.” The spreading fires lit up the horizon for miles around and there was no need for lamps or candles.36 “During the night,” President Robinson said, “we would go occasionally to watch the progress of the fire, which grew longer on its front line and came nearer.” Mrs. Robinson had a small child, and the family spent a cold night sleeping on the grass.37

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY OF FIRES

Wednesday’s fires burned most of the South-of-Market section and the business district. On Thursday, “miles of flames” burned northward, eastward, and southwest into the Mission District. Smoke billowed two miles high and clouded the city. Van Ness Avenue became the battle line, and firemen and dynamiters succeeded by early Friday in holding the fire line near there. On Friday, crackling flames fed hungrily between Russian and Telegraph hills and moved northeast to torch North Beach neighborhoods. By early Saturday morning, fireboats doused the last fires along the bay.

To escape the spreading fires, refugees moved again and again to find safety. Vehicles were scarce. Men, women, and children swarmed up and down San Francisco’s hilly streets, a scene President Robinson described:

34Desert Evening News, 7 May 1906; Bronson, The Earth Shook, p. 87.
35Robinson Life Sketch; Joseph E. Robinson Journal. 18 April 1906.
36Gardner Sketch.

446
People were moving out of the doomed district by the thousands, dragging trunks too heavy for the strength of the infirm and weak. Improvised vehicles were made of cots, lounges, baby buggies, etc. Heavy bundles were carried by children and weak women, whose tear-stained faces and terror-stricken countenances revealed the nature of their minds and souls. Some in grim humor joked, others were hysterical, some apathetic, others beside themselves with fear or anguish. I saw some who were drunken, or overcome with fatigue, laying on the hard sidewalks, near the fire line, oblivious to all their surroundings and wrapped in the deepest sleep. These would be awakened by the soldiers and almost prodded back to safety.

He thought it was wrong for people to worry more about pets than children, food, and clothes. Some inconsiderate souls, he noted, "called people uncharitable who would not share their last blanket or crumbs of bread with them to cover or feed their measly dogs or parrots."38

In addition to Parley Pratt Musser's medical service, several Mormon men helped during the catastrophe, not always voluntarily. Civil officers commandeered manpower as needed, sometimes at gunpoint, to distribute food, dig sanitary trenches, set up kitchens and bakeries, clear streets, drive vehicles, search for and remove the injured or dead, and fight fires. Among California Mission elders pressed into service were Elders A. T. McCarty (dispensing food), A. H. Clark and A. G. Benson (clearing rubble and building bakeries), John Nelson (pick and shovel work clearing streets), and J. R. Shepherd, who had prayed for trouble to strike the city (two nights working on fire engine detail).39

On Thursday morning the Pacific elders joined one of the great bread lines (four people abreast and many blocks long), and obtained two or three loaves each. Needing a change of clothing, if it could be salvaged, they returned to the railroad depot where they found only piles of charred luggage and assumed theirs had burned too. Walking back toward Jefferson Park they entered a large grocery store about to be razed, and, by police permission, filled their pockets and arms with canned goods and other food. They showed their groceries at the Mormon camp and then returned to the store for more, taking other Saints along. Inside, Elders Gardner and Franklin Badger froze when an armed officer first ordered everyone out and then shot and killed the man standing beside them. Dropping their baskets and raising both hands over their heads, the elders rushed out, "glad to

38Ibid., 19 April 1906.
get out with our lives,” Elder Gardner said. They then discovered they had entered the wrong store by mistake.\textsuperscript{40}

On Thursday the main Mormon camp at Jefferson Park, including President Robinson, moved to Golden Gate Park, fifteen blocks away. Someone noted that the branch was having its Golden Gate Park “picnic” after all, although a day late. A few Saints, however, stayed at Jefferson Square, where, President Robinson noted, “the sanitary conditions are exceedingly bad because of the lack of care and water to flush sewers.” Some families, in their efforts to move household belongings from the fire zones, became separated. To help Saints find each other, President Robinson posted a sign in the “609” ashes informing the members about the LDS camp relocations. Thousands of San Franciscans, including some Saints, crossed the bay to Oakland where refugee camps and relocation centers sprang up.\textsuperscript{41}

After earthquake tremors subsided and fire paths were scrutinized, Saints whose homes seemed safe, perhaps a dozen places total, opened them up to their church brothers and sisters. On Friday, with fires still burning, President Robinson “visited the Saints” and then in the evening moved his belongings to the Broberg’s row-house, near Golden Gate Park, where he, the Wolfinger family, and some elders slept that night.\textsuperscript{42}

On Friday, fires spread to the Russian Hill area. Among homes incinerated was that of Ina Coolbrith, a Mormon by birth but not by baptism or affiliation. Born Josephine Donna Smith in Nauvoo, she was a niece of Joseph Smith, after whom she was named, but kept her Mormon background secret. By 1906 she was already a highly regarded and dearly loved poet (in 1915 she was named Poet Laureate of California). Burned with the house were many of her writings and her personal library of books. Today, Coolbrith Park marks the spot where her house stood, a memorial to her poetic achievements.\textsuperscript{43}

**IMMEDIATE LDS ASSISTANCE**

News of the San Francisco catastrophe shook Utahns. Starting the morning of the quake, crowds collected to eagerly scan each new bulletin hand-posted on bulletin boards or in sidewalk windows of

\textsuperscript{40}Gardner Sketch.


\textsuperscript{42}Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 19 and 20 April 1906.

\textsuperscript{43}Josephine DeWitt Rhedehamel and Raymund Francis Wood, Ina Coolbrith: Librarian and Laureate of California (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973), pp. 257–58. Ina Coolbrith was the daughter of Don Carlos Smith and Agnes Coolbrith.

448
DREADFUL EARTHQUAKE VISITS SAN FRANCISCO

Flood and Fire Follow Shock

Thousands of Lives Are Lost

DENVER, April 18. At 5:07 a.m. Postal Telegraph Company here received the following information from San Francisco:

A dispatch reported that thousands of lives have been lost by an earthquake at San Francisco. Both the Fair and the Western Union Telegraph buildings in that city are reported to have been destroyed.

A dynamite fire is raging in the heart of the city, and at last accounts was within three blocks of the Palace Hotel. Water mains were bursting, and the fire department was completely knocked out.

Buildings Dynamised To Stop Progress Of Fire

DENVER, April 18. The dynamite of the San Francisco area has been decided upon. The city is fighting to save the city by dynamiting.

The fire is still raging from the Palace Hotel westward. It is said that hundreds of buildings in this section have been dynamited.

Operators Return to Their Posts After an Hour's Absence.

DENVER, April 18. The operators of the Palace Hotel have returned to their posts.

The fire is said to have been contained.

Deseret Evening News, 18 April 1906
the local newspaper offices. Those with relatives or loved ones in San Francisco anxiously looked for mention of names in the bulletins. Within twenty-four hours after the earthquake, Utahns were receiving accurate information about the welfare of the Mormons in San Francisco. Early Thursday morning President Robinson had sent elders across the bay to Oakland to telegraph President Joseph F. Smith, and soon the General Authorities and then Utah Saints heard the glad message: "Lives of Members and Elders Safe Mission Home Burned Loss Nominal Elders enroute to Islands, with us." Gradually letters reached Utahns from San Francisco as postal authorities forwarded messages, on paper or shingles or anything similar, without requiring postage stamps or envelopes.44

LDS and Utah government officials took immediate steps to send relief supplies to San Francisco. On 19 April, Thursday, the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve met and agreed to send $10,000 to California Governor George C. Pardee for the general relief of earthquake victims.45 General Relief Society officers "came with all haste" to a meeting called by President Bathsheba W. Smith in Salt Lake City. They contacted railroad men, secured space on a train car, and arranged for a load of flour to fill the car. They purchased ready-made clothing and bedding at ZCMI. "All day and far into the night the sisters worked faithfully, going themselves to the depot to see that the things were packed carefully in the car," the General Board minutes note.46 The women leaders also spearheaded "systematic work in the nearby stakes and wards," thus producing a supply of goods and money very quickly—along with a storage problem. Society officers contacted architect Don Carlos Young, who let them stack materials in his office in the downtown Templeton Building.47 By late Wednesday the Society had shipped one carload and "several parts of carloads" in the care of the Red Cross. During subsequent days they sent linens, hospital supplies, layettes, and bedding, including about 350 quilts and blankets. One stake's Relief Society labored a long day and night to finish and send off ninety-three quilts.48

In Salt Lake City, wards were asked to bake bread. Bishop Joseph Christenson of the Tenth Ward, in his diary, noted his ward's

44Joseph E. Robinson to Joseph F. Smith, 19 April 1906; Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 19 April 1906; Robinson Life Sketch.
46Relief Society General Board Minutes, 18 April 1906, Church Archives.
47Relief Society, A Centenary of Relief Society, 1842-1942 (Salt Lake City: General Board of the Relief Society, 1942), p. 49.

450
response: "April 20: Got word that bread was needed in San Francisco. Had Joseph [his son] and some of the boys notify the people. All seemed willing to bake bread for the hungry." The next day he wrote: "Today we gathered the bread and took it down to the depot. We had two wagon loads, also two big bundles of bedding, gathered by the Relief Society." Other wards responded similarly, including one that donated 500 loaves of freshly baked bread. One woman wrapped her loaves in oil tissue paper to keep the bread from drying out, tucked in notes asking for recipients to write to her about the disaster, and received answers, including one from a person living on Utah Street in San Francisco.

Within a few weeks Utahns had shipped dozens of train-car loads of food and supplies to San Francisco. Utahns also supported a benefit concert performed by the Tabernacle Choir and the U.S. Army Band from Fort Douglas. When railroads provided free rides to quake victims, hundreds headed east, making overnight stops in Utah. There, local people provided the refugees free lodging, meals, clothes, and baths. Appreciated the most, apparently, were the baths. Utahns’ money donations for earthquake relief purposes exceeded $100,000 by early summer.

AFTERMATH

On Saturday, 21 April, the Pacific elders moved to a hotel in Oakland. "What a relief it was to get in contact with some water once more and wash ourselves for the first time in four days," Elder Gardner said. They ate their first good supper in days and slept well in real beds. However, Elder Gardner awoke in the middle of the night when "a strong impression came to me that our baggage was not burned." So he arose, dressed, visited Oakland’s city hall, waited three hours in line, obtained a permit to cross the bay, ate breakfast, and then rode a ferry to San Francisco and visited the train station. "What in the hell do you want now?" the angry baggage man demanded. Elder Gardner insisted on examining the baggage room and the man finally consented. The minute the door opened the elder spied his trunk in the middle of the room "with all the baggage of the other four boys piled around it." Even boxes of books and literature the Church was sending with the elders for the

---

49 Joseph Christensen Journal, 20 and 21 April 1906, holograph, Church Archives.
Hawaii Mission were there. Elder Gardner produced all the needed baggage claim tags, and the agent marked "hold" on the items with red crayon. The elder ferried back to Oakland "with a light and happy heart," where his companions hardly believed his news.32

The next day the five crossed the bay and found that none of their personal effects was missing. They managed to move their baggage to the wharf, hoping to sail soon, but their ship delayed its departure. "We were heart sick as none of us had money to stay in California that long," Elder Gardner recalled. "We wondered if we should return to our homes in Utah." While debating what to do, they watched a large crane loading crates into a boat, and one crate broke open and scattered oranges on the wharf. A man motioned for the elders to help themselves. "Never did oranges taste so good before or since," one said. The elders returned to Oakland until 29 April, when four of the five sailed on the Alameda.33

On Saturday, 21 April, many Saints and elders, including the Robinsons, moved to Oakland. That day President Robinson wrote to LDS President Joseph F. Smith: "We are all quite well but worn and weary through watching and labor." Because several families lost almost all they possessed and "will need some assistance," he requested that President Smith send $1500 to $2000 to help the Saints. By 22 April he obtained a permit excusing him from forced labor details, letting him move freely into and out of San Francisco to shepherd his flock. Each day he carried two suitcases filled with bread to San Francisco and distributed it to "the women and children in greatest need in four parks we visited." During the week after 21 April his main task was shuttling between Oakland and San Francisco trying to reunite LDS families fragmented by the quake and fires. "Family separations worried me more than the fire and its attendant discomforts," he said.34

By 24 April, half the elders of the California Mission left San Francisco to return to their normal fields of labor, and half stayed to help the relief effort. One week after the earthquake, on 25 April, Race Whitney wrote a newsy letter about San Francisco conditions to his Apostle--father. "The people here are in a state of panic," he began. "The city is under martial law. Over 50,000 people are camping in the streets and public parks, weather cold, provisions dealt out by the government, one can at a time, one loaf at a time, and an occasional

---

32Gardner Sketch.
33Gardner Sketch; Joseph E. Robinson to George Reynolds, 9 May 1906.
Letter from Joseph E. Robinson to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1906

Just a few lines in addition to my telegram to let you know of our general welfare. I have just arrived in this city with my family and am locating them here for a few days when I will take them to Los Angeles and make our headquarters there. We are all quite well but worn and weary with watching and labor. We feel that the Lord has been wondrous kind to us in preserving our lives and, so far as the Elders and the Mission is concerned, all our belongings of any worth. Several families of Saints were not so fortunate and have saved nothing but the clothes they wore and a few little articles they carried away in their hands. Some of these will return to their homes in Utah as transportation will be given them by the R. R. Co., but the local Saints will need some assistance. One case in point will serve as a criterion for many: The Hooper family, with whom your wife Julina is acquainted, consists of nine souls and are dependent on the father and the grown up son, both of whom have lost all their tools, $200.00.
smakering of butter, meat and sugar.'" Although trainloads of supplies were arriving, the main problem was "how to get it to the people with the limited number of teams at the disposal of the relief forces."

The sewer system was wrecked, he said, and "Garbage holes and closets have been dug in the middle of the principal streets by the score." One striking feature of the calamity, he decided, was the equalizing the disaster caused:

Men who were in affluent circumstances a week ago, today are on a level with the humblest laborer. I have seen multi-millionaires dressed in long frock coats and silk hats—all they saved, perhaps, standing in a line two blocks long, behind Chinese or Italian laborers, waiting their loaf of bread. . . . "We are all even now," they say. "we'll start again and see who gets the money." 15

On 25 April Deseret News special correspondent George C. Carpenter took a twelve-mile walking tour of the charred city. He described the area between where City Hall and "609" had been as "ash heaps." All that remained of "609" was part of an iron fence, a bathtub, and a half-burned telephone pole "to which was tacked the cards of several elders and notice to latter-day Saints to gather at Jefferson Park." From ashes of "609" he picked up two heat-warped spoons as souvenirs. He then visited Saints staying at the Spurriers' home, Golden Gate Park, and the William P. Wolfinger residence. The latter had become the temporary mission headquarters for elders still in the city, and there he found thirteen elders "well, safe, and happy" and affirming "they would not have missed the experience for anything." Carpenter established a Deseret News information bureau where Utahns could register. He reported that 122 Saints and elders had been in the city when the quake struck. During the next days he cabled names of Utahns to Utah so people back home could know who was safe. Survivors, he noted, attributed the fact that no Latter-day Saints were killed or injured to "the intervening hand of the Almighty." 16

General Authorities decided to help a non-Mormon quake victim and friend of the Church, Dr. Winslow Anderson, a prominent surgeon. They sent him $500 to replace scientific materials he lost when his sanitarium and office were burned. He was a man "so kind to my family and the saints," President Robinson observed. 17

Aid continued to reach President Robinson for Saints in need. The Relief Society in the Hawaii Mission sent $50. Other Saints

15Race Whitney to Orson F. Whitney, Deseret Evening News, 30 April 1906, p. 4.
17Robinson Life Sketch.
and friends sent money, clothing, and writing materials. Because of George Carpenter's articles in the Deseret News, President Robinson noted, "one little crippled sister of Salt Lake City sent me a pair of shoes and hose because she read . . . of my much walking. The shoes were a perfect fit and good." Eight days after the quake, President Robinson received $1500 from Church headquarters. He tapped $500 of it, and he sent or took checks for $10 and $25 to "several of the Saints in need." During the next several weeks he disbursed another $250 from the fund, along with $250 from other donations. On 28 June, two months after the disaster, he reported that some San Francisco Saints were still living in tents. The "Paris of the West" had become a tent city. 58

SETBACKS FOR MISSION AND BRANCH

For reasons not spelled out, President Robinson decided to move the California Mission headquarters out of San Francisco to Los Angeles. Probably, like many others who experienced the 18 April disaster, he worried that the city would have similar quakes in the future. He moved his family to Los Angeles on 28 April, the second Saturday after the earthquake, and initiated the construction of a new mission home there. He left San Francisco "glad to know we had warned the city and discharged our obligations as 'ambassadors of truth.'" Regarding missionary labors in San Francisco, he concluded that "our most promising and largest field is now wiped out" and asked General Authorities to send no new missionaries to his mission. The weekend after moving to Los Angeles, he returned to San Francisco "and was engaged there for some time helping the Saints readjust themselves, etc., and in disbursing the funds in my hands to those in need." Then he assumed residency in Los Angeles. 59

Like the mission, the San Francisco Branch suffered long-term damages. The quake destroyed its rented meetinghouse, which probably was the Red Man's hall at 220 Golden Gate Avenue. Many members faced severe personal property losses. Branch President Justus Swanson, the Oscar Jenson family (including teenage diarist Harold), and a family named Hughes lost their homes. Ardella Cummings lost $2000 worth of belongings. "We did not think the fire would come

58 Joseph E. Robinson to Samuel E. Woolley, 26 June 1906, California Mission Letterbook; Robinson Life Sketch; Joseph E. Robinson Journal, 23 April 1906, and entries to early May; Joseph E. Robinson to the First Presidency of the LDS Church, 28 June 1906, California Mission Letterbook; Joseph E. Robinson to German E. Ellsworth, 31 May 1906, California Mission Letterbook.

59 Joseph E. Robinson Journal, late April and early May 1906; Robinson Life Sketch; Joseph E. Robinson to George Reynolds, 9 May 1906.
up to us," she lamented, "all we could do was take some clothing and walk out of our house and let it burn down." Artist Will Clawson lost his house and studio, including twenty portraits valued at $50,000. Brother Hooper, with a family of nine depending on him for support, lost his tools valued at $200. Several LDS women in the city had been dressmakers, but, in President Robinson's opinion, they would be out of work for a long period until the city could be rebuilt. "Quite a number" of San Francisco Branch members moved to Utah and others took refuge in Oakland. The Broberg family's row-house was not burned, but Ernst sent his family to Utah for six months, and then they reunited to live in Oakland, away from San Francisco's earthquake danger. The Jenson family spent two years in Oakland before returning to San Francisco. The Oakland Branch's population doubled, and it became an independent branch headed by Oaklander Norman B. Phillips.  

A small colony of Saints stayed in the decimated city. On the second and third Sundays following the earthquake, they gathered for unofficial Sunday School services outdoors, attended by twenty-two at the first meeting and thirty-five at the second. However, after that, Sunday meetings were discontinued that summer. With the public transportation system ruined, travel to meetings became too difficult. Also, many of the men could not attend meetings because they were employed on Sundays "owing to the rush of rebuilding the city." The branch held no official meetings after the quake until 12 August. When Sunday School resumed in August, its attendance was down by two-thirds from pre-earthquake figures. It was reduced from independent branch status to being a branch dependent upon the Oakland Branch. By 1907 the branch was listed in the San Francisco street directory as meeting at 1443 Baker Street.  

INTERPRETING THE CALAMITY: LDS VIEWS

The earthquake and fires destroyed nearly 500 city blocks of San Francisco, or five square miles, including the business district. The 28,000 buildings destroyed included 30 schools and 80 churches.

---

60San Francisco Branch Sunday School Minutes, 18 April 1906, MS, Church Archives; Robinson Life Sketch; Desert Evening News, 28 April 1906, pp. 1-2; Olpin, Dictionary of Utah Art, p. 39; Joseph E. Robinson to Joseph F. Smith, 21 April 1906; Todd and Wallace Broberg Interviews; Joseph E. Robinson to the First Presidency, 29 June 1906, California Mission Letterbook; Rudolf Martin Jenson, telephone interview with author, 3 September 1982, notes in author's files; Edna Phillips Darnton, "History of the California Mission" (which includes a history of her father, Norman B. Phillips), typescript, in author's files.

61Joseph E. Robinson to the First Presidency, 9 May 1906, in Robinson Papers; San Francisco Branch Sunday School Minutes; retrospective entry for 18 April 1906.
Estimates of property dollar losses approach $500,000,000. Thousands lost homes, and more than 450 people died.\textsuperscript{62}

Nationwide, and particularly in religious circles, the question of God's relationship to the disaster was debated. Many Protestant leaders disclaimed any connection between sin and cosmic events, causing President Joseph F. Smith to observe that there seemed to be "a general feeling among the Protestant religious bodies that God has little to do with nature or her laws." This, he said, was "a mistaken view." Because many people were saved "in a providential way," it seemed to him that

the quake was for the purpose of calling attention, by the finger of his power, to the wickedness and sins of men—not alone to the sins of the people of the stricken city, for there are many elsewhere who are just as evil minded, but to the transgressions of all mankind, that all may take warning and repent.\textsuperscript{65}

He suggested that because of worldwide numbness to religion and "insensibility to God," God uses calamities to "bring a sense of himself and his purposes home to the minds of men." Saints know, he added, that "God rules in the fire, the earthquake, the tidal wave, the volcanic eruption, and the storm" and that He speaks to people by the "voice of earthquakes." President Smith stressed that natural disasters are "schoolmasters to teach the people to prepare themselves, by righteous living, for the coming of the Savior."\textsuperscript{64} As if proving the point, President Robinson noted two months after the cataclysm: "The Saints are more attentive to their duties since the dread calamity."\textsuperscript{65}

James E. Talmage, respected then as both a geologist and commentator on LDS doctrines, expressed disbelief "that the greatest sufferers in this disaster are necessarily those who were most wicked."\textsuperscript{66} To this, President Smith agreed, adding that the righteous often suffer for the unrighteous, as the innocent Christ suffered for others' sins.\textsuperscript{67}

However, beyond warning and schooling people, President Smith said earthquakes triggered and released man's inherent goodness:

We believe that these severe, natural calamities are visited upon men by the Lord for the good of His children, to quicken their devotion to others, and to bring out their better natures, that they may love and serve him.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{62}Bronson, \textit{The Earth Shook}, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{64}Ibid., 652–54.
\textsuperscript{65}Joseph E. Robinson to the First Presidency, 29 June 1906.
\textsuperscript{66}James E. Talmage, "In Deeper Tone," \textit{Improvement Era} 9 (June 1906): 633.
\textsuperscript{67}Smith, "Lessons in Natural Calamities," p. 652.
\textsuperscript{68}Ibid., p. 654.
Relief Society leaders expressed the same belief, saying that the tragedy gave people "an opportunity to prove their benevolence, their pity, their generosity, and their genuine love for humanity."  

President Robinson likewise was impressed by "the ready and magnanimous response that was made to the call of help, not a long way off, but close at hand, in the Ruined City itself where the Divine in men ran true to the call of suffering and distressed humanity"—even among the depraved and degraded. Elder Talmage felt this charitableinstinct was proof of divinity in mankind. "The voice of disaster was Nature's call, and with its first note the brotherhood of nations burst forth as the impulse of love." He invited the infidels to study "this masterly picture" of family love, and then he challenged them: "Canst thou yet deny the hereditary attributes of Fatherhood divine?"

President Robinson saw another aspect of divinity at work during the disaster, a notable calmness that enveloped the faithful Saints despite the crisis. "There was no hysteria, abandonment to grief, despair or complaint manifest. All seemed to possess that 'peace of mind that surpasseth understanding' which comes only to those whose 'hopes were secure in the promises of the Father.'"  

---

70 Joseph E. Robinson to Heber J. Grant, 29 June 1906.  
71 Talmage, "In Deeper Tone," pp. 631, 632.  
San Francisco from Top of Hill on California Street
The Taciturn Phylactery

Death,
The taciturn phylactery,
Lies calmly in a sparrow's shape
Along the road.

A quickening breeze tugs gently
At small tufts of feathers:
Gray and brown,
And eases through the sunlit trees
Above the grass and purple flowers.

The air, so ripe with peace
And cleansed by careful glory,
Is trembling with holiness
So recently Thine eyes were resting on this place.

—Randall L. Hall

Randall L. Hall is a curriculum writer for the LDS Church Educational System, Church Office Building, Salt Lake City, Utah.
The Window Effect

Pauline Mortensen

My arm is being fed from a bottle. I am awake and very much aware of how much my life is not my own. It is part of the room, part of the bed, part of the bottle, part of the nurses when they come in and check that part of me that is theirs. I cannot move, so they move me. Every few hours they come in, four of them, and turn my body—that part that is theirs. There is a plastic tube which drains the excess blood out of my back, drawn through the tube by the sucking action of the expanding canister that sometimes gets tangled underneath when they turn me, gets tangled and sometimes lies next to my face, and I can see that part of me which is no longer a part. And there is a wire holding me together in my back, holding me together, keeping me separate from the room. But it doesn’t work; I am part of the room.

There is an old man in the next room. There are many old people on this floor, the orthopedic floor. He is in a box-like sling, so I am told, because he has a broken hip. But there is much the old man does not understand. He struggles against the straps which restrain his body, struggles and shouts obscenities in German, and in English he calls, ‘‘Gut me out off hair, somebody!’’ He speaks for both of us.

Facing the window, I see that it doesn’t open. Windows should open. A person may have to crawl out of one in an emergency someday—to save himself. I’ve been thinking of crawling out of a window lately, that part of me that is still mine, that isn’t attached to wire and tubes and bottles and canisters. I call it the window effect.

I first became aware of the window effect when I was teaching a Sunday School class of five-year-olds. The manual said they were five-year-olds; I didn’t doubt the manual. I found out later they were six and seven. I think there might have been a lack of relevance. Eldon was seven. One day while I was talking ‘‘Our Heavenly Father Made Our Bodies,’’ Eldon climbed out the window in the back of the room, slipped over the sill to the ground before I could get to the part

---

Pauline Mortensen is a creative writer living in Salt Lake City, Utah.

461
about "our two strong legs take us to church." I suppose he needed the fresh air; I certainly did. Looking back on it now, I can see the advantage of building churches all on one level, close to the ground with windows that open, not like hospitals that leave you windowless and groundless on the twelfth floor.

The nurse comes in to take my temperature. Her wrist snaps as she shakes the mercury down. "How are we doing today?" It is a cliche, I know, but they really do say it. It is their way of letting you know that your body is not really yours but theirs, to measure, to rub, to pump up, to turn over, to wash, to patch, and to puncture. The last time the technician took my blood he said it was a nice color. He added the tube that was a part of me to a collection of tubes he had on his tray and went on down the hall.

The man next door. "You gut no rights ta keep me. You lemme go."

The nurse puts the thermometer in my mouth, wraps my arm and pumps it up to take my blood pressure. They have to monitor the vital functions. I am alive. She brings the bedpan.

Last week the old lady across the hall attacked the wire-haired nurse. She went for the nurse's throat; the nurse was trying to put the oxygen tubes back in the old lady's nose. Personally I think if she had the energy to attack a nurse, she probably didn't need the oxygen tubes in her nose in the first place. Then later when I called for a nurse, that same nurse with the black wavy hair came in and shut the door, didn't ask what I wanted, just came over and sat down. (I wanted my toothbrush.) She gave me the story of her life. Said she didn't know if it was worth it. I assumed she meant nursing, so I asked her why she became one in the first place. She said it wasn't like she thought it was going to be. I didn't have any answers. Staying in the hospital wasn't what I thought it was going to be either. She brought me my toothbrush. I counted three cases of the window effect that day: me, the nurse, and the old lady across the hall. I have a brother who had an especially bad case.

When Steve was two, he'd sit on my lap and name off the makes of cars in my Matchbox car collection. I'd give him hugs for every one he got right, and he'd careen through the list again. It seemed as if he was building up an early immunity. But at sixteen he came down with it like the rest of us. He slept in the basement, and instead of using the door like a civilized person, he started climbing out of the basement windows. He mashed down the flowers all around the house. It wasn't as if anyone was going to stop him from going where he wanted to go, so I guess he just wanted to avoid any questions.
Steve owned a Yamaha, and you know what they say about them, the part about someday you’ll own one? I guess if he can do it anyone can—climb out a window and ride away from it all on a motorcycle. Of course, some people have tried to explain Steve’s behavior as a means of escaping his father, but some will always say that. Personally, I think Steve rather enjoyed those father-and-son outings to the traffic court. At one point they wanted to send Steve away to an institution of some kind. I didn’t think clinical caring was the answer then, and I haven’t changed my opinion.

The nurse takes the bedpan. Talcum powder on the rim helps.

Sometimes when the doctor listens with his stethoscope, the metal disk is cold on my chest; and sometimes he forgets to put the ear pieces into his ears. But he says I’m fine just the same. That’s the way they do things here.

In the recovery room they shook my arm to wake me. I didn’t know how long they had been shaking it; it seems as if there is more shaking in there than recovering. The boy next to me was recovering from his wart-removal surgery. They shook his arm for a long time before he came to. Then he tried to climb off the bed. I was hoping he’d make it, but three of them held him down.

Anesthesia is a trick anyway. They tell you that you won’t feel a thing. But when they shake you back to an awareness of life, there is pain that wasn’t there before, is there for no apparent reason, and won’t go away by closing your eyes. It’s kind of medical jet lag; you come back out of time, out of sync with what you remembered last. It is no way to treat a patient, even if he does survive.

Steve owned a Yamaha, but my window is puttiwed in. The doctor comes through the door. It’s Saturday, and he is wearing a yellow sweater and brown pants.

“How are we doing today?”

Part of us looks like we are going to play golf while the rest of us stays here.

“Pain,” I say. “Those pills make me sick; you got something else?”

“I’ll change you over from Percodan to Tylenol-3. That should take care of it. Anything else?”

“No,” I say. What can I say? He’s done his part, performed the operation.

The doctor operates on Tuesday. Before surgery he listens to rock music on his portable radio to get his adrenaline up, or so the rumor goes. So on Tuesday his bedside manner is different. I have five pillows on my bed, and last time he asked me if they were proliferating. Today he says, “Anything else?”
‘‘No,’’ I say. What could he give me on his three-minute visit? He has done his part and deserves his diversion. But I'm not altogether sure which is the bigger diversion, the golf or the surgery.

The doctor finishes writing on my chart. He says, ‘‘See you Monday,’’ and goes out into the hall. My free arm pushes the button that shuts the door behind the doctor, pushes the button that raises my head. Stop. I close my eyes.

When I was six my sister made me ride the horse against my will. She wanted me to be brave. The horse bucked me off, and I was knocked into semiconsciousness. She carried me into the house, as she was screaming melodramatically, ‘‘Speak to me! Speak to me!’’ I remember, but she doesn’t. It’s fun to bring up at family reunions to tease her with. My legs hurt for weeks. Like they do now; like they’ve done for years. Perhaps a faulty memory is not altogether a bad thing; it’s a liberation of a sort, not escape necessarily. I don’t blame her for anything. Why should she blame herself? In family, I think it can be a healthy thing, forgetting.

The pain pills help forgetting. As a great joke I brought a book by Faulkner to read called _As I Lay Dying_. With me slipping in and out of forgetting, the book makes even less sense here than it did at home. But I want to forget, to go back to the trickery of anesthesia. Always there is something that reminds me of where I am. The bed is hard. The bottle is dripping into my arm. I must circle today what they will feed me tomorrow. Sounds like a life of leisure, I know; I can’t help that. In the afternoon when I press the up button all the way until it stops, I can see the park across the street, the children on the jungle gym, children urging ‘‘higher’’ on the swings and ‘‘faster’’ on the merry-go-round. There are trees in the park that shade people eating lunches underneath. I have air conditioning.

My husband comes to visit me every night after work. He says this is harder on him than it is on me; he can’t sleep nights. I let him bring me things—it helps him, makes him feel useful. He sits in the chair by the side of my bed and falls asleep watching television. He sleeps fine here. Then he goes home.

It’s the same thing when I’m home, but I’m not complaining. People keep telling me that children make a difference. I don’t doubt it. But so far I haven’t noticed that it’s solved anything.

I’ve been making a list of things I would like to do when I recover from surgery in a year or two; having a baby is not on that list. There are things I’ve not been able to list for awhile: tennis, raquetball, fishing; cycling; dishes, pies, beds, carpets. I’m not making a joke. Maybe being able to do something for a change will make a difference.
It's eight o'clock. The nurse brings in my breakfast and takes away the lid from my plate.

In Rathdrum, Idaho, near where my mother lives, there is a cult of devil worshipers who make their living waylaying cars on the prairie roads. They smash in the windows of the cars that stop at desolate intersections, knock the windows and the people out with gunny sacks weighted with rocks. Sometimes they link arms and make a human chain across the road to make the cars stop.

It's not a weighted gunny sack I want exactly; no one needs that much attention. But the human chain is not such a bad idea. Of course, there's always a chance that the cars will not stop. A friend of my mother's says she was driving home alone one night across the Rathdrum prairie. She just barely made out the human chain while there was still time to build up her speed. It didn't make the papers because the devil worshipers take care of their own, and the lady wouldn't have reported it. But someone found an arm lying in the field next to the road. I don't know that it was worth losing an arm over, but something must be.

Of course, there are other types of human chains, like the ones in movies where they stretch themselves across a flooded river, wrist to wrist, fingers digging in flesh, in order to get everyone across safely, to escape the rushing flood.

I butter my toast and put on the jam that comes in the indented plastic form.

My roommates at college accused me of using my back as an excuse to get out of doing my share of the cleaning. It does sound suspicious; I can't help that. I don't need to justify myself anymore; the doctor has my x-rays for anyone who cares to look. But I don't think anyone will bother. I sure wouldn't, even knowing what I know—that a human chain might stop the speeding enigma; that is, at least it has been known to stop it in movies and on deserted highways. That may be so, but it certainly doesn't sound like a very safe thing to do. Perhaps something more subtle would work.

I eat my whole-wheat toast and prunes and watch out the window at the swaying treetops in the empty park, the branches writhing like Medusan snakes above where the children usually play. The great stone face of the hospital faces the park, and I am a part of the hospital.
A Scarcity

those days. waited in lines
with a female relative you pretended
not to know to get the extra
sack of scarce sugar. (war
lingering.) (the small town dying
& not yet knowing it.) the place
odored with fruit & coffee; the plain
wood floor. & the glee of meeting
afterwards, the four pounds put
together at a time. & did not know
that what was rationed was those days.

—John Ditsky
Chartering the Kirtland Bank

Dale W. Adams

INTRODUCTION

Few events have rocked the LDS Church more severely than the failure of the Kirtland Bank in 1837. In less than a year the acrimony caused by this affair split Church leadership and fragmented the Mormon community in Kirtland. Explanations for the bank’s collapse range from condemning to absolving those involved; critics often charge speculation and fraud, while apologists stress prudence and events beyond the control of honorable men. In a recent study Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer shed considerable light on events surrounding the failure of the bank.¹ They correctly conclude that the lack of a state bank charter was the key factor leading to the quick demise of the bank and to much of the bitterness that followed.² In this article I explore the bank founders’ attempt to obtain a charter and the reasons they were rebuffed in their efforts.

BACKGROUND

Other writers have covered extensively many of the events surrounding the Kirtland Bank.³ A brief synopsis of the bank’s history is useful, nevertheless, to provide a basis for the discussion which follows.

The period 1830–36 was a heady time for Mormons. Scriptures were written, revelations were received, missionaries were very active,

---


²Ibid., p. 435.

a rapid expansion in Church membership occurred, newspapers were issued, farms were purchased, and various commercial businesses started. The completion of the Kirtland Temple in March 1836, was a high point in the expansion of Church activities. As might be expected, this growth involved costs. Expenses associated with temple construction, land purchases, business acquisitions, missionary efforts, and help to poor converts who migrated to Kirtland placed a heavy strain on the intertwined financial affairs of the Church and Joseph Smith, Jr. Although estimates of the outstanding debt jointly owed in late 1836 by Joseph Smith and the Church vary, most observers agree the debts were substantial. The value of jointly owned assets such as land, buildings, and business inventories almost certainly exceeded the total value of debts at the time the loans were made, but the debts were very short term. As was common at the time, almost all of the loans were due in less than 180 days and many in less than half that time. Since a very large proportion of the jointly owned assets were not liquid, because they were in land and buildings, these short-term debts were extremely difficult to manage. During 1836 and early 1837 the Church and Joseph Smith faced continual cash flow shortages. In late December and early January alone they had notes coming due that amounted to more than $7,000. The desire to start a bank was almost certainly heightened by these pressures.

It is not clear when the idea of forming a bank first emerged. It might have surfaced in early January 1836 when Oliver Cowdery attended a Democratic Party Convention in the state capital, Columbus. While there, he met several times with the auditor of state, John A. Bryan. The postmaster position in Kirtland might have been the main topic of these discussions, but because Bryan’s office had close contact with the banking community in Ohio, it is possible that the bank charter issue was also raised. Since Bryan was a member of the anti-bank branch of the Democratic Party, it is unlikely that Oliver Cowdery received encouragement from him on the possibilities of getting a bank charter.

The first recorded activity concerning starting a bank is in early August 1836 when Oliver Cowdery visited a firm in New York City to

---

4Brodie claimed joint debts of over $150,000. (No Man Knows My History, p. 202), while Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer conclude that $46,000 may be too high an estimate (“Kirtland Economy Revisited,” p. 416). With the information that is available, it is impossible to clarify when certain debts were partially or completely repaid. Even if the outstanding balance on joint debts in late 1836 were only $13,000 to $20,000, the financial pressure would still have been intense. Then the price of a bushel of wheat or the wage for a full day of work by an adult male was only about $1.00.


discuss acquisition of bank notes. During this visit, he may have arranged a line of credit, through a New York branch, with a firm in Philadelphia that later printed the Kirtland Bank script: Underwood, Bald, Spencer and Huffy. A safe purchased by Joseph Smith in mid-October 1836 also was probably intended for bank use. The bank's stock ledger book shows that the first installment payments for some of the bank stock may have been made 18 October 1836. On 2 November 1836 a meeting was held in which a constitution was drawn up for the establishment of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank. At that meeting, Sidney Rigdon was elected president and Joseph Smith, Jr., cashier. Sometime after this meeting, Oliver Cowdery was dispatched to Philadelphia to obtain plates for printing script for the new bank, and Orson Hyde left for the state capital to petition the Thirty-fifth General Assembly for a bank charter.

Both Oliver Cowdery and Orson Hyde were reported to have arrived back in Kirtland on Sunday, 1 January 1837. Oliver had plates for new script and a batch of freshly printed bills, but Orson Hyde came back empty handed. The organizers of the bank held a meeting the next day at which the previous bank constitution was annulled and then slightly altered to form corporation articles of agreement for a joint-stock association called the Kirtland Safety Society Anti-Banking Company. The new association began to issue and distribute bills almost immediately. Since some of the bills were dated as early as 4 January, a Wednesday, it is likely the bank officially opened on 9 January 1837. Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer estimate that new bills with a face value of something less than $16,000 were issued in January, mostly in $1, $2, and $3 denominations. Almost immediately, questions were raised about the legality of the bank and its notes. Conforming to Gresham's law, the suspect script of the Kirtland Bank quickly replaced stronger script

---

7 *Messenger and Advocate* 2 (September 1836): 375.
8 J. R. Riker, *Joseph Smith* (1844), p. 462. The safe measured only 25 by 24 by 29 inches. The dimensions of the safe cast a serious shadow on the validity of stories of various apostates cited by Brodie (*No Man Knows My History*, pp. 196–97). They claimed that the shelves of the bank vault were lined with many boxes each marked $1,000. These many boxes were supposedly filled with sand, lead, old iron, and stone with only a thin layer of coins on top. As will be pointed out later, the founders of the bank probably had enough genuine specie when the bank was opened to fill the several small boxes that might have occupied this very modest safe.
10 *Messenger and Advocate*, Extra, December 1836.
11 Brodie, *No Man Knows My History*, p. 196. I could not confirm this from any other source. It is possible that Orson Hyde returned to northern Ohio before the first of January, since the General Assembly transacted little business between Christmas and New Year's. He may have spent time with his in-laws in Hyrum, Ohio, before returning to Kirtland.
12 *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (January 1837): 441-43.
14 For example, *Cleveland Weekly Gazette*, 1 February 1837.
and coins in the Kirtland area. Only two weeks after the bank’s opening, the bank officials were forced to refuse to exchange its script for coin and instead offered land held by the Mormon community. Very quickly the Kirtland Bank bills began to exchange at very sizable discounts from their face value. By 1 February they were being exchanged at only 12½ cents on the dollar.¹⁵

A month after the bank opened a writ was sworn out against Joseph Smith, Jr., and Sidney Rigdon by Samuel D. Rounds, a front man for Grandison Newell.¹⁶ The writ accused the two Mormon leaders of illegal banking and issuing unauthorized bank paper. A hearing on 24 March 1837 postponed the trial on this case until the fall session of the court. At the jury trial in October 1837, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon were found guilty and fined $1,000 each plus some court costs, a fine they appealed.¹⁷ A flurry of law suits, charges, countercharges, arrests, and threats of arrests swirled around the founders of the bank from March through December. The storm abated only when many of the founders of the bank and principal Church leaders fled Kirtland in 1837 and 1838.

THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO CHARTER

In the early 1800s a number of firms in Ohio issued money-like script. The first bank charter in Ohio was granted to the Bank of Marietta in February 1808, and it was not until 27 January 1816 that the state legislature passed a law prohibiting the issue and circulation of unauthorized money.¹⁸ But, for a number of years, unauthorized money was not clearly defined. Even in the late 1830s some commercial firms with state charters of incorporation interpreted their charters as allowing them to carry out banklike functions.¹⁹ The Granville Alexandrian Society Bank, for example, operated as a bank off and on from 1814 to 1841 under an act incorporating a library society.²⁰ In several of these years this “bank” paid state taxes levied on all banks

¹⁵Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 198.
¹⁶Ibid. Grandison Newell claimed to have spent $1,000 in court actions against the Mormons during 1837, and in addition gave Samuel Rounds $100 for his trouble (see unpublished manuscript by Mrs. Mary Newell, “Thomas Newell and His Descendants,” dated 1878, on file in the Lake County Historical Library, Mentor, Ohio).
¹⁷See Court of Common Pleas, Record Book U, Geauga County, Ohio, pp. 353 ff.
¹⁸Charles Clifford Huntington, A History of Banking and Currency in Ohio before the Civil War (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications, 1915),
¹⁹One reference that discusses illegal script in Ohio is Rowland H. Retick, State Centennial History of Ohio (Madison, Wis.: Northwestern Historical Association, 1902), p. 273. He cites a state auditor’s report dated 1843 that said nine concerns in Ohio were engaged in illegal money circulation.
in Ohio. Another example of a quasi bank was the Ohio Railroad Company, which was incorporated by the state legislature in 1836.\footnote{Special Report of the Auditor of State [of Ohio]: Railroad Companies, Pub. Doc. No. 44, 5 January 1843, p. 17–40.} Located near Cleveland, this company interpreted its charter as allowing it to issue and circulate script. It started to do so at about the same time as the Kirtland Bank. Over a period of just a few months, it issued almost $100,000 face value in script.

It appears that commercial firms were encouraged to conduct banklike business, even without state bank charters, by Whigs and people in the soft-money wing of the Democratic Party. Uniform opposition to these quasi banks did not appear until after most banking establishments in Ohio encountered serious financial problems as a result of the economic turmoil that began in 1873.\footnote{Ibid.}

In the mid-1830s the procedure in Ohio for getting a bank charter, a corporate charter, a church charter, and even a divorce was through passage of a bill by the Ohio General Assembly. Many of the bank bills originated in the House, but senators occasionally directly introduced bank proposals through bills or amendments. In most cases the bank bills were sponsored by legislators representing the county in which the new bank was to be located. Almost all of twenty-two House proposals for new bank charters submitted to the Thirty-fifth General Assembly in 1836–37, for example, were introduced by legislators living in or near the towns where the banks were to be established.\footnote{General Assembly of Ohio, Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, Thirty-fifth General Assembly, and Journal of the Senate of the State of Ohio, Thirty-fifth General Assembly, 1836–37 printed in 1837, pp. 360–66.} This also appears to have been the custom in the Senate.

Other things being equal, Oliver Cowdery, because of his involvement in Democratic Party politics and the contacts that he had likely made earlier in Columbus, was a more logical choice than Orson Hyde to carry out the political mission of procuring a bank charter. It may have been imperative, however, that Oliver be sent for the script and plates because of credit arrangements he had made earlier with the printer in Philadelphia. The political setting was probably critical in Hyde’s selection and in his ultimate failure. In the elections of 1836 the Township of Kirtland, where many of the Mormons lived and voted, was an island of Democrats in a sea of Whigs. In the presidential elections of November 1836, Kirtland Township gave 396 votes to the Democratic candidate, Van Buren, and only 116 votes to the Whig candidate, Harrison.\footnote{Painesville, Ohio Republican 24 November 1836.} Kirtland was the only
township in Geauga County to give the Democrat, Van Buren, a majority vote. Overall, the county voted 3,274 to 1,487 for Harrison. All three legislators representing Geauga County in the Thirty-fifth General Assembly in 1836–37 were Whigs: Representatives Seabury Ford (later governor of Ohio) and Timothy Rockwell, and Senator Ralph Granger.

Orson Hyde was likely chosen to carry the application for a bank charter to Columbus because he was a Whig.\(^{25}\) It is also possible that he knew one or more of the three legislators, as he had traveled widely in the county as part of his ministerial work prior to becoming a Mormon. He probably met Representative Ford while attending Burton Academy in Ford’s hometown of Burton in 1828–29. Knowing any or all of these legislators would have been important to the Mormons’ suit. The support of these three critical legislators for the petition was likely viewed as a key step in getting a charter.

In his diary, Wilford Woodruff reports that Orson Hyde was still in Kirtland on 27 November 1836.\(^{26}\) He probably left for Columbus shortly before the Thirty-fifth General Assembly opened on 5 December 1836. He may have gone in style, since he was on bank business, by riding the stage to Columbus, which took a day and a half from the Kirtland–Cleveland area. There was little need for him to arrive early since Columbus in 1836 was not much larger than Kirtland. Legislators probably arrived only a day or so before the assembly opened, and only one Mormon, Cyprian Rudd, is known to have been living in Columbus at the time.

One of Hyde’s first orders of business must have been to contact Ford, Rockwell, Granger, and any other legislators whom he knew to see if he could find a sponsor for a bill to charter the bank. He must have met with cold shoulders from Representatives Ford and Rockwell, since neither of them submitted a bill for the Kirtland Bank. It is also obvious that Senator Ralph Granger did not react sympathetically, since he later voted against a Kirtland Bank proposal. Since Orson Hyde could find no sponsor, he must have been virtually certain of rejection of the first application for a bank charter when he returned to Kirtland in late December.

Joseph Smith’s explanation for the lack of a charter—‘‘Because we were ‘Mormons’ the legislature . . . refused to grant us those banking privileges they so freely granted to others’’\(^{27}\)—may have


\(^{26}\)Dean C. Jessee, ‘‘The Kirtland Diary of Wilford Woodruff,’’ BYU Studies 12 (Summer 1972): 372.

been only partly self-serving. It is likely that Orson Hyde got a very frosty reception from Ford, Rockwell, and Granger. They may even have told him that under no circumstances would they support a charter for the "Mormon Bank" in Kirtland. Two reasons could have been behind the reaction. First, three Whig representatives could not have been enthusiastic about promoting a bank for Democrats in Kirtland. Even more importantly, all three of these Geauga legislators had close contacts with the rabid Mormon hater, Grandson Newell, who almost single-handedly drove the Mormons out of Kirtland. Both Rockwell and Granger were involved with Newell in building a railroad from Fairport to Wellsville, Ohio.28 Rockwell later was also a trustee of the Western Reserve Teaching Seminary, which used the Kirtland Temple after Newell wrested ownership of the building from the Church. Newell was also an active member of the Geauga Agriculture Society along with Granger and Ford.29 If Newell’s attitudes toward the Mormons were communicable, it is difficult visualizing a warm reception from any of these three individuals for a Mormon proposal.

Another reason Orson Hyde had little chance to obtain a bank charter lay in national party politics.30 For a number of years the mainstream of the Democratic Party, under Jackson’s leadership, was strongly anti-bank. At the national level, the efforts to eliminate the Bank of the United States as a national bank captured most of the headlines. The refusal of Andrew Jackson in 1833 to renew the bank’s charter when it expired in 1836 was the focal point of these efforts. Strong anti-bank feelings were also held by many Democrats at the state level. This was expressed in refusals to grant new bank charters as well as in various forms of legislation aimed at controlling and restricting the operation of banks already in existence. This anti-bank position of the Democrats was due to party politics. The Whigs tended to represent the well-established business interests including banks, while the Democrats were strongly supported by the frontier settlers and new business interests.

The anti-bank policy of the Democratic Party became pluralistic at state levels. In the Thirty-third General Assembly of Ohio, which met in 1833–34, Democrats controlled both the Senate and the House, with majorities of four in the Senate and twenty-two in the

---

30For an excellent discussion of these political issues, see Bray Hammond, Banks and Politics in America: From the Revolution to the Civil War (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957).
House. In that Session, thirty petitions for new banks were reviewed by the assembly, ten new bank charters were authorized, and two previously operating banks were revived. The Ohio Democrats' pro-bank actions in the Thirty-third Assembly were at least partly to offset the pending demise of the Bank of the United States, which provided substantial financial services in Ohio. It also appears that Ohio Democrats may have been less well steeped in the anti-bank litany in 1833–34 than they were in subsequent years.

In the Thirty-fourth General Assembly, which met in 1835–36, the Democrats again held similar majorities in both the House and the Senate, and a Democratic governor, Robert Lucas, was in office. A large number of bills for new bank charters were submitted to the assembly, but only one very special case was approved. Much of the assembly's efforts in this session revolved around a border dispute between Ohio and Michigan. The assembly also passed legislation aimed at restricting the circulation of bank notes of less than $5 in denomination. The actions of the Ohio Democrats in the Thirty-fourth Assembly appear to have been largely in tune with the national Democratic Party policy.

However, as Democrats are wont to do, they were divided in the Ohio Party in 1836, mainly over banking issues. Hard-money Democrats, those supporting the Jacksonian view of banks, held party power in many areas of the state. Soft-money Democrats, however, strongly supported by the Kirtland Mormons, controlled party power in Geauga County. This heated division in the Democratic Party contributed to Ohio's vote going to the Whig, Harrison, in the presidential election of 1836. A Whig governor, Joseph Vance, was elected, and the Democratic majorities in both the Ohio House and Senate were cut.

The increased power of the pro-bank Whig Party in Ohio in the elections of 1836, the pro-bank attitude taken by the soft-money wing of the Democratic Party in Ohio, and the growing strength of this wing of the party in the area of the state surrounding Kirtland may have raised false hopes among Kirtland Bank promoters that the Thirty-fifth General Assembly would be lenient in granting bank charters.

Intense conflict between Whigs and Democrats in the early days of the Thirty-fifth Assembly was a further reason why Orson Hyde

---

31 This was the Bank of Manhattan (near Toledo), organized under an Ohio charter by the Thirty-fourth Assembly on 25 March 1836. The Manhattan Bank was originally incorporated under the laws of the Territory of Michigan when Michigan claimed jurisdiction over the Toledo area. That jurisdiction was withdrawn before the bank opened. Brodie mistakenly cites this bank as receiving its charter from the Thirty-fifth Assembly in 1836–37 (No Man Knows My History, p. 196).
failed in his bank charter mission. For almost six weeks after the opening of the Thirty-fifth Assembly, the minority Whigs blocked the election in the assembly of a U.S. senator to represent Ohio. The Whigs essentially went on strike until 18 January 1837 when they finally relented and a Democrat, William Allen, was elected to fill the Senate position. After this, the assembly began to handle routine matters like processing new bank charter applications. The report of the Senate Banking Committee came to the Senate floor five weeks after the Kirtland Anti-Bank began to issue money.

PRUDENCE OR PANIC

The very short period of time between Orson Hyde and Oliver Cowdery’s return to Kirtland and the opening of the bank says much about the financial pressures faced by the founders. As Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer suggest, the founders may have been prudent in attempting to form a bank to service the financial needs of their thriving community, but the pell-mell actions associated with opening of the bank after Hyde’s cold reception in Columbus shows more panic than prudence. Orson Hyde returns on a Sunday, the anti-bank is formed on Monday, bills for circulation are signed on Wednesday, and the “bank” opens for business on the following Monday—these show how pressing the short-term debts must have been. Unless Orson Hyde returned to Kirtland before 1 January 1838, it is unlikely that the founders of the bank had time to seek significant legal counsel from friendly and informed lawyers like Benjamin Bissell in Painesville before they formed the new Anti-Bank Company on 2 January.

A further indication of rush is indicated by the bills issued. Despite the change in the organization’s name to an anti-bank, only a few of the bills issued were overstamped with the new name. It is also interesting that Frederick G. Williams signed part of the notes as secretary pro-temp in place of Sidney Rigdon, who was president under the original bank proposal and secretary of the Anti-Banking Company. Did Frederick G. Williams try to help Sidney Rigdon and Joseph Smith get the bills out quickly? The fact that Sidney Rigdon and the Prophet sometimes switched their signatures to the cashier and president space on the bills also hints that bills were signed in a rush.

In the 1830s, few people in the United States understood how a bank worked. Firsthand reports coming out of the Mormon community in 1836–37, suggest that participants in the bank affair shared this ignorance. This is well illustrated by a story about Brigham Young’s reactions to the bank. Brigham was reported to have deposited marked
script in the bank and was shocked several days later to receive one of his marked notes as part of a commercial transaction. He apparently thought that banks simply stored deposits and that because "his" notes were circulating, something dishonest was going on in the bank. If a careful businessman like Brigham held these views, others in the community must have been even less well informed.

It also appears that the founders of the bank felt their new script had intrinsic value. In reality, the script was more like a personal check than money. That is, its value depended on the ability of the recipient of the script to convert it into coins which could, in turn, be converted into real goods, or to directly convert the scripts into real goods. The founders of the bank did not realize that because Oliver Cowdery arrived with pieces of paper with dollar signs and numbers on them which summed to $150,000 this did not add one penny to Kirtland's wealth. Money is valuable only if people trust it. The absence of trust in the Kirtland Bank script, caused by the lack of a charter, quickly became apparent.

If, as suggested by Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer, the Kirtland Bank issued bills with only $16,000 face value in script during January 1837, it probably had sufficient liquid resources at its disposal, under normal circumstances, to operate. On 2 January 1837, Joseph Smith signed a forty-five-day note with the Bank of Geauga for about $5,000. This, plus the payment for bank stock made from October through January 1837, possibly provided the founders of the bank with $9,000 in goods, specie or strong currency. Warren Parrish claimed that $6,000 in specie was collected. The amount of so-called liquid assets available to the bank is hard to document. Part or all of the money obtained from the Geauga Bank loan may have been quickly used to pay other pressing debts. Also, it is not clear how much of the installment payment for bank shares was made in coin or strong currency and how much was in kind. At least some of the payment may have been made in kind. In an appendix to their study, Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer report that twenty-five of the nearly 200 investors in the bank each paid an odd amount of $5.25. This suggests that these twenty-five purchases may have been made with

---

32Andrew Jenson, *Historical Record* (Salt Lake City: Published by author, 1888), 5:433–34.
33Long after the bank failed, the script did take on intrinsic value as a collector's item (for example, see Mary Audencia Smith Anderson, ed., *Joseph Smith III and the Restoration* [Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1932], p. 304). Here Joseph Smith III reports that he tried to buy a $10 Kirtland Bank note in the late 1800s from a stationmaster in Kirtland who claimed the money was part of a swindle. The owner of the bill refused to sell it for its face value, thus admitting that its intrinsic value at that time was in excess of $10.
35Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer report that almost $19,000 was paid for stock through January 1837 (Ibid., p. 454).
36Ibid., pp. 466–70.
similar amounts of physical goods like five bushels of wheat. If Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer's estimation of money issued and money collected is correct, a significant part of the money or goods brought in for stock purchases likely was used quickly, directly or indirectly, to pay outstanding debts. Otherwise, bank officials would have had sufficient liquidity to weather more than a couple of weeks of operations.

SECOND ATTEMPT TO CHARTER

The founders of the bank must have known they were skating on very thin legal ice when they began to issue script without either a state bank charter or at least a corporate charter that might be loosely interpreted as authorizing circulation of company debt notes. No mention is made of any attempt to obtain a nonbank corporate charter for the Anti-Bank Company. It may have been that the founders faintly hoped to restrict the circulation of the script mainly to the Mormon community until a bank charter could be extracted from the state assembly. The founders must have been encouraged by someone they trusted, to think that a bank charter might be obtained. This encouragement may have come from the Democratic Party leaders in the Geauga area. Their help probably resulted in a Kirtland Bank Charter proposal which came up in the Ohio Senate on 10 February 1837.

There are several pieces of evidence that suggest this proposal was not the one earlier carried to Columbus by Orson Hyde. First, both the constitution for the Kirtland Safety Society Bank and the slightly altered articles of agreement for the Anti-Banking Company specified a capital stock of up to $4 million. While in Columbus, Orson Hyde must have realized that $4 million in stock was far too large an amount to request. Most new banks in Ohio were authorized only $100,000 in capital stock. The largest financial institution in the state, located in Cincinnati, was authorized to issue capital stock only up to $2 million. The 10 February Kirtland Bank proposal only requested authorization for capital stock of up to $300,000. While not conclusive, the differences in the amounts of authorized capital stock suggest two separate bank charter applications. It appears that the founders of the bank thought a request for a smaller amount of authorized capital stock would make their second application more palatable to the general assembly.

An additional piece of evidence supporting a second charter attempt comes from the diary of Wilford Woodruff. He mentions a meeting held in the Kirtland Temple on 31 January 1837 at which a
bank charter was discussed. The timing of the meeting was such that the founders of the bank could have recently learned that the impasse over appointment of a new U.S. senator by the Ohio assembly had been broken on 18 January. The product of the meeting may have been a second Kirtland Bank charter proposal which surfaced during discussion on 10 February 1837 of a Senate banking bill essentially recommending that no new banks be chartered by the Thirty-fifth Assembly. Samuel Medary, Democratic state senator from Clermont County (near Cincinnati) offered an amendment to that bill that would have authorized a charter for the Kirtland Bank. The amendment failed with Ralph Granger, state senator from Geauga County, voting against it. Amendments to add twelve other bank charters to the Senate Bank Bill were also submitted at the same time Samuel Medary proposed the Kirtland Bank Amendment. Only four of these amendments passed. Ultimately, no new bank was chartered in 1837.

The names attached to this 10 February proposal are a third piece of evidence supporting a second-charter hypothesis. Of the eleven names mentioned in the amendment submitted by Medary, six were Mormons (J. Smith, Rigdon, Whitney, W. Cowdery, H. Smith, and O. Cowdery). Five were non-Mormons (Adams, Allen, Bissell, Kingsbury, and Sharp). There is no published reference to non-Mormons being associated with the first charter proposal. These non-Mormons were probably added to the petition so the bank would appear to be nonsectarian. The two Smiths, Sidney Rigdon, Newel K. Whitney, and Oliver Cowdery are well known to students of Mormon history. Some background on the other six individuals may help to clarify how and why this bank charter proposal was submitted.

Benjamin Adams was postmaster in Painesville and also leader of the local Democrats. Nehemiah Allen lived in Willoughby, Ohio, was its first postmaster, later served as judge, and was also president of the earlier mentioned, ill-fated Ohio Railroad Company started in 1836. Benjamin Bissell is remembered as Joseph Smith’s lawyer. He was a prominent Democratic Party leader in Painesville and later served as both judge and state senator. Horace Kingsbury also lived in Painesville, owned a variety and jewelry store, and served as justice of the peace, mayor, and postmaster. He was also an active Democrat. Warren A. Cowdery was Oliver’s older brother. He practiced medicine,

---

38Samuel Medary voted yes on eleven of these amendments and no on two. Ralph Granger voted yes on three of these, no on seven, and did not vote on three other amendments. (Ibid.)
was a postmaster at one time, and also served as judge. H. A. Sharp lived in Willoughby, Ohio, was its first mayor, and later was a justice of the peace.

Two common threads connect the individuals on the second Kirtland Bank charter application. The first is politics; it appears that all were active in Democratic Party politics. The other common thread is that all eleven men were prominent individuals in their respective communities. The fact that five prominent non-Mormons would affix their names to the second application for a bank charter lent respectability to the attempts to establish a bank.

WHY SAMUEL MEDARY?

There is no obvious reason why Samuel Medary, a partisan Democrat and later governor of two states, should go out of his way to help people in Kirtland get a bank charter. He represented a county that is about as far away from Kirtland as it is possible to get in Ohio, and he had no known formal affiliation with Mormons. His amendment for the Kirtland Bank must have been based on his soft-money attitude, because of party reasons, or based on personal relationships he may have had with some promoters of the bank.

Samuel Medary was a supporter of the soft-money Democrats and may have sponsored the amendment on general principles. It is also likely that he did it to show appreciation and support for the soft-money Democrats, especially those in Kirtland who were living in the Western Reserve. Also, he may have felt some personal obligation to Benjamin Adams, Benjamin Bissell, or Oliver Cowdery. Both Benjamin Adams and Oliver Cowdery likely met Samuel Medary in the Democratic Convention held in Columbus in January 1836. Samuel Medary and Oliver Cowdery also had mutual interest, both being editors of papers. The most plausible connection was through Benjamin Adams. It may have been that Benjamin Adams and the other soft-money Democrats involved in the application imposed on Medary as a political favor to submit the amendment. The non-Mormons may have been trying to bail out in early February 1837 their fellow Democrats who just happened to be Mormons.

---


40 Whoever prepared the petition for the second chartering attempt may have made several errors in spelling names of people included in the petition. Benjamin Bissell’s name was spelled with only one l. Newel Whitney’s initial was given as K rather than W, and both Cowderys had their names spelled without an e. While these may have been printing errors, I suspect they indicate that someone like Benjamin Adams drew up the petition. (Ohio General Assembly, Journal of the Senate of Ohio, p. 365.)
CONCLUSIONS

Even with a charter the Kirtland Bank likely would have failed during the economic turmoil of 1837–42. At best, a charter would have allowed the bank to survive a few months longer, to close without raising a flurry of law suits and apostasy, and to be known by posterity as a simple business failure rather than as a shady venture. It is also clear that, with or without the bank, the economic turmoil that began in 1837 would have wrecked the Mormon community in Kirtland because of its highly levered position and the extremely short-term nature of its debts. Grandison Newell, Eber Howe, and other passionate enemies of the Church would have used this, plus other excuses, to purge the Mormons from their communities. Painful as it was, the bank affair probably did little to alter the course of Mormon history.

Several useful lessons can be drawn from this bank fiasco. First, we should not expect perfection in religious leaders. They may be well versed in scriptures and ethics yet make economic decisions that are less than prudent. Scriptures are a particularly poor source of guidance on how to set up viable financial institutions, and religious leaders are not (and probably should not be) noted for being shrewd money managers.

Second, it seems clear that too much time has been spent evaluating the individuals involved in the Kirtland Bank and trying to absolve them of blame, or to ascribe some moral defect to them because of the bank’s failure. Thousands of firms and individuals in Ohio were unable to meet their debt obligations in the late 1830s and early 1840s. A number of the banks in Ohio and virtually all of the banks in Michigan failed in the late 1830s.41 The fact that founders of the Kirtland Bank repaid the bulk of their debts shows their intentions were honorable, even if their banking activities were based on panic and false hopes.

Third, the most important lesson to be drawn from this affair is that the attempts to open a bank in Kirtland were not isolated events. They were the result of tremendous financial pressures that were building all along the American frontier. Answers to questions like the following are necessary to understand clearly this process: Why were hundreds of communities along the frontier trying to form banks and expand their money supplies in the late 1830s? Why did bank charters receive such intense political concern? Why did numerous firms issue moneylike script without bank charters during

41Lynn M. Woofet, “Ohio in the Panic of 1837” (M.A. thesis, the Ohio State University, 1940).
this period? Why did financial markets fail to provide a significant amount of medium- and long-term credits when large amounts of such loans were needed to buy land?

Answers to these questions will not come from further analysis of individuals. One must look for answers through study of defects in the U.S. financial system. Some students of the Kirtland Bank fiasco have assumed that the 1830s were a wild period of speculation in Ohio when foolish people paid foolish prices for land, and Shylocks tried to form banks to pass worthless script.42 Too often these students have ignored the growth in real economic activities that occurred in this part of the U.S. during the early 1800s. So-called "land speculation" was a way of life for many who settled the frontier. Few other geographic regions in the world have experienced such explosive growth in population, area cultivated, output, transportation systems and commerce as Michigan, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee during this period. Ohio's population, for example, exploded from just 42,000 in 1800 to over 1.5 million in 1840. A very extensive canal, river, and lake system linked Ohio with the outside world by the mid-1830s. Because the role of money in the development process was poorly understood, national leaders followed policies that seriously curtailed the growth in loans and financial services during the early 1800s. All too often these services were tied to a very limited amount of gold and silver.

Erroneous banking policies caused financial services to expand much more slowly than the growth in real economic activities, retarded the growth process, and forced people to create illegal mediums of exchange to substitute for inefficient barter. Most frontier settlers found it virtually impossible to pay for land, pay taxes, and buy a few necessary goods through barter. Can you imagine most stagecoach riders trying to barter for their ticket with sacks of wheat, pigs or chickens! Ironically, Jackson’s attack on the Bank of the United States and the Democrat’s hard-money policies damaged his frontier supporters far more than it harmed the Whigs. Millions of poor people in the frontier suffered the same financial fate as the Kirtland Mormons because of the extreme shortage of money and adequate loan services.

Those of us with a half dozen credit cards, overdraft privileges, membership in credit unions, long-term mortgages, and several banks and savings and loan associations within easy walking distance of our

---

42Hill, Rooker, and Wimmer make the important point that most of the increase in land values in the Kirtland area during the 1830s can be explained by the increase in population in the area ("Kirtland Economy Revisited," pp. 404-5).
homes have a hard time understanding how the lack of financial services can complicate life. The founders of the Kirtland Bank would have avoided their distress if national and state leaders had allowed financial markets to grow in an orderly manner. One medium-sized, twenty-year mortgage would have solved most of the financial problems faced by these founders.
Notes and Comments

The Appearance of Elijah and Moses in the Kirtland Temple and the Jewish Passover

Stephen D. Ricks

A brief note in the History of the Church under the date of Sunday, 3 April 1836, records the appearance of the Lord, Moses, Elias, and Elijah to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery in the Kirtland Temple. Subsequent writers have noted that this date corresponds to the Jewish Passover, during which the arrival of Elijah is traditionally awaited. In his April 1936 general conference address, Joseph Fielding Smith remarked:

It was, I am informed, on the third day of April, 1836, that the Jews, in their homes at the Paschal feast, opened their doors for Elijah to enter. On that very day Elijah did enter—not in the home of the Jews to partake of the Passover with them, but he appeared in the House of the Lord.

A parenthetical note in the Missionary Training Manual: For Use in the Jewish Proselyting Program states the correlation of the two events even more emphatically. There we are informed that Elijah appeared in the Kirtland Temple "at about the same hour that the Jewish families in that time zone would have been preparing to begin their feast of the Passover." These statements, although correct in their

---

Stephen D. Ricks is assistant professor of Hebrew and Semitic languages at Brigham Young University.


3 Conference Report, April 1946, p. 75.

identification of the Jewish Passover with the ritual expectation of Elijah and in their connecting the time of the appearance of Elijah in the Kirtland Temple with the Passover season, warrant further elucidation and modest chronological correction.

Pentateuchal material for the Passover celebration prescribes the evening preceding the fourteenth day of the Hebrew month Nisan (Abib) as the time for the Passover sacrifice. The Passover celebration itself took place on the fourteenth of Nisan and was immediately followed by the week-long Feast of Unleavened Bread. Over time, however, the distinction between the two festivals was blurred, with the Passover becoming synonymous for both. With the destruction of the Second Temple in A.D. 70, the sacrifice associated with the Passover celebration ceased, and, in fact, all of the rites connected with the celebration of the Passover were transferred to the fifteenth of Nisan. From an early period, Elijah was incorporated into the Passover activities. At the table prepared for the Passover meal a place is left vacant for Elijah, and a cup is filled to the brim for him (the fuller the better, since anything less would show the host to be niggardly and could hardly be expected to attract so important a guest). At one point during the Seder, the traditional Hebrew name for the Passover ritual, a child is sent to the door to see if Elijah may be standing outside and to invite him in.  

---

1 For example, Exodus 12:6: "And ye shall keep it up [the lamb which is to be sacrificed] until the fourteenth day of the same month [that is, the month of Nisan, which is called 'the first month of the year' in Exodus 12:2]; and the whole assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it in the evening." Since the Hebrew day begins at nightfall, "the evening" (here the Hebrew is ben ʿārbām, literally 'between the two evenings') mentioned here is actually the period immediately preceding the beginning of the fourteenth of Nisan. It should be noted, too, that the month name Nisan, corresponding to the months March and April in the Christian calendar, is a secondary development in the Hebrew calendrical system. Here (as well as in Leviticus 23:5 and Numbers 9:5, 11) it is only referred to as "the first month," whereas in Exodus 13:4–5 and Deuteronomy 16:1 it is called Abib. The name Nisan has been in use since at least post-exilic times (that is, from ca. 500 B.C.) and is still employed.


3 There has been considerable discussion concerning the exact relationship between the Feast of Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread. Many scholars are of the opinion that there were originally two separate festivals which were later melded because they coincided in time (for a convenient synthesis and analysis of these theories, see J. B. Segal, The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A.D. 70 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963, pp. 78 ff.). Others, including Segal himself (ibid., pp. 175–77), prefer a unitary origin, that is, that there was originally only one festival, the Passover sacrifice being the opening and principal ceremony of the Passover week. On the name Passover being used for the entire week at least as early as the first centuries of the Christian Era, see J. C. Rylandsham, "Passover and Feast of Unleavened Bread," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), 3:663.

4 The precise date of the incorporation of Elijah into the Passover celebration is uncertain. The biblical injunctions for the Passover say nothing about Elijah, and there are, unfortunately, no other texts from the pre-Christian period which deal with the order of service of the festival. It seems likely, however, that Elijah was accorded a function on the Passover service from at least the early centuries of the Christian Era.

5 In many Jewish homes, in fact, the door is left ajar so that Elijah may feel more welcome to come in of his own accord.
An examination of chronological tables which compare the Jewish calendar with corresponding Christian dates shows that the fifteenth of Nisan in the Christian year 1836 coincides with the first and second of April.\textsuperscript{10} The Jewish day begins at sundown, so the Passover Seder on the fifteenth of Nisan in 1836 would actually have taken place on the evening of the first of April. The appearance of Elijah in the Kirtland Temple took place on Sunday, the third of April. Thus, it would be inaccurate to claim an absolute chronological correspondence of the two events. However, in view of the long-standing use of the word \textit{Passover} for the entire week following the fifteenth of Nisan, it would certainly be correct to say that Elijah came during the Passover season. Also, it has been a tradition among Jews outside of the land of Israel to celebrate the Passover Seder two evenings in succession, on the fifteenth and sixteenth of Nisan. Therefore, on the very day, according to Hebrew time reckoning (which goes from nightfall to nightfall), that the Jews had for the second time opened their doors for Elijah to enter, he entered the House of the Lord at Kirtland.

The significant role accorded to Elijah in the Passover celebration (for whom there is no explicit biblical link with the Passover) can perhaps best be explained on the basis of his function as a precursor to the Messiah. At least as early as Malachi, the imminent return of Elijah, who would come before "the great and dreadful day of the Lord," was predicted.\textsuperscript{11} Elijah became, in Jewish thought, the Messianic forerunner \textit{par excellence}. The Passover, which recounts the redemption of Israel from Egyptian bondage, foreshadows Israel's eschatological redemption by the Messiah. Thus Elijah, the forerunner of the Messiah, is appropriately associated with the quintessential festal symbol of Messianic redemption.

In this discussion relatively little has been said about Moses. Perhaps because he lies near the heart of the events ritually recounted during the Passover celebration, his arrival at Passover time seems natural. Still, his appearance in company with Elijah offers another striking parallel between Mormon teachings and Jewish tradition, according to which Moses and Elijah would arrive together at the "end of time."\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11}Malachi 4:5–6. The usual Jewish interpretation of the prophecy of Malachi concerning Elijah, who is to "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers," is that it is a foretelling of a reconciliation of the generations (see Wiener, \textit{Prophet Elijah in Judaism}, p. 35, n. 2).
\textsuperscript{12}Deut. Rabb a 3:10, cited in Geza Vermes, \textit{Jesus the Jew} (London: Fontana/ Collins, 1977), p. 97. In light of this, it is easy to suppose that many in the earliest Christian community, most of whom were Jews by birth, would have interpreted the appearance of Elijah and Moses to the transfigured Christ (Matt. 17:1–3) as a sign of an imminent end of the world.
The appearance of Elijah and Moses at Passover season to Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery thus represents a fulfillment and a promise. Elijah did come at Passover time—as pious Jews had long hoped he would—although he did not avail himself of the hospitably opened door of a faithful Jewish family but came to the House of the Lord in Kirtland. And the appearance of Moses and Elijah together—to restore keys—harbors the promise of the Lord's imminent coming.
Jesse Gause:
Joseph Smith’s Little-Known Counselor

D. Michael Quinn

In the 1981 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, the introduction to section 81 states: “The historical records show that when this revelation was received in March 1832 it called Jesse Gause to the office of counselor to Joseph Smith in the First Presidency. . . . Brother Gause served for a time, but was excommunicated from the Church in December 1832.” Who was Jesse Gause? Despite his brief prominence in the early Church organization, he was virtually lost in the annals of Church history until quite recently. 1 Although Jesse Gause’s biography is still sketchy, it provides insight into early Church conversions and quorum organization.

Jesse Gause was born about 1784 at East Marlborough, Chester County, Pennsylvania, as the second son of Mary Beverly and William Goss.2 Jesse’s mother was a Quaker who had fallen under disapproval in 1781 for permitting a Baptist minister to perform her marriage to William Goss, a veteran of the American Revolution who was a nonmember of the Society of Friends.3 Despite this initial rift with the Society of Friends, the entire family of William and Mary Goss eventually became Quakers and changed the spelling of their name to Gause. In 1806, the adult Jesse Gause requested and received membership in the Society of Friends.4

---

1 Aside from a brief reference to Jesse Gause in the seven-volume History of the Church (which did not mention his position as counselor), his significance was first discussed in Mario S. DePillis, “The Development of Mormon Communitarianism, 1826–46” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1960), pp. 58–64. Gause was first identified as the original subject of D&C 81 in D. Michael Quinn, “The Evolution of the Presiding Quorums of the LDS Church,” Journal of Mormon History 1 (1974): 24. See also Robert J. Woodford, “Jesse Gause—Counselor to the Prophet,” Brigham Young University Studies 15 (Spring 1975): 362–64; Lyndon W. Cook, The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Provo: Seventy’s Mission Bookstore, 1982), pp. 171–72. The present article has more information about Jesse Gause than these other sources.
For more than twenty years, Jesse Gause was a Quaker in good standing, but his movement from place to place indicates a great restlessness. In 1808 he moved from Chester County to Fayette County, Pennsylvania, returning to Chester County in 1811. In 1812 he moved again, this time to Wilmington, Delaware. From 1812 to 1815, Jesse Gause taught at the Friends' School in Wilmington, but this stability seemed marred by the fact of his service in the state militia in 1814. It is unclear whether he was pressured into military service during the War of 1812 despite his Quaker pacifism or whether he was reasserting the military tradition of his father. In any event, Jesse left Wilmington in 1815 and moved to Philadelphia where he married Martha Johnson, a fellow Quaker. In 1816, he and his bride left Philadelphia for Belmont County, Ohio, and then in 1821 moved to Jefferson County, Ohio. They remained there less than three months before returning to his family home in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where they stayed only a few weeks before moving to Wilmington. There from 1822, Jesse Gause seemed settled until his wife died shortly after the birth of their fourth child in 1828.5

Jesse Gause remarried almost immediately after his wife's death, and these abrupt changes in his marital situation seemed to precipitate a religious crisis in his life. On 30 January 1829, Jesse Gause resigned from the Society of Friends and soon moved to Hancock, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.6 Exactly seven months after his resignation from the Quakers, Jesse Gause and his children were listed as members of the Hancock "Family" of the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (the "Shakers"). The Shakers believed in strict celibacy, even for married couples who converted to the movement.7 Although Jesse's new bride had recently given birth to their first child, she joined with her husband in conversion to the Shakers. Two years later, Jesse Gause moved from Massachusetts to Ohio, where his life merged briefly with that of Joseph Smith.


For some reason, Jesse Gause left the four children of his first marriage in the care of his sister who had also joined the Shakers in New England.\(^8\) Then he, his second wife, and their young child traveled nearly six hundred miles from Hancock Village to the Shaker Family at North Union, Cuyahoga County, Ohio. They arrived there 22 October 1831.\(^9\) North Union was only fifteen miles from the new headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Kirtland. As early as March 1831, another Shaker, Leman Copley, had joined the Church. Seven months before Jesse’s arrival, in March, Leman Copley and Parley P. Pratt had made an unsuccessful visit to preach to the Shakers at North Union.\(^10\) It is not known when or how Mormon missionaries contacted Jesse Gause, but less than five months after he came to Ohio as a Shaker, he was converted to the Church and was soon chosen as a counselor to Joseph Smith.

Joseph Smith was sustained and ordained President of the High Priesthood on 25 January 1832. He was at this time without counselors, but during the first week of the following March a revelation authorized the Prophet to appoint an unspecified number of counselors to assist “the presidency of the high Priesthood.”\(^11\) In an obscure entry in one of the records books from Kirtland, Joseph wrote:

March 8th 1832.

Chose this day and ordained brother Jesse Gause and Broth[er] Sidney [Rigdon] to be my counsellors [sic] of the ministry of the presidency of th[e] high Pri[e]st[hood].\(^12\)

Both men were simply called “counselors” to the Church president, but President Gause may have had the precedence of being first counselor: Joseph Smith listed him first when recording the organization of the First Presidency, and Jesse Gause was also nearly ten years older than Sidney Rigdon at a time in the Church when seniority was determined on the basis of age.\(^13\) On 10 August 1832, one of Gause’s

\(^{8}\) Gause Family Records, Chester County Historical Society.

\(^{9}\) Records of the Church at North Union, vol. 177, p. 12, series V-B, Shaker Manuscripts, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.


\(^{11}\) *History of the Church*, 1:243; Reynolds Cahoon Diary, January 1832, Library–Archives, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives); Revelation to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon, March 1832, MS, Newel K. Whitney Family Papers, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

\(^{12}\) *Kirtland Revelations Book, MS*, pp. 10–11, Church Archives.

\(^{13}\) Joseph Fielding Smith, *Essentials in Church History*, 22d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1973), p. 153. Before I realized that Jesse Gause was almost ten years older than Sidney Rigdon, I concluded that circumstantial evidence seemed to indicate Sidney Rigdon was probably functioning as first counselor (see Quinn, “Evolution of Presiding Quorums,” p. 24).
Shaker associates wrote that Jesse Gause "is yet a Mormon—and is second to the Prophet or Seer—Joseph Smith." 14

An obvious question about Gause’s appointment is why Joseph Smith chose as counselor a man who had been a member of the Church only a few months, maybe even weeks, when the Prophet could have advanced to that position other men who had been associated with the Church from its beginning. The answer seems to lie in the revelation concerning the United Order that Joseph Smith also received in March 1832, just before he chose counselors and formed a presidency:

For verily I say unto you, the time has come, and is now at hand; and behold, and lo, it must needs be that there be an organization of my people, in regulating and establishing the affairs of the storehouse for the poor of my people, both in this place and in the land of Zion. (D&C 78:3)

Jesse Gause had three years’ experience with the communitarian Shaker families in Massachusetts and Ohio, and another twenty-three years’ experience with the close-knit Quakers. To Joseph Smith, he must have appeared ideally suited as a counselor to assist in the organization and direction of the Mormon efforts in living the ideals of the revelatory law of consecration and stewardship.

President Gause actively functioned as a counselor in the First Presidency during the spring and summer of 1832. Joseph Smith’s history records that the Prophet took Jesse Gause with him from Kirtland to Missouri to fulfill the revelation that Joseph establish the United Order among the Saints in Zion. 15 The presence of Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon in the meetings in Missouri for this purpose in April–May 1832 was significant, because both had previously been members of religious groups that practiced economic communitarianism. 16 In addition to helping the Prophet establish the United Order in Missouri, Jesse Gause was one of the eight high priests at the Missouri conference of 26 April 1832 who sustained Joseph Smith in his position as President of the High Priesthood. 17

On 15 March 1832 Joseph Smith had dictated a revelation to his new counselor Jesse Gause in which Jesse was appointed to preach

14Matthew Houston to Seth Y. Wells, from North Union, Ohio, 10 August 1832, Shaker Manuscripts, series IV–A, folder 51, Western Reserve Historical Society.
15History of the Church, 1:265; D&C 78:8–9; Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–44 (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1982), pp. 43–50.
17Cannon and Cook, Far West Record, pp. 43–44; History of the Church, 1:267.
the gospel "'in the land of the living, and among thy brethren [sic]."' an apparent reference to the Shakers from whom Gause had been converted.18 Therefore, on 1 August 1832 he began a missionary journey with Zebedee Coltrin that took them to the Shaker community at North Union, Leman Copley's settlement at Thompson, and the Rappite community of Economy near Pittsburgh.19 On 20 August 1832, Zebedee Coltrin recorded in his diary: "'Brother Jesse and I after prayer with and for each other parted in the fellowship of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'"20 But after the summer of 1832, something changed in Gause's relationship to Mormonism, and he "'denied the faith.'"21

As with his conversion from Quakerism to Shakerism, his desertion of the Mormon church may have centered in his personal family circumstances. During his missionary journey of August, Jesse Gause visited his second wife, Minerva, at North Union and tried to persuade her to leave the celibate Shakers and join his conversion to the restored gospel. His wife refused to listen to him and even offered to give him their child rather than go with him herself.22

In view of what is known about Jesse Gause's troubled family relations in the summer of 1832, his disaffection from Mormonism may have resulted from his learning about polygamous theory and practice that were emerging at that time. The 1830 Book of Mormon provided for the theoretical possibility that God could suspend the prohibition against polygamy, and this theoretical possibility could also be construed from the circumstances of an unpublished revelation dictated by Joseph Smith in July 1831.23 In fact, a Mormon dissenter referred to this 1831 revelation in a newspaper expose published in Ohio less than two months after Jesse Gause arrived there.24 But two men who later became members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles affirmed that it was not until 1832 that Joseph Smith secretly made specific what had heretofore been ambiguous potentials of polygamy in Mormonism. Orson Pratt acknowledged the existence of an 1831 revelation but indicated that Joseph Smith privately removed ambiguity from the matter about the time Jesse Gause was converted to the Church and became counselor:

1Kirtland Revelations Book, index: "'17 Revelation to Jesse Gauze [sic] March 15, 1832,'" and pp. 17–18 for revelation to "'my servant Jesse.'"
2Zebedee Coltrin Diary, 1 August–20 August 1832: Journal History of the Church, 1 August 1832, both at Church Archives.
3Zebedee Coltrin Diary, 20 August 1832.
5Matthew Houston to Seth Y. Wells, 10 August 1832.
6Foster, Religion and Sexuality, pp. 132–35.
7Ezra Booth letter, 6 December 1831, in Ohio Star (8 December 1831).
In the fore part of the year 1832, Joseph told individuals, then in the Church, that he had inquired of the Lord concerning the principle of plurality of wives, and he received for answer that the principle of taking more wives than one is a true principle, but the time had not yet come for it to be practised [sic]. That was before the Church was two years old.25

William E. McLellin also claimed that by the time of the birth of Joseph Smith III on 6 November 1832, the Prophet had begun polygamous cohabitation.26 In view of Gause’s prior conversion to the celibacy of the Shakers and his current problems with his wife, who refused to abandon her Shaker conversion, it is easy to imagine the kind of emotional and spiritual devastation Jesse Gause would have experienced in the fall of 1832 had he learned of these first stirrings of polygamy.

Whatever the cause, sometime between his joyful departure from his missionary companion in August 1832 and the following December, Jesse Gause apostatized from the Church. Joseph Smith recorded that “Bro. Jesse” was excommunicated on 3 December 1832, and Frederick G. Williams was appointed as counselor in place of Gause in a revelation of 5 January 1833, which was never published in the Doctrine & Covenants.27

Gause’s activities after 1832 are unknown, but in September 1836, a brother was appointed legal guardian for the orphan “children of Jesse Gause late of the County of Chester deceased.”28 Nearly forty years later, his sister Hannah said that Jesse “died away from his family when [his son Owen, born 1825] was a little boy, and no record seems to have been found.”29 Apparently, Jesse Gause continued to be a restless geographic wanderer and religious seeker until his death at age fifty-two.

Joseph Smith had originally chosen Jesse Gause and Sidney Rigdon as his counselors on 8 March 1832, but exactly one year later the Prophet received a revelation in which the positions of Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams as his counselors were affirmed (D&C 90:6, 19–21). In view of the 1833 revelation, Joseph Smith on 18 March 1833 reorganized the First Presidency: “Accordingly I laid

---

27 Joseph Smith Journal, 3 December 1832, Church Archives; Cook, *Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, p. 362.
28 Orphans Docket, 17:199, Chester County, Pennsylvania.
29 Annie Gause, “Notes from Conversation with Aunt Hannah,” ca. 1873, Gause Family Papers, Chester County Historical Society. Jesse Gause does not appear in the indexes of the 1840 manuscript census, and undoubtedly he died about 1836, even though his family did not know the exact circumstances.
my hands on Brother Sidney and Frederick and ordained them to take part with me in holding the keys of this last kingdom, and to assist in the Presidency of the High Priesthood, as my Counselors.' 30 Jesse Gause had been called and chosen to this high responsibility in 1832, but he did not serve with endurance beyond a few months. When the revelation appointing Jesse Gause to the presidency was published for the first time, his name was simply removed and that of Frederick G. Williams was substituted in its place.

30History of the Church. 1:334.
Creator

Over there, at the singe of morning, is a tern
At the edge of shadow. Visions of streams turn
Under the edge of the airy fields that burn
In pale indigo with embers of feldspar in the fern
Of starlight stilling. Someone lingers there, stern
In his holiness, to guide us beyond the gossamer urn
Of gravities that hold time in its slow sojourn
In the universe. All will still before him as he advises
The mind of light. And this I touched in the frail
Blue frost far distant under the cliff of the pale
Of dust. Will he, shaping the billowing veil
Of light in time, pause to reveal the end and adjourn
The seraphim into still another place? What arises
From his hand now but the burnishing?

—Clinton F. Larson
Request

He came into the room, the slant high shard
Of the silver spiral spending down the glass
That spins and spins from the aether and mass
Of galactic space the time of the slow canard
And sleight of satan, and he said, quietly, “I guard
The field beyond Orion, where my light is a tassel,
Tossing vision and dusting the dark. The castle
Of my sunning reign is made of mirroring, hard
Before the warmth of winnowing. See the folding
Lands, the wavering tungsten steel, the aural
Sheets, the rills of filament. I touch the molding
Smokestain rose and hear the wind of the coral
Sea against it. This is the quest I face.
Will you help me here, to make this faery lace
Of elements a paradise?”

—Clinton F. Larson
The Dancing Beggar of London

I saw him first at Leicester Square
then two nights later at Piccadilly;
tonight he’s at King’s Cross.
He dances to his tamborine,
feet tapping and shuffling,
a ghostly harlequin
scuffling over worn stones.

Hands drop coins into his sack—
stones tossed down an ancient well
where no water waits
not circles move.

His is the dance of death:
flesh hanging like moss
on limbs of ashen trees,
bare legs and bony arms spread out
absurdly akimbo,
muddy eyes looking toward heaven—
a comic Christ upon a cross.

At Chekhov’s play, where actors
move with grace and speak
their lines with skill upon
a well set stage, I cannot
brush his eyes from my seeing
nor shake his tapping from my ears.
‘‘Dear sisters, if we live a little longer,
perhaps we will come to know why . . . ’’

—Robert A. Rees

Robert A. Rees is the director of the Department of Arts, University Extension, and assistant dean of the College of Fine Arts, UCLA.
Watermelons, Alma 32, and the Experimental Method

Joseph Thomas Hepworth

It was a warm, beautiful morning in the early spring as I stood surveying my burgeoning garden with a peaceful, calm contentment. A fortnight ago I had planted our "southeast acre," and on every morning since I've sat under the date-palm tree to watch the first rays of sunlight warm the furrows and reveal traces of green stretching toward the warmth through the dark brown soil. I could clearly discern the corn, squash, peas, beans, and cucumbers. It looked like a promising crop.

As I stood imagining the fresh vegetable dinners we would enjoy later in the summer, I could almost taste the succulent squash and crispy cucumbers. I even pictured myself reaching for a toothpick to dislodge the ubiquitous remains from buttery corn-on-the-cob prior to dessert. The cakes, cookies, and candies of the winter months would of necessity have to give way to the fresh fruits of summer, especially to an ice-cold slice of sweet red watermelon.

Watermelon? The thought roused me from my reverie. Again I inspected the now sun-drenched garden plot: corn, squash, peas, beans, cucumbers... but no watermelon. That couldn't be! The one crop for which I would sacrifice all others hadn't come. It was still early spring and I was determined to have watermelon this year, so a few hours later I was hunched over in the heat of the day replanting two rows with a new package of watermelon seeds.

Perhaps it's the humbling experience of bowing oneself close to the earth, or perhaps it's the actual planting of a seed, that inevitably turns my thoughts to Alma's discourse on faith in which he compares the process of exercising faith with the planting of a seed. Here I was, planting watermelon seeds for the second time this year. The two previous years I also planted watermelon seeds, but I have yet to taste

Joseph Thomas Hepworth teaches in the Department of Psychology at Arizona State University in Tempe.
the fruit of this labor. Why was I planting again? Hadn’t I tried my ‘‘watermelon experiment’’ three times before, each time finding that ‘‘it growth not’’? Surely this should be sufficient evidence that the watermelon seed ‘‘is not good’’ and therefore should be ‘‘cast away.’’ Why am I so persistent with my watermelon experiments?

Reflecting on the words of the prophets which Alma likened unto seeds which should be nourished and cultivated by faith, I wondered how many times I would be willing to repeat gospel living experiments? Four? Three? Maybe two? I have tried genealogy, daily scripture study, cleaning up the yard, and sundry other commandments, more often than not half-heartedly, only to conclude after my first feeble attempts that these ‘‘words’’ were not good and immediately cast them away. Why was I so much more persistent in my physical experiments than in my spiritual experiments? Again my thoughts turned toward watermelons.

My father always has a beautiful garden and exquisite watermelons. It’s a treat to take the boys over to Grandpa and Grandma’s to have watermelon. And other people around the valley are successful in growing watermelons; there are always plenty of watermelons at the store. I have seen and tasted the fruits of their labor: watermelon seeds do germinate, grow, and produce watermelons.

Wanting a successful garden this year, my wife and I had started weeding our plot very early and then worked in bag after bag of manure, mulch, and even chemical fertilizers. We had designed the furrows strategically a week before we planted. Everything was going to be perfect, but still the watermelon did not come up, and here I was planting more watermelon seeds while my thoughts vacillated between the planting and Alma 32.

As I was growing up, and I still consider myself to be in that process, I was constantly plagued by thoughts of Alma’s experiment. How long do you nourish the seed before you conclude that it is not good and cast it out? What if I tried this experiment on the doctrines of the Mormon church but didn’t feel the ‘‘swelling motions’’? Would that be evidence that the Church was not true? No one gave me a specific answer as to how long one should ‘‘nourish the seed,’’ and it is well that they shouldn’t. Germination time undoubtedly varies with the type of seed planted, the type of soil, and other ambient conditions. From this analysis I have concluded not only that the time we allow for the ‘‘swelling motions’’ to occur will differ from principle to principle (and from individual to individual) but also that the experiment must be done ‘‘word by word’’ rather than on all the words collectively. I seriously doubt that one can experiment
on the Mormon church as a whole, or on any other church for that matter. We progress step-by-step, each step strengthening our faith in the Church as a whole. Initially we might think we are experimenting on the whole Church, but upon closer examination we see that at different stages the "whole Church" consists primarily of the Word of Wisdom or tithing or genealogy. These are the parts or single units we join together to form our testimony. I now can better accept the relativity involved in this experiment and the necessity of proceeding "line-upon-line" rather than expecting a fullness at first.

I soon learned that merely expressing my second question precluded the possibility of my ever performing a satisfactory experiment. The question "'What if I don't feel the 'swelling motions'?'" means that I doubt, or, in other words, that I am already casting the seed out by unbelief. Alma 32 has its own "Catch 22." If the seed were a "Latter-day Saint seed" and I failed to feel the "swelling motions," it would be because: (1) I had cast it out by unbelief, (2) I had resisted the Spirit of the Lord, or (3) some variant of the first two; for example, perhaps I had not had adequate preparation or I lacked sincerity. And the solution was always the same: to try again, but this time with more fasting, prayer, and scripture study. I was puzzled: why should anyone experiment at all if it really weren't an experiment to see if a principle were true or false, but an experiment to be repeated until it was shown to be true?

My spiritual "Catch 22" seems to be very similar to my physical watermelons. The same principle of repeated experimentation which I found so problematic in spiritual matters, I was actually applying in my physical gardening. What was the difference? After planting the last of my watermelon seeds, I stepped back to commence watering, and I saw my garden from a different perspective. Could it be that I had been viewing "spiritual experimentation" from a microperspective whereas I had been viewing "physical experimentation" from a macroperspective? In my spiritual questions and experiments, I was trying to test the verity of principles or the goodness of seeds based solely on my own experience—"'How long should I try?'" or "'What if I didn't feel swelling motions?'" I was neglecting the research prerequisite to experimentation. I hadn't reviewed the "spiritual journals." If I had taken this microperspective concerning my watermelon, I probably would not have planted again this year. But I relied on the experience of others. I took a macroperspective: I saw others producing watermelons. I knew they could be grown if conditions were right. Reviewing the spiritual literature more thoroughly, or looking at my father's crops of "genealogy, scripture
study, and a well-maintained home” should have convinced me that these crops can be produced just as surely as watermelons can. Seeing the fruits of the gospel around us abundantly, we should be determined to repeat the experiment, making sure all the conditions are right, until we get the desired results.

But is this experiment really a true experiment in the scientific sense? What happens when researchers perform an experiment and the results do not support the theory they are testing? Is that theory discarded? What are some parallels between testing a scientific theory and testing a spiritual principle through the experimental method?

First of all, not all scientific theories are of equal status. Some theories have been around for a long time and have received much experimental support. Some have received so much empirical support that we do not even consider them as theories but have elevated them to the level of “facts” or “laws.” Other theories are relatively new or the evidence supporting them is very tentative. Given exactly the same results from two experiments, one testing a well-established theory and one testing a new theory, a person might draw very different conclusions about the two experiments. Let’s assume these two experiments were done, and the results of each suggest that its theory is false. In the case of the new theory we might very well accept these results and discard the theory in favor of another, or at least modify the theory to accommodate our findings. But what would we do with the well-established theory? Would we want to discard it or make major modifications in it because of this one experiment? Probably not. A more likely course of action would be to examine the experiment itself for flaws. Were the theoretical constructs properly implemented? Were the measuring instruments accurate and reliable? Were all the conditions properly controlled? Many factors could vitiate an experiment.

We can apply this same logic to testing spiritual principles experimentally. Assume that we are testing a spiritual principle that is well supported—for example, tithing. (Remember that we will need to do our spiritual literature review to determine which principles are or are not well supported.) If we try living that law and see no apparent benefit, do we conclude that tithing is not a good or true principle? Perhaps we didn’t implement it properly: Was our tithe 5% or 10%? Perhaps our measuring instruments were not accurate or even appropriate: Were we just measuring the results by looking at our checkbook balances? What about blessings of health and safety? The question of proper control is always important, too. Suppose we started living the law of tithing but at the same time started breaking
the Word of Wisdom or violating the Sabbath day. The results could not be clearly attributed to any one of these factors. Since our lives are not controlled laboratories, introspection and good record keeping are necessary to determine cause and effect. As spiritual scientists, we must take as much care in our experimentation as do the physical scientists.

This leads me to one last point concerning the experimental method. Many scientists I know shun religion because they feel its principles, theories, and tenets cannot be demonstrated scientifically. By this they often mean that the results from spiritual experiments cannot be replicated, and replication is vital to the advancement of science. On this point I would disagree with my colleagues. I believe that the results of a spiritual experiment are just as easily replicated as the results of a physical experiment. The experimental procedures are spelled out in the scriptures; we need only do our homework and apply the proper controls to see the results replicated. The spiritual experiment is neither easier nor harder to conduct than the physical experiment. Our scientists have spent many years being trained to perform their physical experiments. We should not expect commensurate results with spiritual experiments without paying a comparable price.

As I gaze out over my garden with the shadows lengthening after a good day’s work, I wonder if these newly planted watermelon seeds will germinate, grow, and produce our summer dessert. Yes, I still wonder and I still doubt; I still read Alma 32 with tinctures of a “Catch 22,” and my experimentation in both the physical and spiritual realms still continues. New plans incorporating different forms of cultivation, irrigation, and fertilization are already being developed. Having tasted watermelon, I will plant again until I harvest the fruit myself.
ARRINGTON, LEONARD J., ed., with THOMAS G. ALEXANDER, DONALD Q. CANNON, RICHARD H. CRACROFT, and NEAL A. LAMBERT. *Voices from the Past: Diaries, Journals, and Autobiographies*. Compiled by Campus Education Week Program under the direction of the Education Week Department, Division of Continuing Education, Brigham Young University. Provo: BYU Press, 1980. 154 pp. $3.25.

Reviewed by Mark R. Grandstaff, master’s candidate in family and local history as well as researcher for the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University.

From the Church’s inception, Latter-day Saint leaders have advocated—and Church members have kept—some form of personal record. Thanks to the efforts of individuals such as Willard Richards and Andrew Jenson, the early Saints were requested to turn in Church-related records. Jenson also encouraged Church members to write their autobiographies and submit them to the Church’s Historical Office. Even today Church authorities strongly suggest that members write their personal and family histories and that they regularly record important events in a journal. Brigham Young University sponsors oral history programs such as the work done by the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. And many publishers specializing in LDS history have begun to issue important diaries, including those of Wilford Woodruff, John D. Lee, Hosea Stout, and Charles Lowell Walker. *BYU Studies* itself has recently published the John Taylor Nauvoo Journal (vol. 23:3).

*Voices from the Past*, according to its editors, is a compilation that “presents family records of true-life adventure and inspiration, and particularly emphasizes Mormon Family experiences from 1830 to 1880.” The volume is void of any other form of introduction. It is not annotated, nor does it give any clue as to why a particular journal, diary, or autobiography was chosen as a representation of “Mormon family life.” However, the work is arranged in chronological order, and it does demonstrate the value of using personal records in the study of Mormon history.
Selections relate eyewitness accounts of the Missouri persecutions, the Prophet's martyrdom, the British and Danish emigrants' journey across the ocean, the Saints' trials at Council Bluffs, Lot Smith's intrigues during the Utah War, and the pioneers' struggles as they attempted to establish a home in the vastness of Utah. To some degree, these accounts do enhance our understanding of Mormon history; yet they fail in the editors' stated purpose of giving the reader some feeling for Mormon family life. Especially disappointing is the fact that there is relatively little mention of polygamy. Certainly, if Mormon family life is to be adequately portrayed, more excerpts from polygamous families should have been included. Similarly, no excerpts discuss the implications of the 1890 manifesto for Mormon families. While one could argue that few families were directly affected, the Manifesto and its impact on the way the Mormons would in the future respond to their Church leaders cannot be ignored. These faults in combination with the lack of an introduction and annotation severely restrict the use of the work.

Nevertheless, this may be faithful history at its best—written by the faithful believer for his posterity rather than by the historian for the scholarly community.


Reviewed by Paul Y. Hoskisson, assistant professor of ancient history and religious education at Brigham Young University.

With the publication of Isaiah: Prophet, Seer, and Poet, Victor L. Ludlow has accomplished what few scholars have done—presented a worthy commentary on one of the most difficult books in world literature. The task that Victor L. Ludlow set for himself would have discouraged lesser scholars, but he has the credentials and the will to pursue the project. The work examines the "historical context, literary style, scriptural context and doctrinal application" of Isaiah and is designed "to help the readers of Isaiah to understand his writings" (p. xi). Here for the first time Latter-day Saints have at their command a commentary on Isaiah that brings together LDS doctrine, reputable scholarship, and an informed discussion of the nature of the Hebrew writings of Isaiah.

Two features of the book deserve special note. First, the entire Book of Isaiah has been included within the text of the commentary, making it unnecessary to keep a copy of the Bible at hand to read the

503
passages being discussed. The text of Isaiah used for inclusion varies from section to section with fourteen different translations being used, including some of Ludlow’s original renderings. This use of different English versions of Isaiah allows the reader to see other possibilities of interpretation and to become familiar with the style and readability of the various translations now available on the market.

Second, Isaiah wrote in a language and literary style that is foreign to most contemporary readers. His use of Hebrew poetry, with complicated chiastic structures, parallels and repetitions, unfamiliar to native English speakers, only complicates the problem of understanding his message. Ludlow explains in an intelligent manner at appropriate points how Isaiah used these Hebrew poetic devices and how a knowledge of these forms actually contributes to a better understanding of the text.

The publisher, Deseret Book, is to be complimented for the quality of the layout and liberal use of bold face, italics, and different sized fonts that visually help the reader to organize what could have been a complicated and dizzying sequence of commentaries. However, the maps on pages 175 and 181 are not precisely drawn, an unfortunate lapse given the graphic care with which the book was otherwise assembled.

As with any finite commentary on a major work, selections were made concerning the material that could be included. Scholars of Hebrew and the Ancient Near East will find Ludlow’s book lacking in commentary on the Hebrew text. Students of Latter-day Saint theology might wish there were more quotations from authoritative modern sources. However, given the size of the book, Ludlow has made a happy balance between the various source materials used in his commentary.

Some readers may fault this book for not giving single answers to the problems raised by a reading of the Book of Isaiah, but I think this is one of the strong points of Ludlow’s commentary. Rather than giving doctrinaire answers to questions, he offers various alternatives usually based in part on the different approaches that he has presented, i.e., answers based on secular scholarship, scriptural comparisons, quotations from modern prophets. While this approach may be disconcerting to a few, it will be refreshing to many. The paragraph on page 360 is characteristic of the best passages in Ludlow’s commentary. He summarizes the data, and “rather than categorically stating” the one and only correct solution, he lets the list stand by proffering an interpretation that includes all the possibilities.
The chapter "Why and How to Study Isaiah" is very helpful. The historical background and the explanation of parallelism in Hebrew are particularly useful. Later, beginning on page 93, there is a section with many helpful insights on the use of the Book of Mormon Isaiah passages to aid in understanding biblical Isaiah. This is one of the most valuable sections of the book, but unfortunately it is hidden in the middle of a discussion of Isaiah chapter 2. This important commentary should have been given a chapter by itself, or at least a place in the table of contents so that those who use this book as a reference work would be aware that this topic is treated. Similarly, the welcome section "Why Is Isaiah Deliberately Difficult" is unfortunately tucked away in the discussion of Isaiah 6, where it will be found only by those who read through the book page by page.

While I obviously believe that this is a valuable book, it does contain a number of items with which I, as a specialist in the Ancient Near East, would take issue. Some of these are probably mere typographical errors, such as the statement that deuter-Isaiah starts after chapter 29 (p. 97). It should read chapter 39. There are also significant omissions. Along with the appropriately cited Isaiah texts contained in the Septuagint and the Book of Mormon (from the Brass Plates), I expected to find comparisons with the Qumran (Dead Sea Scrolls) Isaiah material. Except for three passages—only one of which adds to the commentary on the Hebrew text—the Dead Sea Scrolls are not even mentioned. The one passage that does make a substantive contribution (p. 506) is not listed in the index. On page 48, Ludlow attributes the division of the Isaiah text into paragraphs and chapters to medieval scribes. Here is a case where evidence from the Qumran material would have helped to avoid a mistake. A comparison of the 1QIren text with the paragraph and chapter divisions of the Masoretic text would have shown that by and large these divisions were known to the scribes of the Dead Sea Scrolls and were not invented subsequently in the Middle Ages.

Most of my questions about Ludlow's book have to do with matters of fact or interpretation. For example, on pages 98 and 99 the significance of the phrase "top of the mountains" is discussed. The explanation that the temple mount in Jerusalem, though "in fact lower than the surrounding hills," attains a position of "relative height" is at best forced. The temple mount in Jerusalem is indeed considerably lower than the surrounding hills and can in no way be considered a "top of the mountains." When Isaiah says that this holy city "shall be established in the top of the mountains" (Isa. 2:2), it is the King James translation that is misleading. The Hebrew text literally says, "The mountain of the house of the Lord shall be in the head of the
mountains,” most likely referring to the spiritual standing of the city of the Lord among all the other cities of the world, no doubt because of the presence of the Lord’s temple. The New English Bible translates, “The mountain of the LORD’S house shall be set over other mountains, lifted high above the hills.” The last two phrases are parallel and therefore most likely indicate the same thing. There is also a climax in this parallelism, namely, that compared to the mountain or city of the Lord all others will seem as hills. Given this metaphysical explanation of the “top of the mountains,” there is no need to explain why the low hill of the temple mount in Jerusalem is “relatively” high or that the temples “along the Wasatch Front of the Rockies” are “one thousand feet” higher in absolute elevation than Jerusalem.

On page 115, Ludlow suggests that the Hebrews of Isaiah’s day found some sort of mysticism in the Hebrew language so that they could feel “there was a power inherent in words that are mysteriously linked by similarity and contrast.” While this may have been the case with post-70 A.D. Judaism, there is no evidence that kabalistic tendencies predate the common era. The power of the words of Isaiah lies not in mysticism but in their poetic quality, prophetic vision, and deadly accuracy.

Part of the commentary on page 338 is based on the interpretation of the Hebrew word elohim as God the Father. This usage is quite standard among members of the Church, but the word as it is used in Hebrew does not denote exclusively God the Father. In fact at times it seems interchangeable with the Hebrew for Jehovah (yahweh). For instance, see Judges 3, where the angel sent to announce Samson’s birth is alternately described as an “angel of yahweh” (v. 3) and an “angel of elohim” (v. 6), as “a man of elohim” (v. 6) and again “an angel of yahweh” (v. 11). But the telling verse for the present point is 22, where after the angel had ascended in the flame of the altar, Samson’s father said, “We have seen elohim.” They had not seen God the Father but only a messenger, and that messenger was called elohim by them. In other words, elohim could denote not only God but also a divine messenger, a “man,” as he is called in the foregoing verses. Therefore, it is not correct to base an interpretation of Isaiah 40 upon the assumption that every occurrence of elohim in this chapter refers to God the Father and that when yahweh appears the subject has become the Son.

The claim that “Bel and Nebo were the two most prominent gods of the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon” (p. 391) is true only for the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and there is no evidence that Bel and
Nebo “were the Babylonian apostate versions of Jehovah and the Holy Ghost.” Babylonian religion is fairly well known back to the third millennium B.C., and there is no reason to believe that during that period (2000–700 B.C.) the gospel was ever known in Mesopotamia to any extent beyond a personal level. There is a similar problem on page 477, where Ludlow states that “ancient idol worship was inseparably connected with ritual prostitution and fertility cults.” This is simply not true of the Ancient Near East. There are no texts from the Phoenician, Ugaritic, or Palestinian cultural spheres at or before the time of Isaiah that even suggest ritual prostitution. The only evidence of prostitution as part of the cults of Babylonia comes from a late and non-native source, Herodotus. There is no native text or other indigenous evidence from any period that cultic prostitution was ever practiced in Mesopotamia.¹

There are other questionable claims scattered through the book. For example, the equation proffered on page 205 that the “land shadowed by wings” of Isaiah 18:1 is the Americas may or may not be true. The evidence marshalled does not convince this reviewer. The suggestion that the phrase “house of prayer for all people” (Isa. 56:7) found its fulfillment “on June 9, 1978, when the temple blessings were made available to all worthy people, regardless of race” (p. 474) is not the only possible explanation. The “house of prayer for all people” is quoted by the Savior in Matthew 21:13 to refer to the proper use of the temple. The outer court of the temple was reserved for non-Israelites as a place of prayer, truly a place “of prayer for all people.” And the explanation of the word forgive on page 452 is based on a faulty etymology.

Exception must be made to the statement on page 293: “It seems that presently irreligious Jews, trusting in their own power, have returned to their promised land and established a strong modern state.” The word irreligious is far too strong. It is true that many of the Jewish people of Palestine are not religious, but the correct term for this is areligious and not irreligious, the former meaning without religion and the latter meaning irreverent or even antireligious. Indeed, many of the Jews of Palestine are very religious, and though

¹Back in 1913 it was proposed that the Akkadian temple word gagu be interpreted as brothel and that the women who served therein, nadiu women, were sacred prostitutes. Unfortunately, this erroneous assumption based on faulty Syriac etymology has remained and grown into a whole theory about cultic prostitution. Old theories that fire the imagination seem to have a life of their own that defies the truth. If anything, the nadiu women were required to be chaste in deed. (See Rvckah Harris, “The nadiu Woman,” in Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim [Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1964], p. 106, with the literature in footnotes 1 and 2. See also E. J. Fischer, “Cultic Prostitution in the Ancient East? A Reassessment,” Biblical Theological Bulletin 6 [1976]: 225–56.)
they may be in the minority their influence in the politics of the Jewish state far outweighs their numbers.

Despite my questions on these and other points, I see this book as an important achievement. Dr. Ludlow is especially to be commended for his introduction to the poetic imagery and explanation of the lyrics of Isaiah. The English approximations are faithful and give much of the richness of Isaiah’s colors. I look forward to more.


Reviewed by Ronald W. Walker, associate editor of BYU Studies, a senior research historian for the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, and an associate professor of history, Brigham Young University.

As in the days of Noah, when holy writ confirms there were “giants on the earth,” early Mormonism had its share of large and imposing figures. Jedediah Morgan Grant—most Saints affectionately called him “Jeddy”—was certainly one of these. As Salt Lake City’s first mayor, counselor to President Brigham Young, and especially stump preacher extraordinaire, Jedediah Grant seemed larger than life. His fervid preaching won Mormonism a plentiful harvest of converts and created several long-standing, heroic missionary legends. Later, his strong words called to life the 1856–57 Mormon Reformation. Unhappily, this crusade to perfect the Saints led to his death. In the middle of the reform’s excitement, weakened by overexertion, he succumbed to typhoid fever, compounded by pneumonia. To his friends, he became a gospel martyr who had sacrificed himself at the age of forty to a premature grave. Anti-Mormons pronounced a harsher verdict. To them, he was a religious fanatic, a Mormon Savonarola whose frenzy had finally consumed him.

It is not easy to find the reality about such a man, wrapped as he is with legend, tragedy, and the distorted images that his own fiery sermons create. Gene Sessions, a member of the Weber State College History Department, is the second biographer to attempt to find the truth behind the legend. Like Mary G. Judd’s 1959 portrait, Session’s view is sympathetic and heretic. But he has replaced the reverent hagiography of the former era with more careful analysis and greater detachment—and with periodic impish impiety. Jeddy was “‘no twentieth-century Mormon leader in his business suit,’” Sessions
writes in his preface, "expounding the ideals of passive Americanism, i.e., the good life filled with material comforts and middle-class elitism. I saw [in him] instead a pious yet rambunctiously radical preacher, flogging away at his people, demanding otherworldliness and constant sacrifice" (p. xi).

The dichotomy of past and present-day Mormonism is important to Sessions, who uses the distinction to explain Jeddy's historical role. Jeddy personifies Mormonism's lost adolescence—as representative of the early Saint as Andrew Jackson was of the new American. Clearly Sessions likes his analogy: Jedediah Grant, though rough-and-ready and given to robust oratory, was also sensible, generous, often tender, and better educated than his detractors conceded. Moreover, according to Sessions, Jeddy was supremely dedicated to nineteenth-century Mormonism's twin ideals of personal piety and social improvement.

Professor Sessions pursues his task unconventionally. Reminiscent of pre-Strachean biography which substituted quotation for narration, he has chosen to write a "documentary history" (p. xii). The result is the inclusion of long excerpts from Jeddy's letters and sermons, correspondence from others, and miscellaneous tableaux—some of limited biographical value—all tied together by narrative prose and analysis. The appendices, which comprise over a fourth of the book's four hundred pages, offer a chronology of Grant's life, sketches of the dramatis personae, and the full text of Jeddy's celebrated (and partially ghost-written) letters to the New York Herald during the Judge Brocchus dispute.

Basic questions might be asked about the book's documentary approach. At times, important biographical information is "hidden" within the quoted material, awaiting emphasis and explication. Also, there are nagging questions about Grant's sermons. Were they substantially revised by contemporary editors? Has Sessions's condensing (without the normal use of ellipses) preserved the preacher's original style? And there are problems with biographical balance. By chaining his narrative to quotations, Sessions fails to give a balanced view of Jeddy. For instance, Jeddy's important barnstorming through central New Jersey, his financial and professional activities, and his Nauvoo Legion and mayoral duties receive only passing treatment, although secondary information exists to describe these facets of his career.

Nevertheless, for those with the interest to read the large and often undigested blocks of quoted material, the results can be instructive and even fun. Grant's Jonathan Edwards-like preachments of moral regeneration or blood atonement are balanced by his more prosaic, over-the-collar remarks. Together they convey the spirit of
early Utah society. "Now when you come to Zion," he advised the Saints, "you will find men standing upon their feet; but go into the world, and there, if a man wants to show himself to be a smart man, he must mount a cabbage leaf, hiccup, and hump up to spit over his shirt collar." Grant's mayoral papers can be equally colorful. "May all the sluggards and the drones who will not . . . [keep the city in good order]," he once wrote his constituency with mock solemnity, "be bit by bed-bugs, and tormented by the nightmare, and have their bodies clogged with a conscience clear as mud." Might all state papers be so pungent!

Like Jedediah Grant, Sessions knows how to turn a phrase, a skill that often lightens his heavy use of documents. Unfortunately, Sessions shares with Jeddy a bent for dramatic images and adjectives. This, when coupled with the narrative's continual sense of anticipation and portent, becomes emotionally exhaustive. Likewise, they have a tendency to trade careful judgments for verve and color. For example, recent scholarship fails to collaborate Sessions's belief that Joseph Smith's Kirtland dealings were "naive financial machinations" (p. 15). The phrase "the rambunctious and expanding dictatorship of Brigham Young" requires explanation or at least qualification. Similarly, Paul H. Peterson's recent well-documented dissertation suggests the Mormon Reformation had a deliberate quality that escapes Sessions's analysis. Other examples could be cited.

But perhaps Sessions is right to concentrate on Jeddy's character and "speechifying," for within these categories lies the crux of Grant's enigma. His good will, high spirits, intelligence, and open-handed charity earned him his community's general esteem, while those who knew him casually or only through his speeches tended to perceive Jedediah Grant as an intense and brittle fanatic. We are therefore indebted to Professor Sessions for sorting through these images and creating a sympathetic and mostly accurate portrait. No doubt the "true-believing" Jeddy was a complex man, at times harsh and aggressive in language but generally humane and kind in behavior.

Our perceiving these qualities as polar can largely be explained by our looking at Jeddy from the perspective of our times, of our own preaching conventions. He is better understood against the backdrop of the robust conventions of his own time. It was a frank and sometimes unrefined era yet to reap the benefits of Victorianism's softening touch. The pulpit was then seen as a major tool of social uplift; sermons, filled with strong and expressive language, sought to "improve" congregations as well as to evangelize them. While true of British and American culture as a whole, these trends were particularly common
in frontier Utah, with its young, enthusiastic, and social-improving religion. Jeddy, of course, embodied this preaching milieu, but no more so than many Mormons, including his ecclesiastical superiors, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. Indeed, Jedediah Grant was probably no more "representative" of his broader culture than they.

Sessions doubts that the mountain preacher could have prospered in our more sophisticated era. "The early grave that swallowed Brother Jedediah was consequently a compassionate haven for such a boisterous amplification of what Mormonism really was, and would never be again" (p. 72). There is, of course, no way of knowing. But Heber C. Kimball, a man like Jeddy in so many ways, did make the transition. Jeddy's own son, Heber J. Grant, made the transition. My hunch is, given the chance, Jedediah Grant would have too.
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

©1983 Brigham Young University Press. All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America.

3-84-72149-6M

SUBSCRIBERS NOTICE

Subscription is $10.00 for four numbers, $19.00 for eight numbers, and $27.00 for twelve numbers. Single numbers are $4.00. The rate to bona fide students and missionaries is $8.00 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 journal to you promptly. Your courteous compliance with this request will help us to solve a serious and costly problem.
Brigham Young University Studies is a quarterly journal dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge. Contributions from all fields of learning are welcome. Articles should reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view while at the same time conforming to high scholarly standards, and they should be written for the informed nonspecialist. Quality fiction, poetry, drama, and personal essays are also welcome.

Contributions should not exceed 5,000 words in length. Manuscripts must be typed, double-spaced, and should conform to the latest edition of The Chicago Manual of Style. They should be submitted in duplicate, with stamped and self-addressed envelope.

Each author will receive complimentary offprints and complete copies of the issue in which his or her contribution appears.

Send manuscripts to:

Edward A. Geary, editor
Brigham Young University Studies
3168 JKHB
Provo, Utah 84602

Brigham Young University Studies is abstracted in Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences and in American Theological Library Association Indexes; and is listed in the MLA International Bibliography, in Arts and Humanities Citation Index; in American History and Life Annual Index; and in Historical Abstracts. Member, Conference of Editors of Learned Journals.
"The First Latter-day Saint Settlement in Missouri"  
Scene from C.C.A. Christensen's Mormon Panorama. Here Christensen shows the 1833 expulsion of Mormon settlers from Jackson County, Missouri.
Scene from C.C.A. Christensen’s Mormon Panorama. This painting conveys an epic sense of the drama involved in the Latter-day Saint exodus to Salt Lake Valley.
Emigrant Ship

This 1867 watercolor, painted in Norway, possibly depicts the ship in which C.C.A. Christensen sailed as an emigrant from Liverpool to Philadelphia in 1857.
C.C.A. Christensen and his Norwegian bride, Elise Scheel, made a handcart trek from Iowa City to Utah their honeymoon in 1857. Christensen painted this largely autobiographical scene in 1900 and exhibited it at the Utah State Fair that year.
Immigration of the Saints

Painted in 1878, this depicts the joyous arrival of immigrants in a Utah community in the 1860s.

Courtesy of Daughters of the Utah Pioneers
Harvest Time in Ephraim

Here C.C.A. Christensen shows his own children helping harvest grain on the family farm at Ephraim, Utah.
The Manti Temple

This 1889–93 painting by C.C.A. Christensen was commissioned by the women of the Sanpete Stake Relief Societies. The Manti Temple is perhaps the finest example of Mormon pioneer craftsmanship. With his Norwegian friend, Dan Weggeland, C.C.A. Christensen painted murals here. Their creation room mural is the oldest now found in any Latter-day Saint Temple.
"The Building of the Temple"

One of a series of Book of Mormon scenes C.C.A. Christensen painted for the Deseret Sunday School Union in 1890, this work shows the construction of a temple.