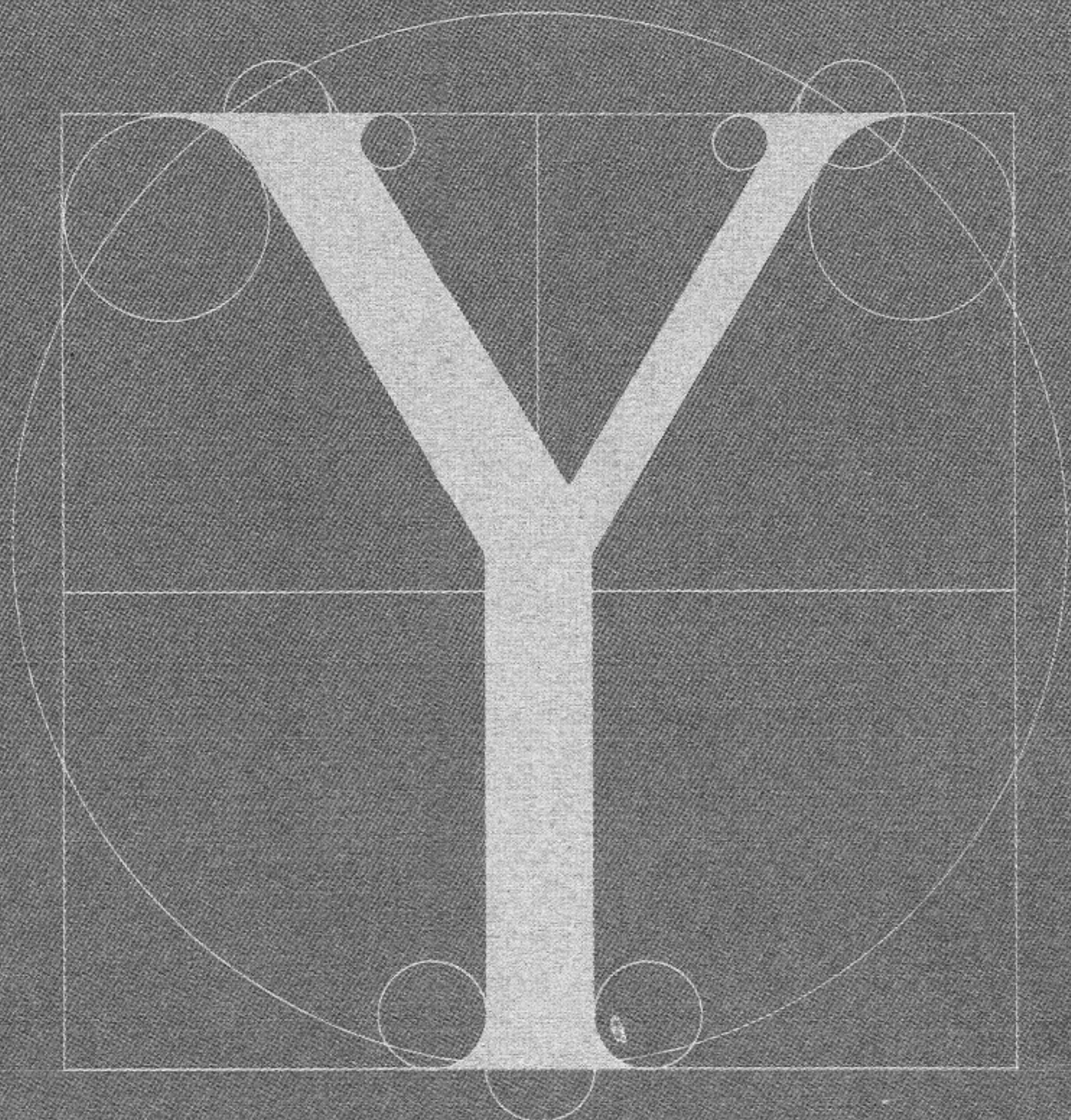


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The Dynamics of Terror in Orwell's 1984

Malcolm R. Thorp

Few twentieth-century novels have been as provocative as George Orwell's *1984*.¹ Orwell may have wished it that way, for in his mind the book aimed at being a political satire—"in a sense, a fantasy"²—that reflected the author's disillusionment with the present (the story was largely written during 1947–48) as well as his fear of the future. To him, the political process had gone sour, and literature could only reflect that fact:

This is a political age. War, Fascism, concentration camps, rubber truncheons, atomic bombs, etc., are what we daily think about, even when we do not name them openly. We cannot help this. When you are on a sinking ship, your thoughts will be about sinking ships.³

Far from surrendering to the mysticism of violence, Orwell acts as a voice of warning, lamenting the passing of liberal values, and decrying the totalitarian boot forever crushing a human face. By deducing what might be the next step beyond the barbarity of such masters of inhumanity as Hitler and Stalin, he confronts us with the uncertainty of the future. And he is in a real sense blaming "everyman" for collaborating with the enemy, for succumbing too

Malcolm R. Thorp is a professor of history at Brigham Young University, specializing in English history and culture. This essay, written specifically for *BYU Studies*, is another in a continuing series of "Review Essays" dealing with important authors, books, or special topics.

¹For various interpretations, see *Orwell's Nineteen Eighty-Four: Text, Sources, Criticism*, ed. Irving Howe (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963); Samuel Hynes, ed., *Twentieth Century Interpretations of 1984* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971); Jeffrey Meyers, ed., *George Orwell, the Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975). Two useful introductions to Orwell's fiction are Jeffrey Meyers, *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), and Robert A. Lee, *Orwell's Fiction* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969). But the best study connecting *1984* with the corpus of Orwell's writings is Ruth Ann Lief, *Homage to Oceania* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969). There is a useful bibliography on Orwell by Jeffrey and Valerie Myers, *Orwell, an Annotated Bibliography of Criticism* (New York: Garland, 1977). Two recent collections of essays on the theme of *1984* are Irving Howe, *1984 Revisited* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), and Peter Stansky, ed., *On Nineteen Eighty-Four* (New York: W. H. Freeman & Co., 1984).

²"In Front of Your Nose, 1945–1950," *The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968), 4:378.

³*Ibid.*, 463.

easily to the lure of authoritarian solutions to the political ills of his time.⁴

This essay will explore the methods of totalitarian control envisioned in Orwell's famous anti-utopian projection into the future of world politics. In many ways, *1984* was a logical culmination of Orwell's career as a political writer,⁵ and the book illustrates his belief that since the 1930s political behavior had become increasingly irrational. Orwell's morbid fears about a totalitarian future had their genesis in his experience in Civil War Spain, where he fought as a volunteer for the socialist cause in 1937. On the Barcelona front, Orwell witnessed firsthand an attempted *coup d'état* by the Communists, who tried to crush left-wing allies rather than to lead the coalition into battle against Franco's Fascists.⁶ Disillusioned by such strife, Orwell (who was wounded in combat) returned home to England convinced a major war was on the horizon. This fear of impending calamity is reflected in his novel, *Coming Up for Air* (1939), which is written with a rather successful touch of comedy, in spite of Orwell's gloom. In this story, George Bolling, who personifies a twentieth-century John Bull, becomes obsessed with the possibilities of air raids and totalitarian violence. While returning to the scene of his youth at Lower Binfield, Bolling encounters the first action of the war to come when the RAF accidentally drops a bomb on a greengrocer's shop. Reflecting on the dangers of the contemporary predicament, Bolling concludes:

It's all going to happen. All the things you've got at the back of your mind, the things you're terrified of, the things that you tell yourself are just a nightmare or only happen in foreign countries. The bombs, the coloured shirts, the slogans, the enormous faces, the machine-guns squirting out of bedroom windows. . . . There's no escape. Fight against

⁴Ibid., 564; Patrick Reilly, "Nineteen Eighty-Four: The Failure of Humanism," *Critical Quarterly* 24 (Autumn 1982): 19-30.

⁵The best full-length biography of Orwell is Bernard Crick, *George Orwell, A Life* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1980). Better written and more stimulating are Peter Stansky and William Abrahams, *The Unknown Orwell* (St. Albans, England: Paladin, 1974) and the companion volume, *Orwell: The Transformation* (London: Constable & Co., 1979). Stansky and Abrahams's volumes end in 1937, and their thesis of a character transformation from Eric Blair to George Orwell is not totally convincing. No one interested in Orwell should neglect George Woodcock, *The Crystal Spirit* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1966), which is a major contribution to insight into Orwell, the man, as well as his works. Raymond Williams, *Orwell* (Glasgow: Fontana/Collins, 1971) is a perceptive essay on Orwell, the man and the writer, by a leading left-wing intellectual.

All of Orwell's works contain autobiographical fragments, but special mention should be made of *Down and Out in Paris and London* (1933) and *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937). The former work was Orwell's first book and contains important material on his life in Paris in the late 1920s, as well as a sympathetic account of life among the underclass people in these two capital cities. *The Road to Wigan Pier* stands out in its own right as perhaps the most important social document of the Great Depression. In this work Orwell also includes an autobiographical account, as well as his justification for socialism.

⁶George Orwell's Spanish Civil War experiences form the basis for his *Homage to Catalonia* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1952).

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George Orwell in 1943

it if you like, or look the other way and pretend not to notice, or grab your spanner and rush out to do a bit of face-smashing along with the others. But there's no way out.⁷

Even the Allied victory against fascism in the Second World War did not turn Orwell from his pessimism. In 1945 he published his classic allegory, *Animal Farm*, where he probed the theme of revolutionary betrayal.⁸ In this story, the animals of Manor Farm (Russia) seize control from the incompetent farmer, Jones (Everyman). The animals proclaim an egalitarian society, but in the course of time the pigs betray the revolution. Led by Napoleon (Stalin), the pigs assert that although all the animals are equal some are more equal than others. Thus, the revolution ends in exploitation, although the animals are not aware of the extent of their plight, for memory of the old days has fled, leaving them with no way to evaluate if they are better or worse off than before the revolution (a condition that, as we shall see, is repeated in Oceania in 1984). *Animal Farm* is also reflective of history in the 1940s, as the warring farms and farmers around Manor Farm represent German fascism (Frederick) and the Allies (Pilkington). The card game at the end of the book is likewise supposed to represent the Tehran Conference of 1943, where the animals and farmers trade obsequities, but the whole affair ends in discord as both the pigs and the men are caught in the act of simultaneously pulling the ace of spades.⁹

Thus, *Animal Farm* concludes with the revolution becoming a new form of tyranny distinguished from the old mainly by the greater efficiency of the new masters. But the very success of this new despotism raises the possibility of a totalitarian future for all mankind. As the card game demonstrates, Pilkington and his cronies are not morally superior to Napoleon and his minions. In other words, Orwell was convinced that western leaders in the initial stages of the "cold war" were as corrupted by power as their Russian counterparts and that the bloodletting of war had not cured the political ills apparent to Orwell in the 1930s. Indeed, to Orwell, the metaphor of a diseased patient was apropos: "I think one must continue the political struggle, just as the doctor must try to save the life of a patient who is probably going to die."¹⁰

⁷George Orwell, *Coming Up for Air* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1950), 267.

⁸George Orwell, *Animal Farm* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1946).

⁹George Orwell, "Author's Preface to the Ukrainian Edition of *Animal Farm*," in *Collected Essays*, 3:402; Lee, *Orwell's Fiction*, 109.

¹⁰Orwell, *Collected Essays*, 4:289.

Still, Orwell holds out at least a glimmer of hope that a cure can be found for the maladies of political culture. In a much neglected essay entitled "Toward European Unity," written in 1947 while Orwell was completing *1984*, Orwell outlines three possibilities for the future. First, he argues that America might launch a preventative war against the Soviet Union, although he dismisses this as unlikely. Second, the cold war could continue until the Russians obtain atomic weapons. Then, after a short breathing spell, there would occur a devastating nuclear war which would destroy civilization, leaving perhaps a few million survivors to inhabit a wasteland. Orwell sees the third situation as having the greatest possibility of fulfillment:

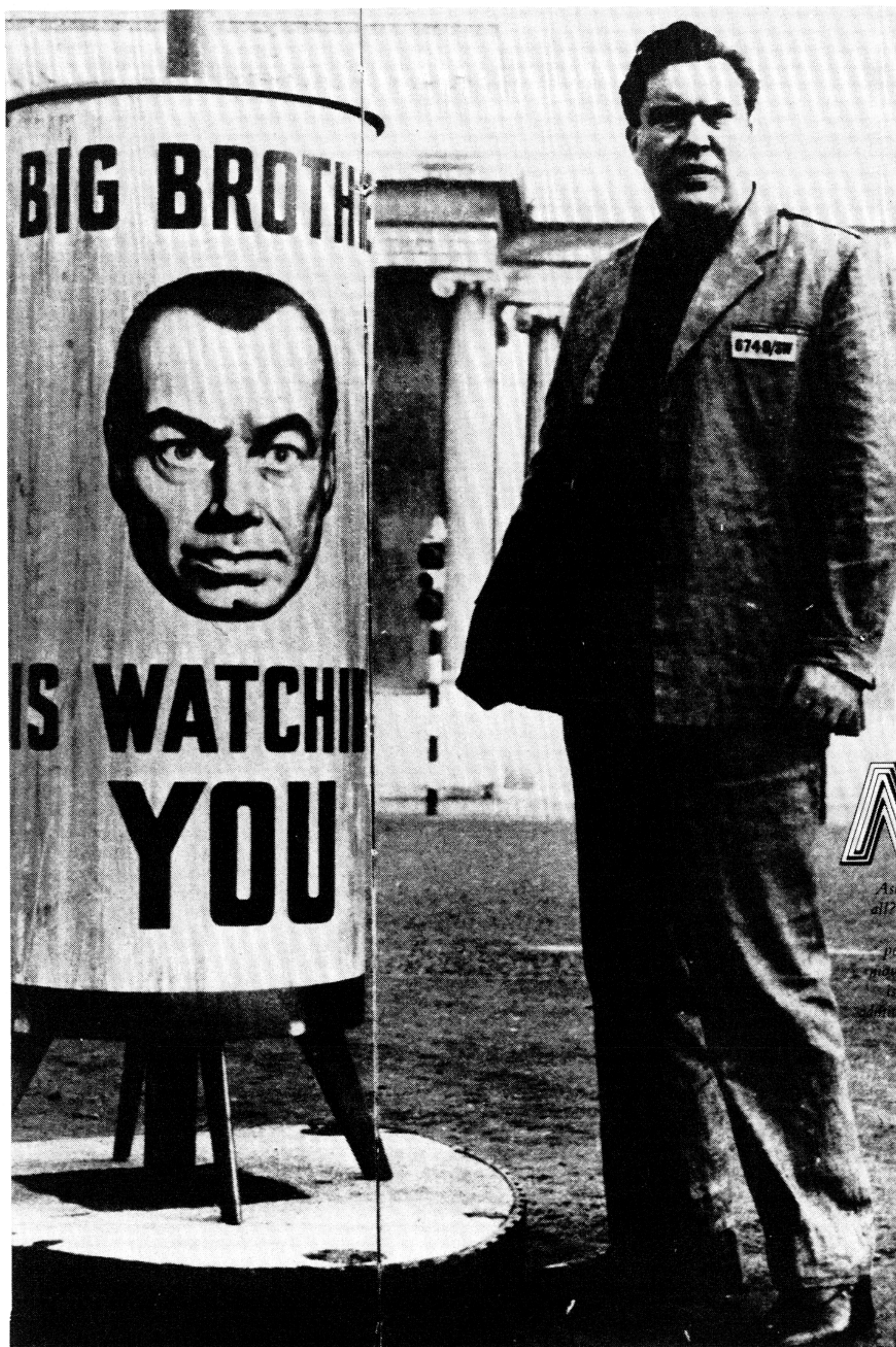
The fear inspired by the atomic bomb and other weapons yet to come will be so great that everyone will refrain from using them. This seems to me the worst possibility of all. It would mean the division of the world among two or three vast super-states, unable to conquer one another and unable to be overthrown by any internal rebellion. In all probability their structure would be hierarchic, with a semi-divine caste at the top and outright slavery at the bottom, and the crushing out of liberty would exceed anything that the world has yet seen. Within each state the necessary psychological atmosphere would be kept up by complete severance from the outer world, and by a continuous phony war against rival states. Civilisations of this type might remain static for thousands of years.¹¹

Clearly, a great amount of similarity exists between this futuristic prediction and the global politics described in *1984*.¹² But it is important to observe that Orwell does not see the emergence of such a system of power as inevitable. The best possibility for preventing the horrors of a future world carved up among three predatory totalitarian regimes, he believes, is for some major area of the world—such as Europe—to establish democratic socialism on a firm footing. Such a state would not only offer the world a model for a humane future but also act as a bulwark against the tendencies toward totalitarianism. Yet in his conclusion, Orwell returns to a pessimistic note, for he observes that the outlook for civilization is very dark. In Orwell's mind, the distinct possibility exists that the fantasy of *1984* could become reality.¹³

¹¹Orwell, *Collected Essays*, 4:371.

¹²The three superpowers in *1984* were Oceania (comprised of America, Great Britain, and the British Empire), Eurasia (formerly the Soviet Union and Europe), and Eastasia. See Orwell's discussion of such a division of the world in his critique of James Burnham in "Burnham's View of the Contemporary World Struggle" (*ibid.*, 360–74).

¹³*Ibid.*, 423–29.



Poster from the movie *1984*, starring Edmond O'Brien (ABPC, 1957)

II

The misfortunes of Winston Smith, Orwell's anti-hero, reveal the political system of the ruling state of Oceania in 1984.¹⁴ Winston's mid-life identity crisis leads him to question the wisdom of, and even to develop hatred for, Big Brother, that enormous face on posters in London. While no one knows if Big Brother even exists, he does personify the reality of power within Oceania. For the slogan "Big Brother Is Watching You" becomes, as the story progresses, more than a simple platitude. Winston begins his rebellion with the thought that the state might control almost everything, but man still has a few cubic centimeters inside his skull that are his own which the all-pervasive Thought Police cannot penetrate. He discovers that this is not necessarily true. His rather amateurish dabblings into treason, as well as his illicit affair with the Anti-Sex league deviant, Julia, are from the beginning carefully monitored by the Thought Police. Through his ordeal of arrest and internment, Winston learns about the reality of power. After enduring the horrors of psychological rehabilitation, including an experience in the infamous Room 101, Winston emerges as a mindless puppet who in the end, along with the rest of the masses, loves Big Brother.

The party in control of Oceania is named Ingsoc, abbreviated from its predecessor, English socialism. Ingsoc, however, is socialist in name only; in fact, the Party does not adhere to any ideology. The sole purpose of the Party is to manipulate power on behalf of the managerial elite within the state. Comprising only about two percent of the population, members of the Inner Party include the technocrats, politicians, scientists, and intellectuals. This group differs from its totalitarian predecessors in that the Ingsoc hierarchy is chosen solely on the basis of the party member's ability to assist the state. The "Old Boy" principle and even oligarchical connections do not enter into the selection process. Below this managerial elite exists a wider base of bureaucratic functionaries, about twelve percent of the population. These beadle-like agents of despotism are of value to the hierarchy and are certain of survival as long as they keep in line with

¹⁴George Woodcock relates: "All his [Orwell's] heroes are failures; indeed, he once said that every life, seen from the inside, was a failure" (*Crystal Spirit*, 227). Besides Winston Smith and George Bowling, the most memorable of the Orwellian anti-heroes are Michael Flory (*Burmese Days* [1934]) and Gordon Comstock (*Keep the Aspidistra Flying* [1936]). Flory, an outcast among the English imperialists in Upper Burma, increasingly comes to reject their attitude toward the natives. Through Flory's tragic story, which ends in suicide, Orwell explores the evils of imperialism, which is the "religion" of the European Club, the organization that condemns Flory as a backslider. Comstock is a young, struggling writer whose antipathy is for the "money god" of capitalism. Eventually he is swallowed by the system and abandons poetry for a career as an advertising slogan writer.

politics. Before his rebellion, Winston Smith was a typical member of this group. Employed in the Ministry of Truth, he operated a Memory Hole, a device that obliterates unpleasant facts contrary to party propaganda of the moment.

On the surface, at least, the methods of terror Ingsoc employs are typical of the ruthless means totalitarian regimes use in the twentieth century.¹⁵ For example, purges and “vaporizations” of internal dissidents are thought an essential part of the mechanics of a government which uses such conventional instruments of brutality as truncheons, machine guns, grenades, bombs, rockets, hidden microphones, dictaphones, two-way televisions, and police helicopter patrols. In addition, Ingsoc employs the usual methods of mass psychology, such as propaganda broadcasts and Two Minute Hate Drills that are so effectively staged that the emotional frenzy momentarily mesmerizes even Winston.

However, in *1984* Orwell emphasizes that the totalitarianism of the future will exceed even the most brutal methods of the past. In *1984*, the state has developed a sophisticated technology that includes not only Memory Holes but also novel-writing machines and surveillance equipment that would seem to imply the use of computerized systems. Indeed, no parallels to the all-pervasive methods of espionage encountered in the novel exist. Secret microphones are not original, but the fact that they are hidden in the remote countryside as well as in the attic of the junk shop where Winston and Julia have their clandestine love affair is significant. Even the speck of dust that Winston places on his secret diary in order to determine if the police have searched his personal belongings is carefully placed back on the book by the Thought Police, leaving the impression that perhaps nothing of importance goes unnoticed. We should remember, too, that Winston’s secret phobia—rats—is discovered by this intricate spy network that seems not only to monitor outward behavior but also able to probe into the inward depths of the psyche.

Terror in *1984*, however, goes beyond the technology of espionage and of beating people into submission. It involves even more than scientifically devised means of mass psychology. The essence of the new despotism of *1984* is the use of subtle means of manipulating perceptions of reality. Terror involves mind control. “Reality,” it is

¹⁵Meyers, *A Reader's Guide to George Orwell*, 144–54. Much of the argument that follows, however, disagrees with Meyers’s thesis that “*1984* portrays the very real though unfamiliar political terrorism of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia transposed into the landscape of London in 1941–44” (p. 145). For a recent discussion written for a popular audience of the technology in *1984*, see David Goodman, “Countdown to *1984*: Big Brother May Be Right on Schedule,” *Futurist* 12 (December 1978): 345–55. Goodman’s article demonstrates a much higher level of technology than Meyers is willing to admit.

emphasized, "is not external. Reality exists in the human mind, and nowhere else."¹⁶ The Party determines what is truth. An explicitly behaviorist assumption of the book is that by controlling the environment, especially perceptions that are fed into the mind, the Party can make people believe anything that it wants them to. Logical inconsistencies that cannot be eradicated through control of information are rationalized through the intellectual device of "double think"—the process of holding two contrary opinions as truth simultaneously, in spite of contradictions. Individual interpretations of truth are heresies, in the eyes of the Party; the "truth" must be interpreted for you. Free agency does not exist.¹⁷

Indeed, in Oceania there is no need for the existence of law. Attitudes, beliefs, and rules of proper social conduct are never written down. One is expected to display more than outward conformity. "A Party member is required to have not only right opinions, but the right instincts."¹⁸ The loyal Party member whose mind functions properly is referred to as a "Goodthinker." The dissident, however, is always anxiety ridden, fearful of giving himself away. "Your worst enemy," Orwell remarks, "was your own nervous system. At any moment the tension inside you was liable to translate itself into some visible symptom."¹⁹ Moreover, Winston's anxiety is triggered by rather normal self-doubts associated with his amateur endeavors as a revolutionary. A feeling of uncertainty always gnaws at Winston: Is he really on the right side? Is isolated rebellion a meaningful endeavor? After all, the Party might be right.

Even sexual passion is frowned upon but, when condoned, is closely regulated. For the Party perceives a close connection between sexual abstinence and proper political behavior. The hedonistic Julia, who is more passionate and less idealistic than her lover, perceives why sex is a political issue:

"When you make love, you're using up energy; and afterwards you feel happy and don't give a damn for anything. They can't bear you to feel like that. They want you to be bursting with energy all the time. All this marching up and down and cheering and waving flags is simply

¹⁶George Orwell, *1984* (New York: The New American Library, 1961), 205.

¹⁷According to Patrick Reilly, "*The new God [the Personified State] declines to lose a single soul, like Origen's deity rather than the more orthodox figure of the Last Judgment.* Hell has no place in the theology of Oceania, for hell is God's shame, his admission that there are wills too stubborn, evils too obdurate, even for his love to overcome—every hellbound soul is the devil's victory. The devils of *1984*, own-life, sexcrime and the rest, win no victories and are indeed permitted to exist simply to demonstrate the futile folly of seduction, in exalting God the more by their humiliating impotence. Winston, misinterpreting himself as rebel, is really acting out his role in an Oceanic *felix culpa*" (Reilly, "Failure of Humanism," 22).

¹⁸Orwell, *1984*, 174.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 56.

sex gone sour. If you're happy inside yourself, why should you get excited about Big Brother and the Three-Year Plans and the Two Minutes Hate and all the rest of their bloody rot?"²⁰

Not only personal relationships, but even the establishment of one's individual identity is impossible in these circumstances, for there is no access to the experiences of other human beings in time. It is a cardinal party doctrine that "who controls the past . . . controls the future: who controls the present controls the past."²¹ This brilliant Orwellian insight is significant because it relates to the way we think. As Trygve Tholfsen writes:

In a man's mind the past is constantly present in memory, the future in expectation. In the split second that constitutes "the present," the concrete reality is recollection of the past and anticipation of the future. As Dilthey put it, "the present as such can never be experienced. At a given moment a man embraces both past and future in his consciousness."²²

Orwell is perceptive in realizing that the past cannot be totally denied to man. Winston's mind contains memories that not even the Party can eradicate. Nevertheless, the Party denies Winston any information that would enable him to corroborate his memories, as well as a comparative perspective that can be obtained only from encounters with the experiences of other human beings.

In another context, Orwell asserts that "a people without a history is like a person without a memory."²³ Indeed, the mutability of the past is at the very basis of mind control in *1984*. The Party controls access to the past for two reasons. As already mentioned, by controlling the past, the Party insures that the individual has no standard of comparison, no method of judging the authenticity of human experience."²⁴ But the overriding reason is the need to safeguard the infallibility of the Party:

It is not merely that speeches, statistics, and records of every kind must be constantly brought up to date in order to show that the predictions of the Party were in all cases right. It is also that no change of doctrine or in political alignment can ever be admitted. For to change one's mind, or even one's policy, is a confession of weakness.²⁵

History must be constantly revised in order to preserve the myth of perfection. Through this process, Big Brother becomes omnipotent.

²⁰Ibid., 110–11.

²¹Ibid., 32.

²²Trygve R. Tholfsen, *Historical Thinkings, an Introduction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 248.

²³Quotation is provided by Professor Arthur J. Slavin of the University of Louisville in a public lecture at Brigham Young University, spring 1980.

²⁴Orwell, *1984*, 32–33.

²⁵Ibid., 175.

Winston can remember that he was born in 1944 or 1945. As he attempts to reconstruct historical episodes that have transpired during his life, he recalls an air raid (about 1954) that caught everyone by surprise. An atomic bomb had been dropped on Colchester, and a war had ensued. In this situation of crisis, he remembers that something drastic happened to the government of the day. He vividly recalls being crowded into a tube station with his mother and younger sister. A grief-stricken, drunken old man dressed in middle-class attire had repeatedly sobbed, “ ‘We didn’t ought to ’av trusted ’em. I said so, Ma, didn’t I? That’s what come of trusting ’em. I said so all along.’ ”²⁶ Winston cannot remember who it was they should not have trusted. At this crucial point, his memory fails him. Following this incident, he can remember only one war after another, followed by the Great Purges of the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was about this time he first recalls hearing about Big Brother. But beyond these vague recollections, “everything melted into a mist.”²⁷ Winston is a man without a perspective on his own life, and this becomes the source of his identity crisis.

In a real sense, he suffers from amnesia: “He was alone. The past was dead, the future was unimaginable.”²⁸ Winston attempts to alleviate his anxiety through piecing together fleeting memories and inner feelings in a diary he has illegally purchased. The antique tome with its creamy smooth paper fascinates Winston. But when he attempts to write, his creative impulses are stymied. His thoughts are disjointed; his inner self does not emerge. Thus, Orwell establishes the impression that creativity is impossible within the confines of such a despotic system: “If both the past and the external world exist only in the mind, and if the mind itself is controllable—what then?”²⁹

It is important to point out that Winston does not discover ultimate “truth” on his own. Through reflecting on his experiences as a low-level technician in the Ministry of Truth, he can piece together bits of information that tell him much about how the Party operates. And he can even prove that the Party has in fact distorted the past to serve its own interests. Hence, when Winston at last obtains a copy of the book *The Theory and Practice of Oligarchical Collectivism*,

²⁶Ibid., 31.

²⁷Ibid., 33.

²⁸Ibid., 25. The condition of amnesia is developed by Orwell in his novel, *A Clergyman's Daughter* (1935). In this earlier book, the suffering patient is Dorothy Hare, whose condition is at least in part self-inflicted. She is a victim of her own inhibitions (sexual), as well as her natural timidity that enables her to be exploited by her insensitive father, whose responsibilities for pastoral care she is forced to undertake. Although Dorothy is also oppressed by the pettiness of local society, she is not, strictly speaking, a victim of society, as is the case with Winston Smith.

²⁹Orwell, 1984, 69.

written by the archtraitor Emmanuel Goldstein, he discovers that the book merely confirms what he already knows. At the same time, however, he is made aware that his knowledge is incomplete, for he knows only how the Party operates; he does not understand the theoretical foundations of power. The “why” remains a mystery until after his arrest. By then it is too late, for Winston, whom Orwell characterizes as “The Last Man in Europe,” is transformed into a vacuous-minded Party hack. Thus, contrary to what has been written,³⁰ Winston’s experience does not necessarily leave hope for a future transformation of Oceania; Winston’s quest fails, and if his ultimate discovery of truth is a victory, it is a pyrrhic one at best.

III

According to Bernard Crick, “*Nineteen Eighty-four* can be seen as a ‘development model’, of a kind familiar to economic historians and social scientists, and every bit as tightly organised, logical and internally consistent as Thomas Hobbes’ *Leviathan*, the masterpiece of English political philosophy.”³¹ But is this really the case? It seems Orwell’s book is weak at the same point where Hobbes’s treatise displays strength—that is, in his discussion on the connection between the abstraction of power and its relationship to the world of human reality. In *1984*, Orwell clearly exaggerates the extent to which Ingsoc wields authority. According to Inner Party theoretician O’Brien, power has become an absolute end in itself: “We are not interested in the good of others; we are interested solely in power. Not wealth or luxury or long life or happiness; only power, pure power.”³² Certainly Hobbes, as a political philosopher, would be the first to disagree. For the human element is always an ingredient in politics. Never can we have pure political power while human beings are still human. Contrary to O’Brien’s assertion, the Party cannot create human nature (men, he asserts, are “infinitely malleable”), for men do not always act in uniform patterns; hence they never have a “nature” that can be so manipulated. What is manipulated in Oceania is the environment, not man’s essence. Thus, at least a

³⁰David L. Kubal, *Outside the Whale; George Orwell's Art and Politics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1972), 44.

³¹Crick, *Orwell*, xx. Irving Howe sees O’Brien’s speech on power as a brilliant intuitive insight that anticipates the actuality in the Communist state where the ideology of the party is crumbling yet its power survives: “the grim possibility is that they [Communist leaders] now have a realistic view of themselves as creatures holding power simply for the sake of power, and they find this quite sufficient.” It remains to be seen, however, if the nakedness of power can provide its own justification within the modern state. (Irving Howe, “Enigmas of Power,” *The New Republic* 188 [Year-end issue, 1982]: 27–32.)

³²Orwell, *1984*, 217.

glimmer of hope exists that the future might produce a more capable dissident than Winston Smith, one with the incisiveness of mind necessary to outwit O'Brien.

Another problem related to the human element in politics is found in Orwell's discussion of the "proles," who constitute the remaining eighty-five percent of the population. Living in the grey slums of London, they are shown to be aware of the degeneracy of the past two decades—reflected in the deterioration in the quality of beer served in the dingy pubs. But the masses seem to have been bought off with pornography, machine-made salacious novels, rigged lotteries, and the humdrum routine of just trying to make a living.³³ Except for isolated police raids, terror does not extend into the prole sections of London. There is no need, for the revolutionary impetus is simply lacking. As Winston comes to realize: "*Until they become conscious they will never rebel, and until after they have rebelled they cannot become conscious.*"³⁴ Truly, this is a brilliant insight, but does it fit the English working class that has been conscious of its existence for nearly two hundred years? And is the world really so corrupt that people would allow themselves to be so manipulated without the application of coercive force? What would happen in a contemporary totalitarian society if the majority of the citizens were left to themselves without the application of terror? One must question Orwell's realism on this point.

For other model builders, Orwell's novel is seen as an insightful exposé of the drabness of life in the socialist state, with its combination of public affluence and private squalor.³⁵ To be sure, England in 1984 is a vast seedy slum. Razor blades must be purchased on the black market; Victory Gin is consumed for dulling the mind rather than for its taste; and the lifts do not work (a common problem even in the heyday of capitalism). But the reason for these conditions has more to do with controlling people than with revealing the woes of socialist states.³⁶ For Orwell is arguing that these conditions are planned and are not a by-product of an inherently bad economic system. In Oceania, Ingsoc keeps the economy on a war footing, even in times of peace. The rationale for this is that revolutions traditionally

³³"By lack of understanding they [the proles] remained sane. They simply swallowed everything, and what they swallowed did them no harm, because it left no residue behind, just as a grain of corn will pass undigested through the body of a bird" (ibid., 129). We might question Orwell's plausibility here: to suppose that human beings will not be affected by life's experiences is a false assumption on his part.

³⁴Ibid., 61; italics in original.

³⁵James McNamara and Dennis J. O'Keeffe, "Waiting for 1984: Orwell and Evil," *Encounter* 59 (December 1982): 44.

³⁶Orwell, 1984, 163–64.

occur in societies where expectations are on the rise, not where the masses are subjugated. In *1984*, Ingsoc contrives squalor and shortages of consumer goods both to prevent social mobility and to divert the energies of the Outer Party from materialistic concerns to the worship of the state. In this regard, Orwell definitely is not anticipating the economics of Milton Friedman, nor is there any evidence that if he had lived in 1984 he would be a neo-conservative.³⁷

Still, the novel has important insights on how terror can be achieved. Smashing faces with rubber truncheons is only one aspect of terror, perhaps not even the most important. Winston Smith's struggle is not impaired by physical force, but by the more subtle means of creating intellectual disorientation. Much of Orwell's success in *1984* lies in his creating a plausible description of how totalitarianism can destroy the individual and turn him into an automaton. Indeed, what is unsettling about Orwell's novel is that, in it, terror is not a nightmare; terror is a realistic possibility.

POSTSCRIPT

In addition to the works already cited, the following sources are of special interest in understanding the evolution of the ideas developed in *1984*. One recently published document appears to be of considerable importance to Orwellian scholars. Bernard Crick has published an outline written in 1943 in which Orwell sets down the basic ideas for his next book. It appears that he then split his ideas to form the bases for *Animal Farm* and *1984*. Dating the origins of these books to 1943 is of considerable importance to students of Orwell. New insight into the genesis of *Animal Farm* is also promised in a forthcoming book, *Orwell: The War Broadcasts*, to be copublished by BBC Publications and G. Duckworth & Co. in the fall of 1984. The book will be based on the discovery of more than two hundred and fifty letters, as well as sixty-two radio scripts, by William J. West in the BBC archives at Reading, England. Orwell was the producer of a wartime propaganda program, and many of the themes of the broadcasts were later to influence his fiction, including *1984*.

Orwell was obviously influenced by Evgenii I. Zamiatin's novel *We*, written in 1923. Isaac Deutscher accuses Orwell of borrowing the basic theme of *1984* from this anti-utopian projection (see "1984—The Mysticism of Cruelty," *1984: Text, Sources, Criticism*, ed. Howe, 196–204). But the reader will want to compare

³⁷For the neo-conservative argument, see Norman Podhoretz, "If Orwell Were Alive Today," *Harpers*, January 1983, 30–37. All the evidence indicates, however, that Orwell remained a committed left-wing Socialist until his death. See, for example, Orwell, *Collected Essays*, 4:564; Crick, *Orwell*, xiv and passim; Alexander Zwerdling, *Orwell and the Left* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 205–6; D. Rankin, "Orwell's Intention in *1984*," *English Language Notes* 12 (March 1975): 188–92.

Deutscher's treatment to Orwell's review of Zamiatin's *We* (Orwell, *Collected Essays*, 4:95–99). Orwell's essay, "Prophecies of Fascism" (*ibid.*, 2:45–49) is a discussion of his negative reaction to Jack London's *The Iron Heel*, in which he compares this novel to H. G. Wells's *The Sleeper Wakes* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*. For a scholarly comparison of Orwell and Huxley, see Jenni Calder, *Huxley and Orwell, Brave New World and 1984* (London: Edward, Arnold, 1976).

Many of Orwell's insights into totalitarian methods were derived from secondary accounts of the Russian purges of the 1930s. The most important of these sources was Arthur Koestler, *Darkness at Noon* (New York: Macmillan, 1941). Orwell reviewed this book in *Collected Essays*, 3:270–82. For a thorough treatment of the intellectual connection between these two writers, see Jenni Calder, *Chronicles of Conscience: A Study of George Orwell and Arthur Koestler* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1968).

Orwell was also influenced by the American neo-conservative James Burnham, whose book *The Managerial Revolution* (New York: John Day, 1941) provides the basis for Orwell's understanding of the technocratic elite. Orwell attacked but did not deny Burnham's thesis of the inevitable movement toward such a revolution ("James Burnham and the Managerial Revolution," *Collected Essays*, 4:192–215; and "Burnham's View of the Contemporary World Struggle," *ibid.*, 360–74).

Orwell's 1941 wartime propaganda contribution, *The Lion and the Unicorn* (reprinted Penguin Books, 1982, with an introduction by Bernard Crick; also in *Collected Essays*, 2:74–134) is an important statement concerning the ethos of English "National Character" and is one of the few pieces of World War II propaganda that is still worth reading. Orwell also discusses, by contrast, the methods of fascism, as well as the need for a socialist revolution in England. One should also read his "Notes on Nationalism" (*Collected Essays*, 3:410–31) for a relevant critique of the dangers of nationalistic xenophobia and Orwell's views on internationalism.

In three important essays, Orwell explores the themes of freedom of expression and the relationship between politics and language. One can also see in these essays Orwell's pet theme that the intelligentsia has been anti-Fascist without being anti-totalitarian (see "The Prevention of Literature," *ibid.*, 4:81–95; "Politics and the English Language," *ibid.*, 156–70; and "Writers and Leviathan," *ibid.*, 463–70). As Robert Lee has stated, "The 'end of line' in *1984* is the loss of consciousness—and Orwell specifically defines this as the result of the failure of language" (Lee, *Orwell's Fiction*, 55). This is why in *1984* Orwell goes to great lengths to show how the language of "Newspeak" had been formulated (see especially the appendix to *1984*, 246–56).

Any scholarly discussion of totalitarianism begins with Hannah Arendt's classic study, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1958). Also useful are Eric Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1941), and his insightful afterword to the American Library Edition of *1984* (257–67).

Old Man

Yesterday you climbed apple boxes to the sky,
Found fire in the sun,
Raced the wind,
Smiled the smack of summer rain,
Balanced at the wall's edge.

Lifetimes later you read obituaries
By sixty-watt lamplight,
Fret pennies over groceries,
Numb worries in the drowning clutter of TV.

Tonight, in transit, you reached backward
For old magic,
The starlight beyond time's wrinkle,
But only touch reflections
Blurred in darkened windows,
And on arthritic knees
Limp lonely
To a silent single bed.

—Jim Walker

Lehi's Personal Record: Quest for a Missing Source

S. Kent Brown

The Book of Mormon teems with references to numerous works known by its compilers and authors but not included in its final collection of texts. The documents comprising the brass plates, for instance, are mentioned merely in passing.¹ Further, Mormon alludes to a substantial collection from which he distilled the nearly thousand-year history of his people.² These countless unnamed texts, moreover, do not include the so-called "sealed plates" which formed part of what was entrusted to Joseph Smith but which remained untranslated.³ Among these, interestingly enough, the record of Lehi is singled out by name. It constituted, I argue, both a major source behind and an important influence on the writings of Lehi's two literary sons, Nephi and Jacob.⁴ In fact, a surprising amount of information exists which allows us to determine substantially the content and compass of Lehi's record.⁵

At the very beginning of his own record Nephi writes, "I make a record of my proceedings in my days" (1 Ne. 1:1). But a few lines later, after narrating the divine commissioning of his father as a prophet (1 Ne. 1:5–15), he adds the following important notation:

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¹These included, for instance, the books of Moses and Jeremiah's prophecies (see 1 Ne. 5:11–14 and Alma 18:36).

²See, for example, Words of Mormon 3–11; Mormon 4:23, 6:6.

³Ether 4:1–7, 5:1; see also 2 Ne. 27:6–10.

⁴In an article entitled "Nephi's Outline" (*BYU Studies* 20 [Winter 1980]: 131–49), Noel B. Reynolds argues that a literary framework undergirding the first book of Nephi takes the form of a chiasmic balancing of themes throughout. While it may be possible that Nephi indeed succeeded in doing what Reynolds says he did, I believe it possible to demonstrate (1) that Nephi utilized Lehi's record as the basis for his own and (2) that Nephi included a brief outline—a virtual "table of contents"—of his historical narrative in 1 Nephi 19:1b.

⁵As with any study of literary sources, difficulties always remain. The major problem is how to distinguish written reports from oral communications. And this is not easily solved in every instance affecting Lehi. On the one hand, we can be certain that Nephi and Jacob appealed to a written source (1) when they say they have done so and (2) when they quote their father at some length, a case which clearly implies employment of a document. On the other hand, we may in fact be dealing with oral reports in instances in which a written source is neither mentioned nor apparently quoted extensively. While bearing this in mind, I shall deal here with the Lehi materials as if they were largely derived from his written record unless there exist reasons for understanding them otherwise.

And now I, Nephi, do not make a full account of the things which my father hath written, for he hath written many things which he saw in visions and in dreams; and he also hath written many things which he prophesied and spake unto his children, of which I shall not make a full account.

But I shall make an account of my proceedings in my days. Behold, I make an abridgment of the record of my father upon plates which I have made with mine own hands; wherefore, after I have abridged the record of my father then will I make an account of mine own life.

(1 Ne. 1:16–17)

It is significant that Nephi—notwithstanding his stated intention to “make a record of my proceedings”—opens his own account with the report of his father’s calling (1 Ne. 1:5–15), adding immediately thereafter that he is abridging his father’s written record. This includes, according to verse 16, (1) the notice of Lehi’s call to the prophetic ministry, (2) “many things which he saw in visions and in dreams,” and (3) “many things which he prophesied and spake unto his children.”⁶

Others have also noticed that Nephi employed a record written by Lehi when compiling his own. For instance, Sidney B. Sperry suggests that the nine opening chapters of 1 Nephi were based upon Lehi’s record, Nephi’s personal work beginning only with chapter 10.⁷ Although the commentary compiled from the work of George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl expresses a similar view regarding the early chapters of 1 Nephi, it indicates that the division between the works of Lehi and Nephi occurs at the end of chapter 8 rather than chapter 9.⁸ In a discussion of the early segments of the Book of Mormon, Eldin Ricks basically adopts the position of Reynolds and Sjodahl.⁹ A close inspection of these and later chapters, however, indicates that these suggestions must be modified considerably since (1) Nephi includes important material in his opening chapters about himself and (2) both he and Jacob quote and paraphrase their father’s words in later chapters.

⁶As observed in 1 Nephi 1:16, apparently Lehi’s record did not include much if anything from Lehi’s very brief ministry in Jerusalem (see 1 Ne. 1:18–20). Concerning prophecies, as Nephi details them, Lehi’s writings contained primarily those which were directed to his family, in other words “his children.”

⁷Sidney B. Sperry, *Book of Mormon Compendium* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1968), 94.

⁸George Reynolds and Janne M. Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon*, 4th printing (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1962), 1:10. It may be important to note that Reynolds and Sjodahl did not collaborate to produce this commentary.

⁹Eldin Ricks, *Book of Mormon Commentary*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1953), 110.

To begin with, we know that Nephi inscribed two records on metal plates, the first on the large plates of Nephi¹⁰ and the second on the small plates of Nephi.¹¹ In each case, Nephi claimed that he had employed a written record of his father. Concerning the large plates, Nephi recounts, "And upon the plates which I made I did engraven the record of my father, and also our journeyings in the wilderness, and the prophecies of my father" (1 Ne. 19:1). Here Nephi writes that, among other things, he drew on Lehi's record for this first account. But the matter goes further, because this verse summarizes (in general outline) the material included both in 1 Nephi and in the first three chapters of 2 Nephi. To illustrate, (a) "the record of my father" corresponds roughly to 1 Nephi, chapters 1 to 10; (b) the "journeyings in the wilderness" appear in 1 Nephi, chapters 16 to 18, beginning with the discovery of the Liahona compass; (c) the "prophecies of my father" would include 2 Nephi, chapters 1 to 3 and, possibly, 1 Nephi 10. This overall scheme is interrupted only by the account of Nephi's dream (1 Ne. 11–15) and Nephi's discourse to his brothers (1 Ne. 19–22), both of which digress from the main story that, notably, focuses primarily on Lehi.

Nephi, after Lehi's death, apparently began the second set of plates, the small plates from which the first six records of the Book of Mormon were translated.¹² Nephi himself states:

And I, Nephi, had kept the records upon my [large] plates, which I had made, of my people thus far.

And it came to pass that the Lord God said unto me: Make other plates; and thou shalt engraven many things upon them which are good in my sight, for the profit of thy people.

Wherefore, I, Nephi . . . went and made these [small] plates upon which I have engraven these things.

¹⁰The relationship between (a) the large plates of Nephi, (b) the book of Lehi which was translated and then lost by Joseph Smith (see the first edition of the Book of Mormon published by E. B. Grandin of Palmyra, N.Y. [1830], p. 1), and (c) the remainder of the Book of Mormon has been carefully and graphically worked out by Eldin Ricks in his short but important study, "The Story of the Formation of the Book of Mormon Plates: An Analysis of the Sources and Structure of the Sacred Record," 3d ed. (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publication Company, 1966). The book of Lehi, translated by Joseph Smith, consisted of an abridgment by Mormon of the record begun by Lehi's son Nephi (ca. 590 B.C.) and continued by succeeding scribes virtually down to the era of King Mosiah II (ca. 130 B.C.). Aside from employing his name honorifically, this work apparently was not written in any part by Lehi and thus does not come within the purview of this study.

¹¹See 1 Ne. 19:1–2. Discussions appear in Reynolds and Sjodahl, *Commentary on the Book of Mormon*, 194; Sperry, *Book of Mormon Compendium*, 16, 43, 282; and Ricks, *Book of Mormon Commentary*, 226.

¹²Lehi's death is recorded in 2 Nephi 4:12, just before Nephi wrote that the Lord directed him to make the second, smaller set of plates (2 Ne. 5:30).

And I engraved that which is pleasing unto God. . . .

And if my people desire to know the more particular part of the history of my people they must search mine other [large] plates.

(2 Ne. 5:29–33)

It is clear here that the books of 1 and 2 Nephi comprise Nephi's second record.¹³ In the case of this narrative, too, Nephi acknowledges that his father's work formed the foundation. For when Nephi begins to write on the small plates, he notes that he is making "an abridgment of the record" of his father: only "after I have abridged the record of my father," Nephi affirms, "will I make an account of mine own life" (1 Ne. 1:16–17). What can be more plain? It was Nephi's avowed purpose to summarize his father's work in the initial segment of his second composition.

The very structure of the early portion of 1 Nephi, chapter 1, shows Nephi's direct dependence on his father's account. In fact, I suggest that we have the opening of Lehi's record itself. It was customary anciently for a prophet to introduce an account of his divine calling near the beginning of his record, coupling it with a colophon about the year of the reign of the local king in order to place his prophetic ministry in its historical context.¹⁴ This is precisely what we find in 1 Nephi 1:4–15: directly after Nephi's brief opening remark about himself (1 Ne. 1:1–3) there is a notation that the beginning of his story fell during the first year of King Zedekiah's reign (1 Ne. 1:4). Next, as expected, we read of God's commissioning of the prophet (1 Ne. 1:5–15). But it is not the call of Nephi that is being related; it is Lehi's call.¹⁵ In light of this, I believe that Nephi inserted the opening of his father's book into 1 Nephi 1:4–15.¹⁶

¹³There remains the question as to why the "table of contents" for the large plates (1 Ne. 19:1) seems to correspond so accurately to the contents of 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi 1–3, which derive from the small plates. It is clear thus far that Lehi's record underpins both works of Nephi. If only because Lehi's record is reported to underlie both accounts (1 Ne. 19:1; 2 Ne. 5:29–33), the "table of contents" for the large plates would, in my view, approximate the contents of the small plates. Furthermore, since 1 Nephi 19:1 describes so plainly what we find in 1 Nephi and 2 Nephi, chapters 1 to 3, it seems thoroughly safe to maintain that the two records of Nephi roughly paralleled one another (see again 1 Ne. 1:16–17).

¹⁴Jeremiah, for example, opens his book by mentioning the kings whose reigns his ministry spanned (Jer. 1:2–3) just before the account of his call (Jer. 1:4–10). Similar juxtapositions occur in Isaiah 6:1ff., Ezekiel 1:1ff., Zephaniah 1:1ff., and Zechariah 1:1ff.

¹⁵In fact, Lehi's call consisted of two visions which came in rapid succession: In the first, he had a surprising manifestation of a pillar of fire resting on a nearby rock, accompanied by a voice (1 Ne. 1:6). In the second, after returning home bewildered and fatigued by his first vision, Lehi saw the divine council as well as the coming Messiah, who brought him a book containing a prophecy of Jerusalem's fate (1 Ne. 1:8–15).

¹⁶In addition, Nephi probably altered the opening account of Lehi's visions from first to third person. Nephi's narrative exhibits clear evidences of summarizing his father's report in at least two passages: (a) after a direct quotation in verse 13a, Nephi outlines in verses 13b and 14a what his father had seen in the second vision; (b) verse 15, also, obviously forms a summary of what Lehi said (and sang) in response to his visions.

WHEN AND ON WHAT DID LEHI WRITE?

Much of Lehi's record must have been completed by the time Nephi began to write his first narrative on the large plates: "upon the [large] plates which I made I did engraven the record of my father" (1 Ne. 19:1). We must ask, then, when and how Lehi's book came into existence. It is plain that soon after arriving in the promised land Nephi drew from several records, including Lehi's account, when writing on the large plates. Further, indications exist that an itinerant record was kept, possibly on perishable material, during the earlier eight-year period that Lehi's family lived in the desert (1 Ne. 17:4). We need now to review the evidence for these observations.

The account of the voyage of Lehi's family to the promised land appears in chapter 18 of 1 Nephi. Next follow Nephi's statements that he made plates for writing by smelting ore (1 Ne. 19:1-2).¹⁷ According to this, he already possessed (1) the record of Lehi, (2) the genealogy of Lehi's fathers, and (3) an itinerary of the family's travels in the desert. Nephi could have obtained the genealogy from the brass plates, but Lehi's narrative and the account of his desert wanderings could not have been found in this source. It seems, then, that when Nephi began his literary activity Lehi's record had reached substantial enough proportions to be employed as a source. Thus, Lehi may have been composing the narrative of his experiences during the period of wandering in the desert and crossing the sea.

Another solid indication that Lehi's family kept a running log of their experiences while traveling is that after relating Lehi's discovery of the Liahona, a unique compass in 1 Nephi 16:10, Nephi begins to narrate the travels of the family through the desert by means of a series of "we" passages.¹⁸ These passages, narrated in first-person plural, bear all the marks of a summary of a diary-like record. That Nephi was evidently summarizing such an account can be seen in 1 Nephi 17:4 where, after mentioning the physical well-being his father's family enjoyed while in the desert (1 Ne. 17:2-3), he compresses

¹⁷It may conceivably be urged that Nephi made the plates while still traveling in the Arabian wilderness, before coming to the ocean. In my opinion, however, the phrase "and it came to pass" found at the beginning of 1 Nephi 19:1 indicates that these events followed those recounted in chapter 18, since this expression is equivalent to the Hebrew *וַיְהִי* which always serves to continue the story. Had Nephi smelted and fashioned this set of plates while still in the desert he would doubtlessly have said so.

¹⁸1 Ne. 16:11-19, 33; 17:1-6. Sandwiched between these "we" passages are the accounts of how Nephi was able to find food after breaking his bow (1 Ne. 16:20-32) and of what occurred when Nephi's father-in-law, Ishmael, died (1 Ne. 16:34-39), incidents constituting digressions in the travel narrative.

his story into the words: "We did sojourn for the space of many years, yea, even eight years in the wilderness."¹⁹

We have no way of knowing what material Lehi originally employed for his record keeping. However, Lehi's fifth son, Jacob, makes an incidental remark which may throw light not only on this question but also on the reason Nephi was commanded to keep records specifically on metal plates. After complaining about the difficulty of inscribing on metal, Jacob acknowledges: "We know that the things which we write upon plates must remain; But whatsoever things we write upon anything save it be upon plates must perish and vanish away" (Jacob 4:1-2). It is worth noting that Nephi obtained the brass plates before Jacob was born.²⁰ Their durability must have been self-evident to Jacob since he could read and teach from them after he had become a grown man. Consequently, his remark that what is written "remains" when engraved on metal tablets no doubt derived from his own experience, as did his additional assertion that any other type of material for writing "must perish and vanish away." How had Jacob observed this? The most natural answer is that Jacob and his father's family had written on nonmetallic writing substances. In comparison to the durability of the brass plates, these substances had evidently proven unsatisfactory for a permanent record.

Other hints, or the lack of them, suggest that initially Lehi's record was kept neither on metallic plates nor on empty leaves (if any) of the brass plates. In the first place, no reason appears for Lehi to have taken tools into the desert with which to inscribe metal plates. It was only after he had left Jerusalem, in fact, that Lehi was instructed by the Lord to obtain the brass plates (1 Ne. 3:2-4). Hence, he would almost certainly have brought no engraving tools for this purpose from Jerusalem. Furthermore, the only item Nephi seems to have brought later to his father from Jerusalem, along with the brass

¹⁹The question naturally arises as to why I view the itinerary as the work of Lehi, not of Nephi. The matter cannot be decisively settled, for it remains possible that Nephi himself was largely responsible for the chronicle of "our journeyings in the wilderness" (1 Ne. 19:1). However, a review of the possibilities suggests that Lehi was responsible for the desert itinerary. These are the options: (a) Lehi himself wrote the whole record (in this instance, the question would be solved); (b) Lehi dictated the record to a member of his family who served as scribe (in this case as well, the record would be ascribed to Lehi); (c) Lehi directed Nephi or another family member to keep a desert diary (in this event, it is most probable that the record would reflect the name of the person who commissioned the work, that is, Lehi); (d) Nephi, with permission of and input from his father, wrote the wilderness record (to my mind, there is serious question whether the account would have been ascribed to Nephi even in this instance since it was a record of the desert wanderings of the family of Lehi, he being the patriarch); (e) Nephi kept a diary in the desert without the knowledge of Lehi (a highly dubious proposition).

²⁰Nephi mentions only three other brothers when Lehi moved his family into the desert (1 Ne. 2:5). Later, in 2 Nephi 2:1, Lehi calls Jacob his firstborn "in the wilderness." Thus, it is plain that Jacob was born after the departure from Jerusalem.

plates, was the sword of Laban (2 Ne. 5:14; Jacob 1:10). No tools are mentioned.²¹ Finally, we have no account that Nephi, or any in Lehi's family, smelted ore either for plates or for tools while living in the desert. On the contrary, they avoided making frequent fires even for cooking (1 Ne. 17:2, 12). To be sure, Nephi possessed the skill to refine ore and make metal plates, since after crossing the desert he made metal tools for constructing his ship (1 Ne. 17:16).²² These observations, coupled with Jacob's note regarding nonmetallic writing substances, lead me to postulate that whatever records Lehi and his family kept in the desert were probably written on something other than metal, although we cannot be certain of the substance.²³

What can we distill from our discussion thus far? In the first place, it is evident that Lehi's record served as a source for both of Nephi's accounts, those on the large and small plates, and specifically underlay a major segment of the opening of 1 Nephi, a text from the small plates. Second, Lehi's record most likely had its essential shape by the time he and his family reached the land of promise since Nephi employed it as a source for his annals on the large plates soon after arriving. Third, we surmise that Lehi's narrative was initially committed to writing on some less durable substance than metal and was possibly first inscribed on metallic leaves when Nephi recorded it on his large plates.

THE SCOPE OF LEHI'S BOOK ON THE SMALL PLATES

Our next task is to determine how extensively Lehi's account was utilized in 1 and 2 Nephi as well as in Jacob. We shall deal first with direct quotations from Lehi and, afterwards, with passages in which Jacob and Nephi appear to paraphrase the account of their father.

Two of the most important and lengthy quotations from Lehi are the account of his vision of the tree of life (1 Ne. 8:2–28) and the report

²¹Whether Nephi or Lehi would have mentioned engraving tools, even if Nephi had brought them back from Jerusalem along with the brass plates, is certainly open to question. As illustration, the sword of Laban is not mentioned with the annotated list of the contents of the brass plates (1 Ne. 5:11–16)—even though it was brought with them by Nephi; rather, it is noted in contexts widely removed from concerns for records and record keeping (2 Ne. 5:14; Jacob 1:10). It is also possible that any of Lehi's family may have purchased engraving tools along the way.

²²The problem for Nephi was not how to refine ore but where he should go to find it (1 Ne. 17:9–10). An intriguing though unprovable suggestion is that if Lehi's family traveled through the Aqaba region (at the northern tip of the east arm of the Red Sea), where ore has been refined for millenia, Nephi may have learned his smelting skills there (see Lynn M. and Hope Hilton, *In Search of Lehi's Trail* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976], 107, 116).

²³Ricks (in *Book of Mormon Commentary*, 227) suggests that "Nephi copied his father's record in its entirety from manuscript or scroll form to the durability of metal sheets." But he does not adduce any evidence as to why he believes that Lehi employed a substance other than metal.

of his last instructions and blessings to his family (2 Ne. 1:4–3:25; 4:3–7, 9, 11).

It is certain that we have the vision of the tree from Lehi's own record. The report in 1 Nephi 8:2–28 is narrated in the first-person singular, an important criterion. Nephi makes it plain by the way he introduces the story that he is quoting from his father: "He [Lehi] spake unto us saying: Behold, I have dreamed a dream" (1 Ne. 8:2). In addition, Nephi leaves no doubt when he ceases quoting Lehi, for he adds this summary at the end:

And now I, Nephi, do not speak all the words of my father.

But to be short in writing, behold, he saw other multitudes pressing forward; and they came and caught hold of the end of the rod of iron. . . .

(1 Ne. 8:29–30)

There is some question whether the report of Lehi's last blessings and instructions to his family formed part of his record.²⁴ We cannot be certain, primarily because the scenes occurred close to Lehi's death. It is probable that not many years had passed between Lehi's arrival in the promised land (1 Ne. 18:23) and his death (2 Ne. 4:12).²⁵ During this period, Nephi had kept a record of his people on the large plates "thus far," as he said (2 Ne. 5:29). Had Lehi also continued to write a record? We cannot be sure. If he did, we would expect his last blessings and instructions to have been included in it. For, as Nephi tells us, "he [Lehi] hath written many things which he prophesied and spake unto his children" (1 Ne. 1:16). In addition, the section of 2 Nephi which includes Lehi's last instructions exhibits the expected first-person singular style of narrating. This characteristic, especially in such a long section, also impels us toward the view that Lehi himself was responsible for the report. Of course, it is equally possible that someone wrote Lehi's words as he spoke and that afterwards his words were included in Nephi's large plates.²⁶ Whichever

²⁴It would be interesting to compare Lehi's last words to his family with the multiplying testamental literature which claims to record, in rather standardized ways, the last instructions of ancient patriarchs and prophets to their children.

²⁵Sperry (in *Book of Mormon Compendium*, 151–52) observes that "we are told neither how old Lehi was at the time of his death nor how many years had elapsed from the time the party had left Jerusalem before he passed away. This we do know—that less than thirty years had passed away after the Nephites left Jerusalem before his death." (See 2 Ne. 5:28.)

²⁶In 1 Nephi 2:9–10, Nephi relates: "And when my father saw that the waters of the river emptied into the fountain of the Red Sea, he spake unto Laman, saying: O that thou mightest be like unto this river, continually running into the fountain of all righteousness! And he also spake unto Lemuel: O that thou mightest be like unto this valley, firm and steadfast, and immovable in keeping the commandments of the Lord!" Hugh W. Nibley (in *An Approach to the Book of Mormon* [Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1957], 232) maintains that "Nephi seems to have been standing by, for he takes most careful note of the circumstance. . . . The common practice was for the inspired words of the leader to be taken down in writing immediately."

the case, Lehi's last words to his family should be understood to continue what he had written simply because they fit, according to Nephi's description, with what Lehi had already recorded.

There exists one other long quotation, preserved by Jacob, which apparently came from Lehi's record. It occurs in Jacob 2:23–33, a discussion of fidelity in marriage. After chastising his people for their pride (Jacob 2:12–22), Jacob complains briefly that “the word of God burthens me because of your grosser crimes” (Jacob 2:23). On this note he continues:

For behold, thus saith the Lord: This people begin to wax in iniquity; they understand not the scriptures; for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms, because of the things which were written concerning David, and Solomon his son.

Obviously, a quotation from instructions of the Lord begins in this verse, continuing through verse 33. But instructions received by whom? At first glance it appears that Jacob has begun to repeat what he himself had received, since a few lines earlier he had written:

. . . as I inquired of the Lord, thus came the word unto me, saying:
Jacob, get thou up into the temple on the morrow, and declare the word which I shall give thee unto this people.
(Jacob 2:11)

Was not Jacob carrying out the Lord's instructions by retelling the next day, beginning with verse 23, what he had been told? Not really.²⁷ A more careful look at chapter 2 of Jacob indicates that the counsel concerning one wife indeed came from the Lord but that Jacob was not the first to repeat it. In fact, Lehi is indicated as the source for these directions. For after what must be a long quotation from the Lord (Jacob 2:23–33), into which Jacob inserts one short comment (Jacob 2:27a), we find this statement:

And now behold, my brethren, ye know that these commandments [concerning fidelity to one's wife] were given to our father, Lehi: wherefore, ye have known them before; and ye have come unto great condemnation; for ye have done these things which ye ought not to have done.
(Jacob 2:34)

Therefore, Jacob insists, it was Lehi who previously received “these commandments.”

²⁷On this occasion, in Jacob's discussion of pride, the other major topic (Jacob 2:13–22), it does not once appear that he quotes directly what the Lord told him the night before (Jacob 2:11). Instead, he paraphrases the Lord's words and intermingles with them his own observations. Only in verses 23–33 does he repeat directly the Lord's words, those pertaining to having one wife.

An equally compelling passage occurs a few lines later in which Jacob says in summary manner:

Behold, the Lamanites your brethren, whom ye hate because of their filthiness and the cursing which hath come upon their skins, are more righteous than you; for they have not forgotten the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto our father—that they should have save it were one wife, and concubines they should have none, and there should not be whoredoms committed among them.

(Jacob 3:5)

Except for punctuation, this verse was written thus in the printer's manuscript.²⁸ In every printed edition of the Book of Mormon the word *commandments* in this passage has been changed to the singular and—except in the most recent edition of 1981—the word *father* has appeared as plural. Significantly, the printer's manuscript demonstrates unequivocally that these "commandments" were given to Jacob's "father," Lehi. Consequently, we can conclude that in Jacob 2:23–33 we find instructions the Lord gave to Lehi. Jacob, in his sermon, quotes them to his people, presumably from Lehi's record.

The other direct quotations from Lehi's record are shorter, and all occur in 1 Nephi. They consist of an extract Lehi read from the book he was shown in the second vision of his call (1 Ne. 1:13); his exclamation at having read this book (1 Ne. 1:14b); words of the Lord spoken to Lehi in a dream (1 Ne. 2:1b); Lehi's remark to his son Laman (1 Ne. 2:9b) and the following comment to his son Lemuel (1 Ne. 2:10b); his instructions to Nephi to return to Jerusalem for the brass plates (1 Ne. 3:2b–6)²⁹; Sariah's complaint against her husband Lehi (1 Ne. 5:2b) and his conciliatory conversation with her (1 Ne. 5:4b–5)³⁰; a further extract from Lehi's vision of the tree of life (1 Ne. 8:34); and, finally, what the Messiah's forerunner would say about the Messiah (1 Ne. 10:8). Caution, however, must be observed

²⁸See Stanley R. Larson, "A Study of Some Textual Variations in the Book of Mormon Comparing the Original and Printer's Manuscripts and the 1830, the 1837, and the 1840 Editions" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974), 95–96. The printer's manuscript of the Book of Mormon was copied by Oliver Cowdery from the one originally dictated by Joseph Smith. The copy made by Oliver Cowdery was taken to the printer, E. B. Grandin, and became the basis for the first printed edition of the Book of Mormon. The original manuscript written at Joseph Smith's dictation is no longer extant for the passage in question (Jacob 3:5).

²⁹Perhaps Nephi simply remembered what his father related to him and later wrote it down in this passage. However, since we possess no indication that Nephi was keeping a detailed record during the wilderness period, but that Lehi was (1 Ne. 19:1–3), it seems more likely that 1 Nephi 3:2b–6 derives from Lehi's account.

³⁰Sariah's complaint and Lehi's consoling response, found in 1 Nephi 5, may also go back to Nephi's memory. Even though Nephi was not in camp to witness his mother's distress, he certainly learned about it later (1 Ne. 5:1–9). In fact, the narrative exhibits signs of his attempting to reconstruct what had happened during his absence when he writes: "And after this manner of language had my mother complained" (1 Ne. 5:3) and "after this manner of language did my father, Lehi, comfort my mother, Sariah" (1 Ne. 5:6).

in attributing these quotations to Lehi's record, however, since they may be based on the memory of one or another family member.

As one might expect, the paraphrases from Lehi outnumber the quotations. With two exceptions (2 Ne. 1:1b-3; Jacob 3:5b), all of the restatements which may go back to Lehi's record appear in 1 Nephi. The two visions associated with Lehi's call must of course be included since Nephi has apparently recast the account from first person to third person (1 Ne. 1:4-12, 13b-14a, 15). This report, as already noted, is sprinkled with direct quotations, presumably from Lehi's original narration (1 Ne. 1:13a, 14b). Then follows a summary which indicates that Nephi is paraphrasing his father's chronicle:

And now I, Nephi, do not make a full account of the things which my father hath written, for he hath written many things which he saw in visions and in dreams . . .

(1 Ne. 1:16)

Much of chapter 2 may also go back to Lehi's narrative; verses 1a, 2-9a, 10a, and 14-15 all speak directly of Lehi. Mixed with these lines, too, are repetitions of Lehi's very words (1 Ne. 2:1b, 9b, 10b) as well as Nephi's own observations both about his brothers' attitudes at having to leave Jerusalem (1 Ne. 2:11-13) and about a revelation that he himself received (1 Ne. 2:16-24). At the end of the portion summarized from Lehi, Nephi concludes by saying, "And my father dwelt in a tent" (1 Ne. 2:15).

Another important paraphrase occurs in chapter 8, summarizing the remainder of Lehi's dream and his consequent exhortation to Laman and Lemuel (1 Ne. 8:30-33; 8:35-9:1). Nephi introduces the paraphrase by saying that he cannot repeat "all the words of my father" (1 Ne. 8:29) and closes it thus:

And all these things did my father see, and hear, and speak, as he dwelt in a tent, in the valley of Lemuel, and also a great many more things, which cannot be written upon these [small] plates.

(1 Ne. 9:1)

Nothing in this passage specifically states that Lehi wrote what Nephi recapitulated in the preceding chapter. But the nature of Lehi's dream and the consequent exhortations to his family fit so well with Nephi's description of his father's writings (1 Ne. 1:16) that I feel confident in believing that all of chapter 8, except Nephi's inserted remarks, goes back to Lehi's written record.

In 1 Nephi 10:1-16 there is another very important summary from Lehi's record, which Nephi prefaces by saying:

And now I, Nephi, proceed to give an account upon these plates of my proceedings, and my reign and ministry; wherefore, to proceed with mine account, I must speak somewhat of the things of my father, and also of my brethren.

(1 Ne. 10:1)

After a synopsis of Lehi's prophecies to his sons regarding the coming Messiah and the scattering and gathering of his people, Nephi concludes:

And after this manner of language did my father prophesy and speak unto my brethren, and also many more things which I do not write in this book; for I have written as many of them as were expedient for me in mine other book.

And all these things, of which I have spoken, were done as my father dwelt in a tent, in the valley of Lemuel.³¹

(1 Ne. 10:15–16)

Interestingly enough, as in the instance noted before, Nephi here does not say he is paraphrasing Lehi's prophetic words from a written source, although he does acknowledge he had included them earlier in his "other book" (i.e., large plates) from which he likely summarized the material in chapter 10, verses 1 to 16. However, remembering Nephi's characterization of his father's record as containing "many things which he prophesied and spake unto his children" (1 Ne. 1:16), it would be surprising indeed if Nephi were not here ultimately dependent upon Lehi's own written account.

This segment, which speaks of Lehi's teachings about the coming Messiah and the scattering and gathering of Israel (1 Ne. 10:1–16), may well have continued, in Lehi's original record, the account of his vision and exhortation to his sons (1 Ne. 8:2–9:1). This is evident from two observations. In the first place, just a few lines separate these two sections (1 Ne. 9:2–6). Apparently Nephi's mention of "these [small] plates" in 1 Nephi 9:1 gave him an opportunity to discuss them briefly in verses 2–6 before resuming his father's account in chapter 10. Second, when we compare the content of these two units with the content of Nephi's own analogous dream of the tree of

³¹This is the third time Nephi mentions the fact that his father "dwelt in a tent." The other occurrences are in 1 Nephi 2:15 and 9:1. One is tempted to suggest that, since these three instances all mark conclusions to sections in which Nephi has summarized Lehi's record, Nephi may be using the phrase "dwelt in a tent" as a literary device to indicate a return to the narrative about himself. In support of this observation, I note that Nephi speaks of his father's tent twice more in 1 Nephi, the second instance underscoring my point. In the first case, Nephi merely relates that he returned there after his own vision of the tree of life (1 Ne. 15:1). But in the second instance, Nephi's mention of the tent again forms part of a clear literary transition between two segments of his narrative (1 Ne. 16:6). (Compare Ps. 78:55, 60; also compare M. Dahood, *Psalms III*, the Anchor Bible [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1970], 445.)

life (1 Ne. 11–14), it seems plain that the two pieces belong together. For, although it is not apparent from the narrative of Lehi's dream of the tree (1 Ne. 8:2–9:1) that the prophecies regarding Israel's destiny and the Messiah (1 Ne. 10:1–16) go with it, it becomes obvious from the way in which Nephi relates his parallel dream that these concepts belong together. Hence we conclude that the segment in 1 Nephi 9:2–6 stands between two sections which likely were continuous in Lehi's narrative.

The last paraphrase requiring discussion is the desert itinerary (1 Ne. 16:11–17, 33; 17:1–6). As I suggested previously, it is possible Nephi himself was responsible for the log kept in the desert. One observation, however, inclines me towards the view that the itinerary was Lehi's. Nephi mentions the desert journal twice in chapter 19 of 1 Nephi, in verses 1 and 2. In verse 1, when listing the sources he used for the large plates, Nephi includes "the record of my father, and also [the record of] our journeyings in the wilderness, and the prophecies of my father." It is worth noting that Nephi mentions the desert journal *between* the items from Lehi. Only after stating what sources he employed from his father does Nephi say, "and also many of mine own prophecies have I engraven upon them" (1 Ne. 19:1). Verse 2 presents a similar picture. Once again Nephi announces what sources he used in composing his record on the large plates: "the record of my father, and the genealogy of his fathers, and the more part of all our proceedings in the wilderness." Again Nephi associates the "proceedings" of the desert period with his father's account. Consequently, the itinerary almost certainly came from Lehi's pen.

It would seem, then, that the following segments of 1 Nephi likely are paraphrases from Lehi's record: Lehi's two visions at his call (1 Ne. 1:4–12, 13b–14a, 15); Lehi's departure into the desert (1 Ne. 2:1a, 2–9a, 10a, 14–15); a part of Lehi's vision of the tree of life (1 Ne. 8:30–33; 8:35–9:1); Lehi's prophecies concerning Israel and the Messiah (1 Ne. 10:1–16); and the desert itinerary (1 Ne. 16:11–17, 33; 17:1–6). There are others shorter in length, almost all occurring in 1 Nephi: Lehi's prophecies and subsequent rejection in Jerusalem (1 Ne. 1:18–20a); his prophecies regarding the brass plates (1 Ne. 5:17–19)³²; Lehi sending for Ishmael and his family (1 Ne. 7:1–2); Nephi's interpretation for Laman and Lemuel of Lehi's words concerning Israel's destiny (1 Ne. 15:17–18)³³; the Lord's command

³²It may well be that the "table of contents" of the brass plates (1 Ne. 5:11–16) also derives from Lehi's work.

³³In 1 Nephi 15, we find several references to Lehi's dream as Nephi relates how he interpreted it for his brothers (see vv. 12–18, 21, 23, 26–30).

to Lehi to move on and the discovery of the compass (1 Ne. 16:9–10)³⁴; and the revelation to Lehi by means of the compass (1 Ne. 16:25–27).

Finally, the number of mere references or allusions to what Lehi did and said are too many to list and discuss. In most of these instances it is difficult to determine whether we are dealing with something which goes back to Lehi's writings. Many such references doubtless came from the memories of Nephi and Jacob.

CHARACTER OF LEHI'S RECORD

To describe the character of Lehi's record is a formidable task since we are dealing with only fragments and summarized accounts. Consequently, we run the risk of overstatement or underestimation. But it is possible to form some tentative ideas, at least. In the analysis so far, we have observed three easily discernible categories: prophecies, visions, and teachings.

Nephi informs us that his father included many prophecies among his writings (1 Ne. 1:16; 19:1). Although Lehi prophesies on several occasions about his family (1 Ne. 7:1; 2 Ne. 29:2), one great opportunity comes when he blesses and instructs them before his death (2 Ne. 1:1–4:12). Here Lehi mentions first the promised land "which the Lord God hath covenanted with me should be a land for the inheritance of my seed. Yea, the Lord hath covenanted this land unto me, and to my children forever" (2 Ne. 1:5). He goes on to relate that dwelling in this land is conditional upon obedience to the Lord and his principles. In this connection, Lehi prophesies of a time when his posterity will reject their "Redeemer and their God" (2 Ne. 1:10). In that day, he says, the Lord "will bring other nations unto them, and he will give unto them power, and he will take away from them the lands of their possessions, and he will cause them to be scattered and smitten" (2 Ne. 1:11). Although this prospect saddens Lehi deeply, he remains convinced that the Lord's "ways are righteous forever" (2 Ne. 1:19).

Even in the face of such difficulties, Lehi assures his family that their descendants will survive these most vexing times (2 Ne. 4:7, 9). This agrees with the promise made to the Joseph sold into Egypt that his posterity would be preserved (2 Ne. 3:16), a promise recorded on the brass plates (2 Ne. 4:2). In fact, much of the prophecy which Lehi quotes from this Joseph (2 Ne. 3:6–21) deals with a special seer (2 Ne. 3:7, 11) who will carry the word of the Lord both to Joseph's

³⁴The references to the commands to Lehi to move his camp may have derived from the itinerary (see 1 Ne. 2:2; 16:9; 17:44; 18:5).

seed (2 Ne. 3:7) and to the house of Israel (2 Ne. 3:13).³⁵ Then Lehi prophesies to his own son named Joseph that this seer will be

. . . an instrument in the hands of God, with exceeding faith, to work mighty wonders, and do that thing which is great in the sight of God, unto the bringing to pass much restoration unto the house of Israel, and unto the seed of thy brethren.

(2 Ne. 3:24)

One aspect of Lehi's prophecies about his descendants is the promise that their records will come forth to the world (2 Ne. 29:2). A similar assurance had come to Joseph of Egypt. To him, in a passage quoted from the brass plates, the Lord had said regarding the seer:

. . . I will give unto him that he shall write the writing of the fruit of thy loins, unto the fruit of thy loins . . .

. . . And it shall be as if the fruit of thy loins had cried unto them from the dust . . .

(2 Ne. 3:18–19)

Lehi had simply obtained the same promise given to Joseph that the writings of his posterity would cry out as if "from the dust" to others of his descendants (2 Ne. 3:19).

Because he knows of the destiny of his posterity, Lehi compares his family to an olive tree whose branches have been broken off (1 Ne. 10:12–14; 15:12–13). The idea for this comparison doubtless arose from the prophet Zenos's allegory of the olive tree, also found in the brass plates, which is quoted at length in the fifth chapter of Jacob. In this allegory, the house of Israel is compared to an olive tree whose branches are removed and grafted elsewhere but eventually restored to the main trunk of the tree. Such a prophetic concept must have had a powerful impact on Lehi as Nephi relates that his father spoke

. . . concerning the house of Israel, that they should be compared like unto an olive tree, whose branches should be broken off and should be scattered upon all the face of the earth.

Wherefore, he said it must needs be that we should be led with one accord into the land of promise, unto the fulfilling of the word of the Lord, that we should be scattered upon all the face of the earth.

(1 Ne. 10:12–13)

³⁵The prophecy of Joseph came from the brass plates (2 Ne. 4:2). Lehi had access to more than this one prophecy by Joseph since he speaks of "the prophecies which he [Joseph] wrote."

That these words had been spoken prophetically becomes clear from Nephi's summarizing remark a few lines later: "And after this manner of language did my father prophesy and speak unto my brethren" (1 Ne. 10:15).³⁶

Another major theme of Lehi's prophecies concerns the coming Messiah. Almost predictably, on the occasion of his last blessings to his family, Lehi prophesies concerning the Messiah, specifically mentioning him to his next-to-youngest son Jacob and explaining the Messiah's mission as redeemer from the Fall and mediator of eternal life (2 Ne. 2:26–28). An earlier prophecy about the Messiah appears in Lehi's preaching to the Jews in Jerusalem (1 Ne. 1:19). The inspiration for his prophesying there arose from his vision of a book (1 Ne. 1:8–14). At first Lehi does not seem to recognize the "one descending out of the midst of heaven" whose brightness "was above that of the sun at noonday" (1 Ne. 1:9). Earlier in the vision, Lehi had been rather certain that the one he saw "sitting upon his throne" is God (1 Ne. 1:8). But this second figure who descends, followed by "twelve others," apparently remains unknown to Lehi until he has read in the book brought to him. Note this sense in Nephi's summary: "and also the things which he [Lehi] read in the book manifested plainly the coming of a Messiah" (1 Ne. 1:19). At the same time, Lehi learned of the impending destruction of Jerusalem because of the Jews' wickedness (1 Ne. 1:13).³⁷ This, along with the prediction of the Messiah's coming, make up his prophecy to the people in the city (1 Ne. 1:19).

Lehi also discusses the Messiah at length when he tells his family about his vision of the tree of life (1 Ne. 10:4–11), much of what he prophesies probably deriving from this vision. This vision of the tree and the Messiah appears to have considerably expanded Lehi's knowledge of the Messiah's ministry. In an earlier vision (1 Ne. 1:8–13), Lehi had certainly learned of his coming for "the redemption of the world" (1 Ne. 1:19). Whether Lehi had learned

³⁶A similar point is made in 1 Nephi 15:12 as Nephi attempts to explain what Lehi meant. His brothers had not understood Lehi's comparison of themselves with the olive tree (1 Ne. 10:12–14). So Nephi declares to them: "Behold, I say unto you, that the house of Israel was compared unto an olive-tree, by the Spirit of the Lord which was in our father; and behold, are we not broken off from the house of Israel, and are we not a branch of the house of Israel?" This is the reading of 1 Nephi 15:12 in the original manuscript, after adding punctuation. Beginning with the printer's manuscript and continuing through the printed editions of the Book of Mormon, an *s* had been added to the word *father*. The reading of the original manuscript makes it clear that it was Lehi who was moved by the Spirit to apply the olive tree comparison to his family and posterity, and this sense is recognized in the 1981 edition of the Book of Mormon, where the singular spelling has been restored (see Larson, "Some Textual Variations," 59).

³⁷On the Nephites' learning of the fulfillment of this prophecy, refer to 2 Nephi 1:4 and 6:8.

more about the Messiah on this occasion remains uncertain since Nephi offers only a sketchy summary (1 Ne. 1:14, 19). In 1 Nephi 10:4–11, Lehi relates many more specific details about the Redeemer than we find in Nephi's earlier paraphrase in chapter 1.

There is a point worth making here regarding Lehi's terminology for the Messiah. Whether his words are paraphrased or quoted directly, Lehi is never reported to have used the Greek title *Christos* or *Christ* when speaking of the Messiah.³⁸ Nor does he ever call him *Son of God* or something similar.³⁹ Titles of this nature are employed only by Lehi's sons Nephi and Jacob.⁴⁰ To be sure, the designation *Son* would have been known to Lehi from the writings of Zenos and Zenock which appeared on the brass plates.⁴¹ But in the few quotations from these latter two prophets, which Alma purposely brings forward when speaking of the coming Messiah (Alma 33:11, 13, 16), nowhere do Zenos and Zenock expand the title to *Son of God* or something related.⁴²

What can we say about this situation? Did Lehi not know titles such as *Son of God* and *Christ*? Regarding both the term *Christ* and

³⁸The titles *Christ* (Greek) and *Messiah* (Hebrew) mean the same thing: "anointed." It is possible, of course, that Joseph Smith—while translating—used the title *Christ* in contexts which dealt with the Messiah. But see notes 39 and 40.

³⁹The terms which Lehi does employ to designate the Messiah are *Lamb of God* (1 Ne. 10:10); *Holy One of Israel* (2 Ne. 1:10; 3:2); *God* (2 Ne. 1:10, 22, 24, 26–27; 2:2–3, 10); *Lord God* (2 Ne. 1:17); *Holy Messiah* (2 Ne. 2:6, 8); *Messiah* (1 Ne. 1:19; 10:4ff.; 2 Ne. 1:10; 2:26; 3:5); *Lord* (1 Ne. 10:8, 14; 2 Ne. 1:15, 19, 27); *Prophet* (1 Ne. 10:4); *Savior* (1 Ne. 10:4); *Redeemer* (1 Ne. 10:5–6, 14; 2 Ne. 1:10; 2:3); *One* (1 Ne. 1:9); *firstfruits* (2 Ne. 2:9); *Holy One* (2 Ne. 2:10); *Mediator* (2 Ne. 2:28).

⁴⁰Nephi and Jacob use several titles which apparently go beyond what they could have found in the brass plates, assuming the brass plates included the full Pentateuch and many of the prophets' writings (see 1 Ne. 5:11–13; 19:21–23. Verse 23 of chapter 19 presents an interesting problem: In all the printed editions, except the most recent, we find the reference "the book of Moses." The original manuscript has it "the books of Moses." When Oliver Cowdery copied down the manuscript for the printer, he accidentally made *books* singular. This misreading persisted until the edition of 1981 [see Larson, "Some Textual Variations," 67–68]). The following titles and names used by Nephi seem more at home in a later era such as that of the New Testament or of early Christianity: *Beloved Son* (2 Ne. 31:11); *Beloved* (2 Ne. 31:15); *Son of the living God* (2 Ne. 31:16); *Son of righteousness* (2 Ne. 26:9 [should this be *Sun of righteousness*? *Sun* is the word used in Malachi 4:2]); *Son of the most high God* (1 Ne. 11:6); *Son of God* (1 Ne. 10:17; 11:7, 24; 2 Ne. 25:16, 19); *Only Begotten of the Father* (2 Ne. 25:12); *Jesus* (2 Ne. 26:12; 31:10; 33:4, 6); *Jesus Christ* (2 Ne. 25:19–20; 30:5); *Christ* (2 Ne. 11:4, 6–7; 25:16, 23–29; 26:1, 8, 12; 28:14; 30:7; 31:2, 13, 19–21; 32:3, 6, 9; 33:7, 9–12); *true vine* (1 Ne. 15:15); *light* (1 Ne. 17:13). The following names from Jacob fit the same situation: *Only Begotten Son* (Jacob 4:11); *Christ* (2 Ne. 10:3, 7; Jacob 1:4, 6–8; 2:19; 4:4–5, 11–12; 6:8–9; 7:2ff., 17, 19); *Jesus* (Jacob 4:6).

⁴¹In 1 Nephi 19:10–17, Nephi summarizes points from the writings of Zenock, Neum, and particularly Zenos. In verse 21 of that chapter he indicates that these teachings were on the brass plates (also see Alma 33:12).

⁴²It may be urged that in the Book of Mormon we have mere hints and glimpses from the writings of Zenock and Zenos and that, consequently, it is not possible to draw very firm conclusions. In my view, however, Alma (in Alma 33:11, 13, 16) brought together the passages from the writings of these two men which proved a point about the Son of God. Zenos and Zenock called the Messiah *Son* whereas Alma called him *Son of God* (Alma 33:14, 17ff.). Had Alma known of a passage in which either Zenock or Zenos mentioned the *Son of God*, he surely would have used it to make his point to the Zoramites.

the name *Jesus*, the answer is a definite no. According to 2 Nephi 10:3, the title *Christ* was made known to Jacob by an angel only after Lehi's death. And Nephi makes use of this title only after narrating this experience of Jacob (2 Ne. 11:4). In addition, Nephi mentions the name *Jesus* for the first time only near the end of his own writings (2 Ne. 26:12), and Jacob uses it but once in the latter half of his work (Jacob 4:6). Therefore, we can safely conclude that Lehi did not know these names. In the case of the term *Son of God* and related titles, we cannot be sure Lehi did not know them, but at least he did not use them.⁴³

Besides Lehi's reported prophecies, seven of his visions and inspired dreams are known to us, if we include the instructions given him by means of the compass (1 Ne. 16:26–27). Nephi indicates that Lehi had included a number of dreams and visions in his record: "He [Lehi] hath written many things which he saw in visions and in dreams" (1 Ne. 1:16). In one direct quotation, Lehi himself admits that he is "a visionary man" (1 Ne. 5:4). For Lehi there appears to have been little difference between the terms *dream* and *vision*.⁴⁴

The earliest vision is that with which Lehi's own record likely began. Nephi recounts this experience:

And it came to pass as he [Lehi] prayed unto the Lord, there came a pillar of fire and dwelt upon a rock before him; and he saw and heard much; and because of the things which he saw and heard he did quake and tremble exceedingly.

And it came to pass that he returned to his own house at Jerusalem; and he cast himself upon his bed, being overcome with the Spirit and the things which he had seen.

(1 Ne. 1:6–7)

⁴³The first to adopt such a title is Nephi in his narration of how he had sought to receive the vision which his father had seen of both the tree of life and the Messiah (1 Ne. 10:17). Curiously, as soon as Nephi inscribes the title *Son of God*, he adds the parenthetical explanation, "and the Son of God was the Messiah who should come." When did Nephi initially learn this title, especially since Lehi apparently did not use it? The only clear hint occurs at the beginning of his own parallel vision of the tree of life which he begins narrating a few lines later, starting in chapter 11. On that occasion, he was told by the Spirit that after he had seen "a man descending out of heaven" he was to "bear record that it is the Son of God" (1 Ne. 11:7). In Nephi's account on the small plates, this is the first recorded notice of Nephi's having heard the title *Son of God* (he had apparently learned from the Spirit the expanded form—*Son of the most high God*—just before this [1 Ne. 11:6]). It might be argued that Nephi knew such titles but had not utilized them in 1 Nephi until now. Against this, I should point out that thus far, when speaking of the Messiah, Nephi has consistently employed the language of his father. Then in 1 Nephi 10:17, when he made use of the term *Son of God*, he even adds a note of explanation. Since seemingly the first being ever to mention that title to Nephi was the Spirit in the vision (1 Ne. 11:6–7), we are left to presume that before this experience Nephi did not know the term.

⁴⁴The term *dream* is clearly to be understood in the inspired sense. Of the seven dreams and visions of Lehi, three are called dreams (1 Ne. 2:1–2; 3:2; 8:2). In the final instance, Lehi himself equates dream with vision: "Behold, I have dreamed a dream; or, in other words, I have seen a vision" (1 Ne. 8:2).

That Lehi's experience constituted a vision can be seen in the emphasis on what he saw, even though he was not carried away in vision. In fact, what he "saw and heard" must have been revealed on the spot. Remarkably, Nephi recapitulates nothing of the vision's content. It certainly must have included Lehi's calling to prophesy. And it is not unlikely that some of the content coincided with what Lehi saw immediately following in the vision of the book. Nephi possibly thought that the close juxtaposition of the two visions would indicate corresponding content. We come to expect this, realizing Nephi must have abbreviated as much as possible owing to the difficulty of writing on metal plates.

Nephi begins his summary of Lehi's second vision, the vision of the book, by describing how Lehi was caught away by the Spirit:

And being thus overcome with the Spirit, he was carried away in a vision, even that he saw the heavens open, and he thought he saw God sitting upon his throne, surrounded with numberless concourses of angels in the attitude of singing and praising their God.

(1 Ne. 1:8).⁴⁵

Lehi then saw "one descending out of the midst of heaven" and "twelve others following him" (1 Ne. 1:9–10). Nephi continues:

. . . the first came and stood before my father, and gave unto him a book, and bade him that he should read.

And he read, saying: Wo, wo, unto Jerusalem, for I have seen thine abominations! Yea, and many things did my father read concerning Jerusalem—that it should be destroyed, and the inhabitants thereof; many should perish by the sword, and many should be carried away captive into Babylon.

(1 Ne. 1:11, 13)

This passage captures what was no doubt the warning of Lehi's vision: Jerusalem had become iniquitous and was to be destroyed by Babylonians. This warning, of course, formed the core of the messages of other prophets contemporary with Lehi at Jerusalem.⁴⁶ Although Nephi does not mention it here, at some point in the vision Lehi had also learned about the coming redemption through the Messiah. Nephi's summary of Lehi's preaching in Jerusalem reads:

⁴⁵This type of vision is the standard motif of the prophet or seer being introduced into the council of the Lord. Isaiah, for example, experienced this when he received his call (Isa. 6:1, 8. See also Jer. 23:18, 22; Rev. 4:2–4).

⁴⁶In 1 Nephi 1:4 we read that "many prophets" had come to Jerusalem "prophesying unto the people that they must repent, or the great city Jerusalem must be destroyed." Among those prophets would have been Jeremiah, who had already been saying this for twenty-five years, and Habbakkuk, who was prophesying and writing between 608 and 598 B.C. See also Zephaniah, chapter 1.

. . . and he [Lehi] testified that the things which he saw and heard, and also the things which he read in the book, manifested plainly of the coming of a Messiah, and also the redemption of the world.⁴⁷

(1 Ne. 1:19)

In narrating his father's third vision, Nephi includes words of assurance from the Lord:

. . . it came to pass that the Lord spake unto my father, yea, even in a dream, and said unto him: Blessed art thou Lehi, because of the things which thou hast done; and because thou hast been faithful and declared unto this people the things which I commanded thee, behold, they seek to take away thy life.

(1 Ne. 2:1)

In this same vision Lehi also received a charge to leave Jerusalem, the first step in a very long journey:

And it came to pass that the Lord commanded my father, even in a dream, that he should take his family and depart into the wilderness.

(1 Ne. 2:2)

Lehi's response to this command eventually led him and his family to the distant land of promise.

Lehi's fourth vision concerns the return of his sons to Jerusalem for the records on the plates of brass (1 Ne. 3:2-6). Nephi writes the account using the very words of Lehi:

And it came to pass that he [Lehi] spake unto me, saying: Behold I have dreamed a dream, in the which the Lord hath commanded me that thou and thy brethren shall return to Jerusalem.

For behold, Laban hath the record of the Jews and also a genealogy of my forefathers, and they are engraven upon plates of brass.

(1 Ne. 3:2-3)

Nephi and his brothers were to go to Laban and "seek the records, and bring them down hither" (1 Ne. 3:4), even though his brothers had already complained about the task. Notably, Lehi received this vision only after he and his family had arrived at a spot near the Red Sea (1 Ne. 2:5-9).

The fifth vision has to do with the tree of life and with the Messiah (1 Ne. 8:2-28). As we have seen, this constitutes a long direct quotation from Lehi's record. There were two elements of the vision, however, which Lehi apparently missed recording. The first

⁴⁷Nephi's employment of the phrase "saw and heard" may be intended to recall what Lehi "saw and heard" in the very first vision (used twice in 1 Nephi 1:6). If so, it becomes very likely that Lehi had learned something about the coming Messiah in this first experience. It is impossible, however, for us to recover exactly what and how much was revealed to him on this occasion concerning the Messiah, since Nephi does not elaborate.

concerns an item which he had overlooked when he saw the vision. It was Nephi who, after recounting his experience with the corroborating vision, adds this curious note:

. . . the water which my father saw was filthiness; and so much was his mind swallowed up in other things that he beheld not the filthiness of the water.
(1 Ne. 15:27)

When one examines Lehi's narration, what Nephi says proves true. Lehi describes the water simply as "a river of water" (1 Ne. 8:13), adding no indication that it appeared muddy or clear. In contrast, Nephi's report is very explicit about its appearance, calling it "the fountain of filthy water . . . and the depths thereof are the depths of hell" (1 Ne. 12:16). Lehi also learned the time of the Messiah's coming, but neither Lehi nor Nephi relates this detail in their accounts of their visions—at least not in the record as we have it from the small plates. It is only afterward that Nephi brings forward this particular; in a later recollection of the vision (1 Ne. 19:7–10), Nephi says about the coming of the Messiah: "And behold he cometh, according to the words of the angel, in six hundred years from the time my father left Jersusalem" (1 Ne. 19:8). If "the angel" in this passage is the same as the "man . . . dressed in a white robe" of Lehi's vision (1 Ne. 8:5)—and this seems apparent—then we can assume the likelihood that Lehi not only was told what Nephi was told but was also informed as to when the Messiah would come.

In my reckoning, the revelation written on the compass constituted Lehi's sixth vision (1 Ne. 16:26). Incidentally, Nephi explains later that "from time to time" writing would appear on the compass to give directions to Lehi's family while still in the desert (1 Ne. 16:29). On this occasion, however, Lehi had prayed to know where Nephi should go to find food. In his response, the Lord chastized Lehi and his family for complaining because of their hardships in the wilderness (1 Ne. 16:24–25). Nephi writes that "when my father beheld the things which were written upon the ball, he did fear and tremble exceedingly, and also my brethren and the sons of Ishmael and our wives" (1 Ne. 16:27). Like the Urim and Thummim among the ancient Israelites, the compass-ball served as a means of revelation.⁴⁸

The last recorded vision of Lehi is related in 2 Nephi 1:4:

For, behold, said he, I have seen a vision, in which I know that Jerusalem is destroyed; and had we remained in Jerusalem we should also have perished.

⁴⁸On the Urim and Thummim in Old Testament usage, see Exodus 28:30; Leviticus 8:8; Numbers 27:21; Deuteronomy 33:8; 1 Samuel 28:6; Ezra 2:63 and Nehemiah 7:65.

That Lehi was granted a vision of the destruction of Jerusalem should not surprise us. Other prophets saw similar happenings. For example, Lehi's son, Jacob, recounts that he also saw "that those who were at Jerusalem, from whence we came, have been slain and carried away captive" (2 Ne. 6:8). Nahum, too, saw a similar vision of Nineveh under siege and finally falling (Nahum 2:1-3:3, 10-15). Ezekiel, as well, was transported in vision from Babylon to Jerusalem where he saw the abominable practices of the priests and the consequent departure of the glory of the Lord from the temple before the fall of the city (Ezek. 8:3-10:19).

Among the important doctrinal ideas taught by Lehi, in addition to those already discussed tangentially, three stand out. The first pertains to fidelity to one's spouse, a principle discussed in connection with the question of plurality of wives. Jacob, we recall, quotes at some length the relevant words of Lehi (Jacob 2:23b-26, 27b-33). The occasion on which Lehi had received this injunction from the Lord remains unknown. Nonetheless, according to Jacob, the Lord had told Lehi that "this people begin to wax in iniquity . . . for they seek to excuse themselves in committing whoredoms" (Jacob 2:23). Lehi's people had sought "to excuse themselves" on scriptural grounds, "because of the things which were written concerning David, and Solomon his son." God, through Lehi, was very specific that no "man among you [shall] have save it be one wife" (Jacob 2:27). Only God himself could reverse this prohibition against plural marriage: "For if I will, saith the Lord, raise up seed unto me, I will command my people" (Jacob 2:30). What had angered the Lord was having "seen the sorrow, and heard the mourning of the daughters of my people . . . because of the wickedness and abominations of their husbands" (Jacob 2:31). In Lehi's account of it, fidelity to one's marriage partner was so crucial to the Nephite's presence in the promised land that if it were not observed faithfully God would curse "the land for their sakes" (Jacob 2:29).

A second significant teaching of Lehi concerns the notion of "opposition in all things." Lehi's ideas thereon are part of his last instructions to his son Jacob (2 Ne. 2:11-13). Lehi begins by indicating that the judgment leads either to "punishment which is affixed" or to "happiness which is affixed" (2 Ne. 2:10). He then reasons: "It must needs be, that there is an opposition in all things. If not so . . . righteousness could not be brought to pass, neither wickedness, neither holiness nor misery, neither good nor bad" (2 Ne. 2:11). Lehi indicates that without opposition we have no power to be righteous or unrighteous. Note the dramatic result that Lehi says would arise:

“And if these things are not there is no God. And if there is no God we are not, neither the earth; for there could have been no creation” (2 Ne. 2:13). According to Lehi, the totality of existence would cease if opposition were removed. He says this again in a different way:

... all things must needs be a compound in one; wherefore, if it should be one body it must needs remain as dead, having no life neither death, nor corruption nor incorruption, happiness nor misery, neither sense nor insensibility.

Wherefore, it must needs have been created for a thing of naught; wherefore there would have been no purpose in the end of its creation. . . .

(2 Ne. 2:11–12)

The observation that all existence would become utterly wasted if no antithetical relationships existed leads Lehi to say: “Wherefore, this thing must needs destroy the wisdom of God and his eternal purposes, and also the power, and the mercy, and the justice of God” (2 Ne. 2:12). Since Lehi has just previously been dealing with the redemption which is to come through the Messiah (2 Ne. 2:6–10), we should probably understand this series of passages in terms of the Redeemer’s work. That is, if there exists no opposition, there is no reason for a redeemer who can bring about God’s mercy *and* justice.

A third element of Lehi’s teaching is closely related to his concerns for the role of the Redeemer and for opposition in all things. It has to do with the role of Adam in the drama of salvation (2 Ne. 2:15–27). Lehi insists that two ingredients were mixed with Adam’s situation—a choice, along with the freedom to make the choice: “It must needs be that there was an opposition; even the forbidden fruit in opposition to the tree of life. . . . Wherefore, the Lord God gave unto man that he should act for himself” (2 Ne. 2:15–16). For Lehi, the opposition facing Adam was necessary so that the choice could be made—the forbidden fruit versus the tree of life. In fact, had not Adam been enticed to make the choice which brought both mortality and the capability of parenthood, the earth would never have been peopled, thus frustrating God’s plan:

And now, behold, if Adam had not transgressed he would not have fallen, but he would have remained in the garden of Eden. . . .

And they would have had no children . . .

Adam fell that men might be . . .

(2 Ne. 2:22–23, 25)

The whole point is that had Adam not fallen mankind would never have existed. But since he did fall,

. . . the Messiah cometh in the fulness of time, that he may redeem the children of men from the fall. And because that they are redeemed from the fall they have become free forever . . .

. . . to choose liberty and eternal life, through the great Mediator of all men, or to choose captivity and death, according to the captivity and power of the devil . . .

(2 Ne. 2:26–27)

The reasons for opposition, then, are (1) to perpetuate existence—and Adam's fall led to this—and (2) to bring about God's plan, which is to save mankind through the Messiah's redemption.

These three major elements of Lehi's instruction—fidelity to spouse, opposition as an essential ingredient of existence, and the Adam–Redeemer relationship in the plan of salvation—are supplemented by other themes which, in the available sources, receive less emphasis. But even when reviewed briefly, their richness and variety become obvious: Lehi's teachings which focused on the tree of life (1 Ne. 8:2–35), the fall of Jerusalem (e.g., 1 Ne. 1:13, 19; 9:3), the coming of the Messiah (e.g., 1 Ne. 1:19b; 10:4–11; 2 Ne. 2:6–9), the scattering and gathering of Israel (e.g., 1 Ne. 9:3; 10:3, 12–14), and the important ministry of the seer of the latter days who is to take God's message to Lehi's descendants (2 Ne. 3:6–21).

CONCLUSION

Thus, a strong case exists that Lehi's written record underlay a good deal more in the writings of Nephi and Jacob than others have thought. The most persistent problem, to be sure, is whether a particular quotation or paraphrase indeed goes back to a written source. Nephi's brief characterizations of his father's writings (1 Ne. 1:16; 19:1–2) help us to see important clues regarding the nature of Lehi's work. Yet in the final analysis, we can be certain about only a portion; the rest remains merely suggestive. Far from being a futile exercise, however, the analysis has made it abundantly clear that their father Lehi's writings and teachings deeply influenced both Nephi and Jacob, a fact which gives measure to the positive influences of Lehi—the man and the prophet.

Effects of College Education on the Religious Involvement of Latter-day Saints

Gerald Stott

LDS EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Mormonism fosters education. LDS theology views life essentially as an educational process. Mortality is seen as a probationary state, a period of learning and testing. Knowledge and mastery of both self and environment through obedience to divine law is the basis of eternal progression. Thus in Mormon dogma education not only helps man in this life, it also assists him in his quest to achieve perfection and become godlike in the next. This theological emphasis is manifest in many latter-day scriptures:

The glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth.
(D&C 93:36)

Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life through his diligence and obedience than another, he will have so much the advantage in the world to come.
(D&C 130:18-19)

It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance. (D&C 131:6)

Teach ye diligently and my grace shall attend you, that you may be instructed more perfectly in theory, in principle, in doctrine, in the law of the gospel, in all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; Of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad; the wars and the perplexities of the nations, and the judgments which are on the land; and a knowledge also of countries and of kingdoms.
(D&C 88:78-79)

Mormonism's theological emphasis upon the importance of knowledge has had very tangible results. Within the first few years of the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,

its leaders established in Ohio and Missouri an adult school for men called the School of the Prophets. Three years after entering the Salt Lake Valley, despite the hardships of settling an uninhabited, nearly desolate area, Mormon pioneers founded the University of Deseret (1850), later named the University of Utah. Brigham Young University, also established in Utah's pioneer period (1876), has become a showpiece of Mormondom. Utah, a predominantly Mormon state, has an enviable education record, leading the nation in the percentage of high school graduates among persons eighteen and over—80.2 percent compared to the national percentage of 66.6—and tying with Colorado for the highest median school years completed by persons eighteen and over—12.8 years.¹ Furthermore, it reports one of the highest percentages of adults who have attended college—31.4 percent.²

Utah's emphasis on education is not superficial. More than forty years ago, Thorndike, controlling for population size, found Utah to rank first as the birthplace of people listed in *American Men of Science*, to tie for second place in producing people listed in *Leaders in Education*, and to be fourth in contributing to those listed in *Who's Who in America*.³ Astin, in his 1962 study, found productivity of colleges was largely determined by the characteristics of incoming students (input). Utah universities, however, were found to be much more productive than their inputs predicted.⁴ Hardy in his 1974 analysis of the origins of American scientists and scholars provided additional evidence indicating the superior productivity of Utah schools of higher education. Using a weighted index based on the number of college graduates per thousand who go on to earn a Ph.D. within a specified time, and controlling for gender variations, he found:

The most productive state is Utah, which is first in productivity for all fields combined in all time periods. It is first in biological and social sciences, second in education, third in physical sciences, and sixth in arts and professions. Compared to other states in its region, it is deviantly productive. This result seems clearly to be due to the influence of Mormon values, because Mormon youth predominate in the colleges of the state, and because other variables, such as climate, geography, natural resources, and social class, do not appear to explain the exceptional record of this state.⁵

¹U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), 151.

²*Standard Education Almanac* (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1975–76), 91–92. The 1975–76 edition of the *Standard Educational Almanac* is referenced because relevant information is not given in later editions.

³E. L. Thorndike, "The Origin of Superior Men," *Scientific Monthly* 56 (1943): 426.

⁴Alexander W. Astin, "'Productivity' of Undergraduate Institutions," *Science* 136 (1962): 123–35.

⁵Kenneth R. Hardy, "Social Origins of American Scientists and Scholars," *Science* 185 (1974): 500.

SECULARIZING INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION

Both education and religion are directly concerned with knowing, that is, understanding the cosmos and man's place in it, yet they rely upon different and possibly conflicting methods of acquiring knowledge. Religion, with its emphasis on the superempirical, subordinates worldly reasoning to faith in revealed knowledge. In the words of Paul Williams, religion involves

a belief-attitude that the Ultimate for man exists (however it may be conceived) and that certain aspects of life derive from the Ultimate; . . . that the derivation (from the Ultimate) of these aspects of life is beyond empirical demonstration; . . . and that these aspects of life are of supreme importance.⁶

Scholarship, on the other hand, follows essentially the scientific perspective, grounding truth in logic and empirical findings. Many scholars consider these two approaches—faith and science—to be incompatible. Thomas F. O'Dea, a sociologist who made an in-depth study of Mormonism, contends that the incompatibility between higher education and religion is the major source of strain and conflict in contemporary Mormonism. O'Dea argues that this strain between education and religion rises out of the secularizing influence of science and rationalism which undermines traditional religious beliefs:

The Mormon appreciation of education emphasized higher education and thereby encouraged contact between Mormon youth and those very elements in modern thought that are bound to act as a solvent on certain aspects of Mormon beliefs. . . . He has been taught by the Mormon faith to seek knowledge and to value it; yet it is precisely this course, so acceptable to and so honored by his religion, that is bound to bring religious crisis to him and profound danger to his religious belief. The college undergraduate curriculum becomes the first line of danger to Mormonism in its encounter with modern learning.⁷

THE STUDY

Is college education, as O'Dea suggests, detrimental to Mormon faith? Is Mormonism, by encouraging educational achievement, latently promoting its own secularism? Is the highly educated Mormon less religious than his less educated brothers? Findings from a study recently completed by the author suggest not.

The study is based on a probability sample of 500 adult Latter-day Saints systematically selected from all LDS wards in the Greater St. Louis

⁶J. Paul Williams, "The Nature of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 2 (1962): 8.

⁷Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 226–27.

area.⁸ The 500 adults were mailed a questionnaire dealing with educational attainment, religious involvement, and background information. Of the 500 sampled, 261 (52 percent) returned usable questionnaires. Of this number, 101 (39 percent) held college degrees.⁹

The problems in measuring religiosity are numerous and resist easy solution. Even defining religiosity is a formidable task. My solution was to use multiple measures of religiosity that tap different facets.¹⁰ Specifically, scales were created to measure religious practice, belief, knowledge, and experience. In addition, an overall measure of religiosity—religious self-identification—was used.

Religious Self-Identification. The respondents' self-evaluation of how religious they are gives a subjective generic measure of religiosity. Table 1 cross-tabulates religious self-identification by educational level.

Table 1
Religious Self-Identification by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

How Religious	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
Not Very	6	8	5	4	6	5
Mildly	12	10	3	5	8	7
Fairly	49	39	31	26	36	35
Very	33	43	61	65	50	53
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	33	51	62	55	36	237

$r = .11$ ($P \ll .05$)

⁸The study may be faulted for not drawing the sample from Utah, Mormonism's heartland. Justification exists, however, for drawing the sample outside Utah. Research findings demonstrate that a group's majority or minority status has significant influence on its members' behavior. Mormonism is a national and even international religion, the majority of LDS living outside Utah. Because most LDS live in areas where they are a minority, a Utah sample where they constitute a majority would be unrepresentative and hence of no more utility in generalizing to all or even to LDS in the United States than my Midwest sample.

⁹Due to response bias among those returning the questionnaire, the findings should be accepted primarily for their correlative and comparative values rather than as accurate measurements of the survey population. For example, while 39 percent of the respondents hold college degrees, only 23 percent of a follow-up sample of nonrespondents had college degrees. Hence, probably 31, not 39, percent of the survey population are college graduates. Even this percentage, however, is quite large, especially when compared to a corresponding study of Southern Baptists which found 18 percent of that survey population to be college graduates.

¹⁰Multidimensional approaches to the study of religiosity have been used by such writers as Joseph Fichter, *Social Relations in the Urban Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Gerhard E. Lenski, "Social Correlates of Religious Interest," *American Sociological Review* 18 (1953): 533-44; Morton King, "Measuring the Religious Variable: Nine Proposed Dimensions," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 6 (Fall 1967): 173-90; Rodney Stark and Charles Glock, *American Piety: The Nature of Religious Commitment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); King Morton and Richard Hunt, "Measuring the Religious Variable: National Replication," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 15 (March 1975): 13-22; Gordon F. DeJong, Joseph S. Faulkner, and Rex H. Warland, "Dimensions of Religiosity Reconsidered: Evidence from a Cross-Cultural Study," *Social Force* 54 (June 1976): 866-89; Dean R. Hoge, Gregory H. Petrillo, and Ella I. Smith, "Transmission of Religious and Social Values from Parents to Teenage Children," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 44 (August 1982): 569-80. My approach is most closely related to Stark and Glock's.

Notice that the percentage of respondents classifying themselves as very religious increases with educational level from a low of 33 percent of those who were not high school graduates to a high of 65 percent of those with bachelor's degrees, but then declines to 50 percent of those with post-bachelor's degrees. All in all, 39 percent of the noncollege-educated respondents, compared to 60 percent of those who did attend college, judged themselves to be very religious.¹¹

Practices. Acts of worship which devotees of a religion are encouraged to perform constitute religious practices. At one end of the spectrum these practices tend to be formal and typically public. At the other end of the spectrum they tend to be informal and typically private. Church attendance (a public act of worship) and personal prayer (a private act of worship) were selected to measure religious practices. The relationship between these two variables and education is shown in tables 2 and 3:

Table 2
Church Attendance by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

Church Attendance	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
zero	16	15	12	8	13	13
1 to 3 times yearly	6	7	3	1	0	3
4 to 12 times yearly	9	5	3	2	3	4
2 or 3 times monthly	6	2	5	5	5	4
weekly	63	71	77	84	79	76
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	32	58	65	61	38	254

r = .13 (P < .05)

Note that weekly church attendance increases with educational level from 63 percent among those who did not graduate from high school to 84 percent among those with bachelor's degrees. Again those with graduate degrees upset the monotonic relationship by attending less than those with bachelor's degrees. Eighty percent of the college category, compared to 63 percent of the noncollege category, attend church weekly.

¹¹A measure of association, Pearson's *r* is provided in the table. An interval rather than an ordinal measure of association is reported because interval statistics which are more powerful, more sensitive, and more readily interpreted can be applied to ordinal data with, except in rare circumstances, little distortion.

The relationship between personal prayer and education is less clear. As with the two preceding measures of religiosity, the college-educated are more likely than the noncollege-educated to place high on the measure, but the difference is small (67 percent to 60 percent), and those who attended college but did not graduate were more likely to engage in daily personal prayer than those who did graduate.

Table 3
Personal Prayer by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

Frequency of Prayer	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
do not pray	0	2	3	2	7	3
only on special occasions	3	5	0	3	0	2
occasionally	23	19	8	10	12	14
once a week	21	10	15	21	13	16
daily	53	64	74	64	67	65
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	34	58	65	61	40	258

r = .04 (P ► .05)

Belief. The belief dimension of religion focuses on ideology—the religious tenets individuals avow. It comprises religion’s theological component. Acceptance of biblical miracles was used to measure belief. As Table 4 shows, belief declines with educational advancement.

Table 4
Belief in Biblical Miracles by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

Bible Miracles	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
did not happen	0	0	0	0	3	0
explained by natural events	6	3	15	18	16	12
uncertain	0	11	5	3	8	6
did happen	94	86	80	79	74	82
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	33	56	64	61	38	252

r = -.17 (P ◀ .01)

Note that the percentage of respondents believing that biblical miracles actually happened just as the Bible states declines from 94 percent of those who did not graduate from high school to 74 percent of those with college graduate degrees. The college-educated, as a group, are 11 percent less likely than the noncollege-educated to be unequivocal believers.

Experience. Religious experience constitutes the feeling component of religion. Such experience involves the sensation that contact, however fleeting, has been made with the divine. This contact may range the entire gamut from feelings of peace and safety to visions and revelations. Spiritual confirmation of the truthfulness of the gospel was used as an indicator of religious experience. As Table 5 shows, education is negligibly related to spiritual confirmation.

Table 5
Spiritual Confirmation of the Truthfulness of the Gospel
by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

Spiritual Confirmation	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
no	0	7	10	2	13	6
uncertain	20	15	8	12	8	12
yes	80	78	82	86	79	82
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	30	55	63	58	39	245

r = .01 (P ► .05)

The college-educated are more likely to have experienced a spiritual confirmation than the noncollege-educated, but again the difference is small (83 to 79 percent).

Knowledge. The knowledge dimension of religion deals with religious literacy—the extent to which a person is informed about the basic doctrines, practices, and history of his faith. Knowledge differs from belief since knowledge is concerned only with knowing, while belief involves commitment. Four questions dealing with the Bible were used to measure religious knowledge: (1) Who wrote the most books in the New Testament? (2) Is the Book of Acts an eyewitness account of Christ’s ministry? (3) Name the last book of the Old Testament, and (4) Which Gospel narrates most fully the events surrounding the birth of Christ? The number of responses per person is represented on the next page by Table 6.

Table 6
Bible Knowledge by Educational Level (in rounded percentages)

Number of Correct Answers	Non-HS Graduate	High School Graduate	Some College	Bachelor Degree	Graduate Degree	Total
0	31	22	18	7	20	18
1	28	22	18	16	5	18
2	17	22	16	7	13	15
3	17	21	26	25	13	21
4	7	13	22	45	49	28
Total percent	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	29	54	62	60	39	244

$r = .31$ ($P \triangleleft .01$)

The association between religious knowledge and education is positive and substantial. Notice that the percentage of individuals answering all four questions correctly nearly doubles with each increment in education up to the graduate degree level. A comparison of those who attended college to those who did not shows that while 39 percent of the college-educated answered all four questions correctly, only 11 percent of the noncollege-educated did.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Of the six measures of religiosity, only belief was negatively associated with education, that is, tended to decline with educational advancement. In contrast, church attendance and biblical knowledge increased substantially and self-evaluated religiosity increased mildly with educational advancement. Personal prayer and spiritual confirmation of the truthfulness of the gospel showed little relationship to educational level.

In order to rule out the possibility that the association between negative belief and education was a product of the specific belief indicator used, the relationships between education and four other measures of belief were tested: (1) belief in God, (2) belief in the existence of Satan, (3) belief in the infallibility of the President of the Church in matters of doctrine, and (4) acceptance of religious over scientific beliefs when the two appear to clash. The associations with education for the measures were, respectively, -.19, -.18, -.01 and -.27. The fact that these measures of belief were also associated negatively with education strongly suggests that surety of belief in basic religious

tenets tends to diminish with educational advancement. Nevertheless, corrosive effects of education on religious belief—if it is education that is causing the decline—are limited.¹² Note that 77 percent of the college graduates fully accept biblical miracles as actually having happened.

The fact that the percentage of those with graduate degrees scoring high on the various measures of religiosity is typically lower than the corresponding percentage for those with bachelor's degrees suggests that graduate education may adversely affect certain aspects of religiosity. Even so, those with post-bachelor's degrees are, on the average, more religious than those who never attended college. In short, college-educated Latter-day Saints in my sample, both as a group and by specific level of education, were, on the average, more religiously involved than noncollege-educated Latter-day Saints. Thus, contrary to O'Dea's contentions, no evidence was found to indicate that college education is detrimental to the religiosity of Mormons.

My findings are at odds with the findings of several studies dealing with other denominations. A study of Episcopalians which focused on church attendance, religious belief, personal prayer, and Bible reading found all but church attendance to be negatively related to education.¹³ A study of urban north Texas Presbyterians, Missouri Lutherans, Methodists, and Disciples of Christ reported that of nine dimensions of religiosity tested, only the knowledge dimension did not associate negatively with education.¹⁴ A 1972 study of church members of various denominations in the San Francisco Bay area found religious belief, personal prayer, and religious experiences negatively related to years of education, while church attendance and religious knowledge were positively related.¹⁵

The typical negative association found to exist between educational level and various measures of religiosity has been attributed by some writers to the rationalizing and secularizing influences of higher education which are thought to undermine religious commitment. If this be the case, it appears that the religiosity of Mormons is largely impervious to this secularizing influence. The reason for this, I

¹²Correlation does not prove causation.

¹³Wade Clarke Roof, "Traditional Religion in Contemporary Society: A Theory of Local-Cosmopolitan Plausibility," *American Sociological Review* 41 (1976), 195–208.

¹⁴Morton B. King and Richard A. Hunt, *Measuring Religious Dimensions* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 1972), 39.

¹⁵Rodney Stark, "The Economics of Piety: Religious Commitment and Social Class," in *Issues in Social Inequality*, ed. Gerald W. Thielbar and Saul D. Feldman (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1972), 483–503.

suggest, is to be found in the LDS view of education. LDS theology, while it places a strong emphasis upon education, places education into a larger religious perspective. This tends to galvanize Mormons against whatever religiously corrosive influences higher education might generate. In short, Latter-day Saint theology appears to negate the secularizing impact of education by sacralizing it and incorporating it into the total religious milieu.

The Beginning of Wisdom

Dennis Jay Packard

February 21, 1982. Sunday morning. About thirty missionaries—half the branch—came to read scripture together before lunch, and the study room, fit for twelve, was crowded. There were chair-desks around the room, tight next to each other, with two rows in the middle. I sat in a corner. On one wall hung a poster of a green European hillside, a pencil drawing of Jesus, a blackboard, and a corkboard with charts and photographs; on the opposite wall, behind the rows of missionaries, was a large seascape tapestry in royal blue.

I had thought out beforehand how to begin. Scripture, like music, is meant to be heard, I said: even those who appreciate music by reading it silently appreciate it more when they hear it.

Elder Thorton was taking notes: a small blond elder, alert and smiling (he often smiled), sitting in the middle of the room two arm lengths away from me.

If you read a passage aloud, I said, thinking about what you are reading, and remembering that there is a real person behind the words, a person who wants to speak, who has something to say, you will begin to hear him speak.

The room was quiet. The elders on the front row—watching and listening—sat this way and that in their dark suits. Elder Blood (a curious name) sat back in his chair with his feet out and crossed. He came from a large family, worked hard, and didn't say much in groups. He was a district leader; he could be trusted to give good counsel. I wondered about the elders I couldn't see, three rows back in the corner.

I said that you don't have to work at it when you read aloud; you don't want to try to make it dramatic; it is a matter of being open, attentive, of letting it come out. "What shall we read?"

Sister Mullins raised her hand. She wanted to hear Mormon 8, the first chapter Moroni wrote. "I can almost hear Moroni speaking," she said, "but it really requires a man's voice to read it right."

Elder Parcells—seated next to Sister Mullins and her less confident, less talkative companion—volunteered. Elder Parcells was Canadian,

from Calgary; he was tall and thin, had wiry black hair, and his eyebrows crossed the top of his nose. He was a convert of thirteen months and said he was in shock when he first entered the MTC and was learning to keep track of and to do everything expected of him. After two weeks he had been asked to be branch executive secretary: he had sat between the desks in the branch office (it doubles as a room-assignment office during the week) and listened closely to the description of his calling, his eyes alert, without expression on his face. The next Sunday, at 6:30 A.M., he had returned with schedules (he called them *schedules*), organizing all the meetings and interviews for the day.

The scripture bundles opened: zippers jerking and then the familiar flipping sound of the thin paper. Elder Parcells began reading.

"1. *Behold I, Moroni, do finish the record of my father, Mormon. Behold, I have but few things* [he paused, took a breath] *to write, which things I have been commanded by my father* [he spoke each word identically, precisely, as if with a computer voice].

"2. *And now it came to pass that after the great and tremendous battle at* [he hesitated] *Cumorah, behold, the Nephites who had escaped into the country southward were hunted by the Lamanites, until they were all destroyed* [breath].

"3. *And my father also was killed by them, and I even remain alone to write the sad tale of the destruction of my people* [he read as if he hadn't seen the words before and was reading them now only because he was supposed to]. *But behold, they are gone, and I fulfill the commandment of my father. And whether they will slay me, I know not* [each word with the same tone of voice].

"4. *Therefore I will write and hide up the records in the earth; and whither I go it mattereth not.*"

Elder Parcells looked up; everyone looked up. Their faces said, now what?

I said, "Thank you. Let's go back and look at these verses." I looked at the passage, thinking how reading aloud can help a discussion. Here, the discussion had to get the reading aloud going.

"In verse 1, he says he has to finish his father's record and he has just a few things to write and his father commanded him to write them. In verse 3, he repeats something like that: he says he has to fulfill the commandment of his father. How does Moroni feel about writing?"

Half the elders on the front row were looking hard at their scriptures; the others were as intently watching me. Elder Blood was watching me.

"He's not excited about it," someone in one of the back rows said. "It's something he has to do."

"In verse 3, he says *I even remain alone to write the sad tale of the destruction of my people. But behold, they are gone, and I fulfill the commandment of my father. And whether they will slay me, I know not. Therefore I will write and hide up the records in the earth; and whither I go it mattereth not.*"

"He's kind of down," someone said from the back rows.

"He's depressed," Sister Mullins said.

"Did you know," I asked, "that he wanders around for twenty years before he finally buries the plates?"

There was motion in the chairs; Elder Thorton was smiling. Elder Parcels began the next verse. The room was quiet again.

"5. *Behold my father hath made this record [pause], and he hath written the intent thereof [breath]. And behold, I would write it also if I had room upon the plates [another pause], but I have not [breath]; and ore I have none, for I am alone. My father hath been slain in battle [his tone of voice lower], and all my kinsfolk [a long pause], and I have not friends nor whither to go [his voice down]; and how long the Lord will suffer that I may live, I know not.*"

He stopped reading, and didn't look up.

I said, "There—when he read, *My father hath been slain in battle, and all my kinsfolk, and I have not friends nor whither to go*—right there you could hear Moroni's voice, his sadness and loneliness coming through."

Sister Mullins was leaning forward in her chair, vigorously nodding her head yes.

"You didn't try to put that in, did you?"

Elder Parcels looked up, a little red in the face, shook his head no, didn't say anything but looked back down at the words he had just read.

Why, I wondered, did he respond to the loneliness and the talk of kinsfolk and friends? He had friends in the Church, he had told me. But his parents hadn't joined, not yet. They had brought him down to the MTC. They had been impressed: the next month his father had done a thousand dollars' worth of free printing for the Church in Calgary. *And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers.*

Even Elder Blood was looking down at his scriptures now. There was talking in the room; they wanted to go on.

"Who else would like to read?"

Elder Housley, quick with answers, tall and dark like Elder Parcels but with thicker hair combed down across his forehead, put his hand

up. He was seated two chairs to my left with his back to the blackboard; he looked too big for the chair-desk and seemed uncomfortable with his legs protruding out into the room. I wondered, but couldn't remember, whether he was going to the north or the south. He would fit in better in the north—the Italians in the south were shorter. But it wouldn't matter; when some Italian branch president was giving him an *abbraccio forte*, Elder Housley would just have to stoop down, as he had to do with me at Cantiamo when after a thought and a song we gave each other hugs.

He read the next three verses.

"6. *Behold, four hundred years have passed away since the coming of our Lord and Savior.*

"7. *And behold [he read distinctly, one word after another, and took a breath], the Lamanites have hunted my people, the Nephites, down from city to city and from place to place, even until [breath] they are no more; and great has been their fall; yea, great and marvelous is the destruction of my people, the Nephites.*

"8. *And behold [breath], it is the hand of the Lord which hath done it. And behold also, the Lamanites are at war one with another; and the whole face of this land [breath] is one continual round of murder and bloodshed; and no one knoweth the end of the war."*

More words, more unconnected facts. He looked up, and over at me, with a faint smile. He hadn't understood.

A week later Elder Housley sat between the desks in the branch office, looking down at his hands in his lap for some time before he started talking. He said he didn't want to question my decision; he wasn't that kind of person. "But," and there were tears in his eyes, "is it best to send Elder Glenn home?"

"What? Elder Glenn isn't going home."

"He was packing his bags this morning and said he'd talked to you."

It was lunchtime. I went to the cafeteria and sat down next to Elder Glenn and his district. I looked at them; they looked at me and at each other, and started laughing. I smiled, no one said anything, and I went back and explained to Elder Housley the joke that had been played on him. He was a little embarrassed, but mostly relieved—Elder Glenn wasn't being sent home. After lunch, at the Sunday School meeting, I told the branch a missionary had come to me, with tears in his eyes, to plead his brother's case.

"Why does he say the destruction was *great and marvelous*?" Elder Thorton asked. "It seems weird to call it *marvelous*."

I explained that *marvelous* has older meanings. I had been thinking about this earlier. Wonder, according to Greek philosophy, is the beginning of wisdom, its motivating cause. Marveling and wondering can mean being pulled up short, left open and vulnerable, everything at stake: *When Moses saw [the burning bush], he wondered at the sight: and as he drew near to behold it, the voice of the Lord came unto him.* It can mean being caught up with the significance of something's being one way rather than another: *When Jesus heard [the centurion at Capernaum], he marvelled, and said to them that followed, Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel;* and in his own country, among people he grew up with, *he marvelled because of their unbelief.* But sometimes wondering stagnates, becoming an evasive way of staying ignorant: *why marvel ye at this? marvel not at these things; despise not, wonder not, but hearken unto the words of the Lord . . . doubt not, but be believing, and come unto the Lord with all your heart, and work out your own salvation with fear and trembling before him.* My academic education had taught me to wonder; I had learned not to panic at confusion; I had learned to watch for paradox, in hope that it would lead to new understanding. My education from the scriptures, which should have come first, was giving me more reason to hope. The beginning of wisdom, according to the scriptures, is the fear of God: his thoughts aren't my thoughts, but he speaks to me in a language I can understand, if I am willing to understand it, willing, like Jacob, to wrestle with the messenger, through the night, until he blesses me.

"When the scripture says, *Wonder not, but hearken unto the words of the Lord*, it means don't stand there confused—listen and believe. When Isaiah says this is *a marvelous work and a wonder*, he's saying it particularly for those who refuse to believe. If you won't allow the possibility that Joseph Smith was as prophet, the whole thing will just perplex you; you won't be able to figure it out; it will be marvelous to you."

We talked about Moroni's finding the destruction marvelous, not easy to understand, and his finding it less marvelous after he read the Jaredite record. We talked about how Moroni interjected his own thoughts into Ether (much more than his father did in compiling the rest of the book) and about how the Jaredite history helped Moroni think through his own history.

Elder Thorton was taking more notes; Elder Blood was watching me again; Sister Mullins was nodding yes.

"Notice in verse 6 that Moroni tells us when Christ came. Why do you think he puts that there?"

"He wants us to know how long it's been," someone said.

"Yes, but why? And why right there? Let me read verse 6 with the verse right after it:

"6. *Behold, four hundred years have passed away since the coming of our Lord and Savior.*

"7. *And behold, the Lamanites have hunted my people, the Nephites, down from city to city and from place to place, even until they are no more; and great has been their fall; yea, great and marvelous is the destruction of my people, the Nephites.*"

"Oh, I see," Sister Mullins said, again leaning forward in her chair, her eyes wide and her voice urgent. "Within four hundred years of Jesus' coming, everything fell apart. It amazes Moroni."

Before she left the MTC, Sister Mullins had finished all her discussions and was speaking fair Italian. The elders looked up to her and her companion, and at the departing testimony meeting praised the two sister missionaries so highly that I concluded a type of women's liberation was quietly taking place at the MTC. Her companion, Sister Wagner, didn't finish as many discussions as Sister Mullins; she was a different person. She had auburn hair, trimly styled; Sister Mullins had brown hair, full, blown dry. Sister Wagner wore office-type skirts and blouses; Sister Mullins wore pleated dresses. Sister Wagner's testimony was deepening; Sister Mullins had always known the Church was true. Sister Wagner was an inward person, gaining confidence; Sister Mullins was an outward person who wished she felt more peace inside. "I've always been competitive," Sister Mullins told me, "and now I'm fighting it."

We looked at verse 7. "What does Moroni think of the Lamanites?"

"They hunted the Nephites down," Elder Housley said, who had been watching Sister Mullins and wanted to give a right answer.

"Yes, but how does he feel about that? What do you hunt down? He's disgusted. The Lamanites *hunted my people, the Nephites, down from city to city and from place to place*. They hounded them, from one hiding place to the next, hunting and tracking them down like animals."

Elder Housley looked over at me and back at his scriptures, his legs pulled up under his desk now.

"And notice verse 8. What does Moroni think of the war?"

"It was over the whole face of the land," Elder Thorton said, "between the Lamanites, too, and nobody knew when it would end."

"It's a mess. But he does say it's the hand of the Lord; the Lord allows it."

Elder Housley read the next five verses.

“9. *And now, behold, I say no more concerning them for there are none save it be the Lamanites and robbers [breath] that do exist upon the face of the land.*

“10. *And there are none that do know the true God save it be the disciples of Jesus, who did tarry [breath] in the land until the wickedness of the people was so great that the Lord would not suffer them to remain with the people [breath]; and whether they be upon the face of the land no man knoweth.*

“11. *But behold, my father and I have seen them [breath], and they have ministered unto us.*

“12. *And whoso receiveth this record, and shall not condemn it [breath] because of the imperfections which are in it, the same shall know of greater things than these [breath]. Behold, I am Moroni; and were it possible, I would make all things known unto you.*

“13. *Behold, I make an end of speaking [breath] concerning this people. I am the son of Mormon, and my father was a descendant of Nephi.*”

Again rigid, flat. The front row was watching Elder Housley. Elder Thorton looked at me, our eyes met; he understood.

“Look what happens in verse 13.”

“It’s like he stops writing,” Elder Blood said.

“Yes, and rather abruptly: either he has nothing else to say, or he has to leave in a hurry. Notice in verse 9, there’s more about the Lamanites, what he thinks about them.”

“He lumps them with the robbers,” someone in the back said.

“Yes, and he’s saying they’re not worth writing about. The whole thing’s too depressing to write about. But notice verses 10, 11, and 12. There’s something he likes to write about.”

“The three Nephites,” Elder Housley said.

“Yes. He says, *behold, my father and I have seen them, and they have ministered unto us*, and you can see he likes writing that. That’s a great thing to know about, he says in the next verse. He’d like to tell us more. Maybe that’s why, back in verse 6, he wrote about Christ’s coming: that was a great thing. He wants to write about something important. We know that later he finds some teachings of Christ that his father didn’t include, and adds them in—the sacrament prayers, the baptismal prayer. But here in verse 13, he says he has to make an end of speaking.”

I closed my scriptures, the scripture bundles in the room zipped shut, and I said we had to make an end too. I asked if they had heard Moroni speaking to them. Heads here and there nodded yes.

The study room was soon empty, except for Elder Parcels and me. He wanted to check the interview schedule for the afternoon. Three months later he wrote me from Catania: *“Il lavoro qui sta andando bene e la gente qui ha molto rispetto per la chiesa e vuole ascoltare il messaggio che abbiamo.* The work here is going well and the people have a lot of respect for the Church and want to listen to the message we have. *Come lei sa, la Chiesa Cattolica è molto forte qui, ma la Chiesa di Gesù Cristo sta crescendo velocemente come era stato profetizzato dal Presidente Benson 18 anni fa.* As you know, the Catholic church is very strong here, but the Church of Jesus Christ is growing rapidly as was prophesied by President Benson eighteen years ago. *Amo l'Italia e questa è una buona esperienza.* I love Italy and this is a good experience. *Dica agli anziani di studiare forte perché è difficile studiare qui, perché c'è tanto lavoro.* Tell the elders to study hard because it is difficult to study here, because there is so much work to do.”

Mormonism in a European Catholic Region: A Contribution to the Social Psychology of LDS Converts

Wilfried Decoo

The subject of this study is only a small part of a larger ensemble—the social psychology of Latter-day Saint converts in a non-Mormon environment. In this vast field many complex aspects can be studied, such as the various backgrounds of future converts, the modalities of their conversions, their integration process into the local LDS unit, their experiences relating to America and the Church in America, and the dynamics of alliance with and alienation from their non-Mormon surroundings. I have limited myself here to one specific contribution, that is, the socio-ideological allegiance of adult LDS converts, from their non-Mormon upbringing until their integration as members of the Church, seen against the historical canvas of the Flemish society. In the interest of brevity, I must present this subject in three heavily thinned-out parts: first, a sketch of the historical background of the Flemish socio-political canvas; second, an examination of the Mormon convert on this canvas before and after conversion; and finally, a tentative interpretation of the socio-ideological patterns.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE FLEMISH SOCIO-POLITICAL CANVAS

For most outsiders the lingual and political situation of Flanders and its immediate surroundings is rather hazy. A plethora of terms has been used to identify the whole or parts of this small region wedged between France and Germany and the English Channel: the Low Countries, the Netherlands, Holland, Belgium, Flanders,

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Benelux, and more. But it is exactly this being inserted in between the old European powers that explains the substituting hegemonies that have reigned here, the wavering boundaries, the many influences on a region where the high and mighty have spread their patrimony and fought out their battles since that period when the Latin and Germanic worlds met here in the time of Christ.

This region owes its peculiarity to the fact that it is Dutch-speaking and Catholic. It did not match with the more Protestant north, although it shared its language; nor with the French-speaking south, although it shared its religion. But in 1830, the very year of the restoration of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Flanders was joined to a French-speaking region, Wallonia, to form the independent kingdom of Belgium—a tiny, artificial country meant to be a buffer-state between its neighbors.

In spite of attempts to have all Belgians accept the national motto “Unity makes power,” the religious, social and lingual oppositions were too intense. In a famous letter written in 1913 to the Belgian king, the Walloon politician J. Destrée started out: “Majesty, there are no Belgians.” And indeed, though some faithfully and proudly call themselves Belgians, a three-dimensional opposition always and immediately divides all Belgians into a number of compartments. The first dimension is religious: Catholic or non-Catholic; the second is social: employer or employee; the third is lingual: Dutch-speaking or French-speaking. This threefold opposition has left a dominant mark on one hundred and fifty years of Belgian history and is the basis of the formation of political parties. In the early days of Belgian history, Catholic and liberal parties represented the conflict between church and state—the religious dimension of the opposition. At the end of the nineteenth century the socialist party emerged to defend the interests of the proletariat—the social dimension of the opposition. The opportunist Catholic party broadened itself quickly to a Christian-democrat party in order to include also the believing workmen, since the socialist party, like the liberal, sailed an anticlerical course. In the twentieth century a few ethnic parties joined the political debate—the lingual dimension of the opposition. Flanders thus counts a couple of Flemish parties, oriented to the right, grown out of a Catholic basis.

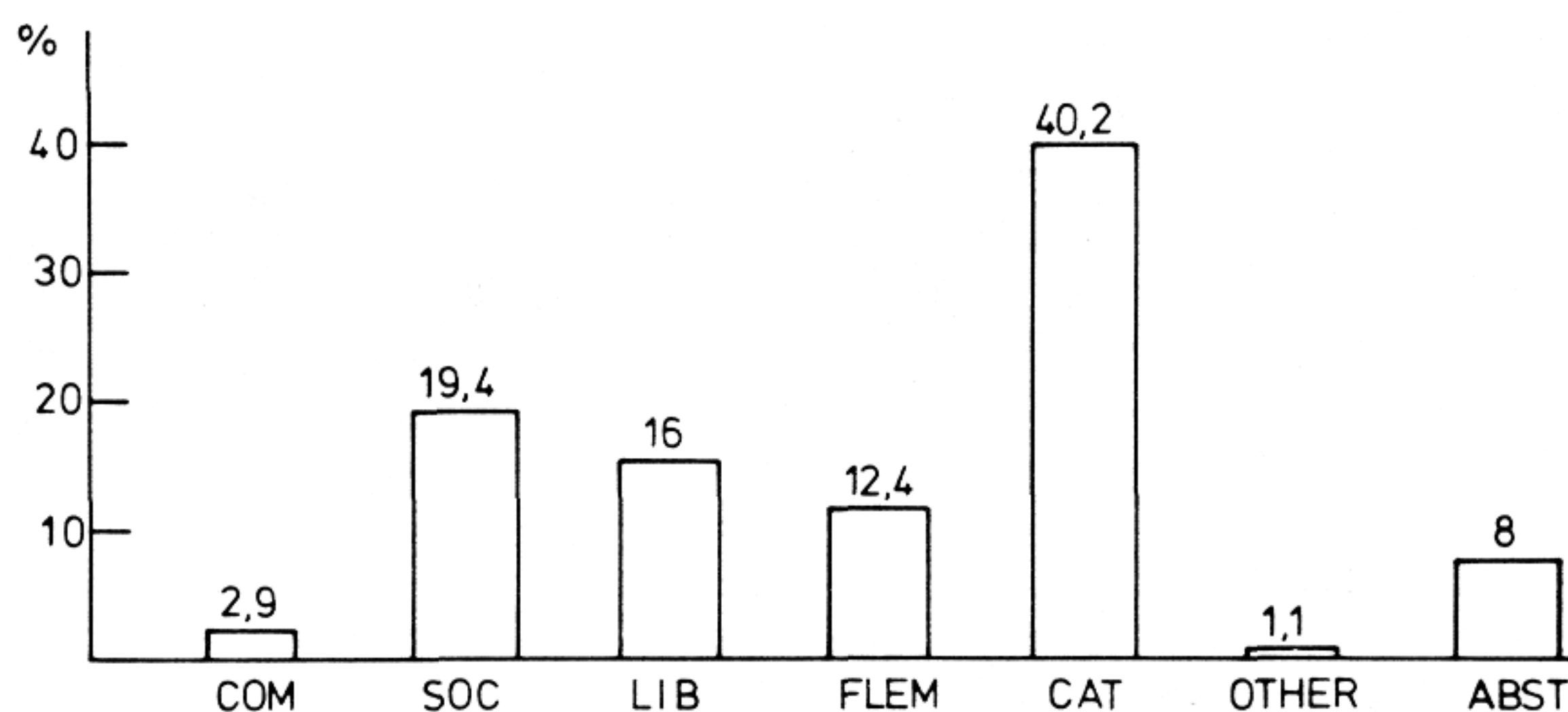
These historical oppositions led to an extreme compartmentalization of the population, since all public sectors are divided into political blocs: the school system, the medical world, the press, the unions, the social security system, sometimes even sports and music organizations know the cleavages into two or even three of the opposing

dimensions. From the day of his birth each Belgian is registered in one compartmentalized bloc or another. However neutral and independent some Belgians may call themselves, the school they send their children to, the newspaper they buy, even the loan they contract, is in fact a choice in the compartmentalization. Even if most people are not involved in conscious ideological debates, they remain conditioned by the structures created by these ideologies.¹

In Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, which has a population of six million people, the 1978 elections (in Belgium, voting is obligatory) gave the breakdown shown in figure 1:

Figure 1

Flemish voting results (1978)



In this political spectrum, the religious dimension, Catholic versus non-Catholic (essentially socialist plus liberal), is the most obvious because the Catholic sector predominates in Flanders, controlling 67 percent of the school system and hospitals, 64 percent of the social security system, and 68 percent of the press.² This, however, does not mean that two-thirds of the Flemish people are active and believing Catholics and the other third are not. The Catholic sector is composed of structures which the Catholic church has engendered but which continue to exist under the heading of a political party. Moreover, many people who align themselves with socialist and liberal structures maintain nominal ties to the Catholic church.

¹See the older but still valid analysis by Val R. Lorwin, "Belgium: Religion, Class and Language in National Politics," in Robert A. Dahl, ed., *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966), 147-87.

²See Mieke Van Haegendoren and Etienne De Jonghe, *Roergangers in de mist: Sociale ongelijkheid en malaise van de besluitvorming in België* (Antwerp/Amsterdam: Standaard Wetenschappelijke Uitgeverij, 1977), 173-76.

Going to church is an elastic notion: the majority of the population go into the Catholic church for their baptism, marriage, and funeral. This means that regular churchgoers will for the most part choose the service of the Catholic sector; but among the adherents to socialist and liberal structures, almost half still have fundamental Catholic habits, without considering themselves Catholic.³

This rather heterogeneous situation also leads to a precarious game of overarching concepts. The official cleavage speaks of Catholic versus non-Catholic, for example, for determining the ideological balance in certain institutions. In some cases an individual must clearly state whether he or she belongs to the one or the other spiritual family. But in everyday speech this opposition is often expressed differently; for example, Christian versus non-Christian, believer versus nonbeliever or freethinker. To be Christian or believing means to be Catholic. And non-Catholics are expected to be non-Christian and freethinking. One can see immediately what kind of identification problems this leads to for Mormons.

Some individuals tack about between Catholicism and anti-Catholicism or artificial neutrality; but, in general, societal dynamism makes it so each Flemish citizen knows exactly how to identify himself in his habits, in his human relations, in his organizational ties, in the usual terminology—whether he is for or against, involved or purportedly aloof. Each Fleming knows where he stands among all these familiar symbols which for many decades have made up the group loyalties of the population.

And then amid this historically evolved, constituted order of things, amid these crystallized patterns, someone becomes a Latter-day Saint.

THE MORMON CONVERT AND THE FLEMISH SOCIO-POLITICAL CANVAS

The underlying theme of this analysis is the importance of the societal ties: man needs to belong to a group, an impulse many even call genetic. As a social being, man possesses his personal identity through his alliance with a reference group, and he achieves his personal balance by a constant but mostly unconscious comparison between identity and belonging. One of the aspects of this belonging is the socio-ideological tie, in the sense of a leaning upon a spiritual family. For the LDS converts in Flanders we will consider three

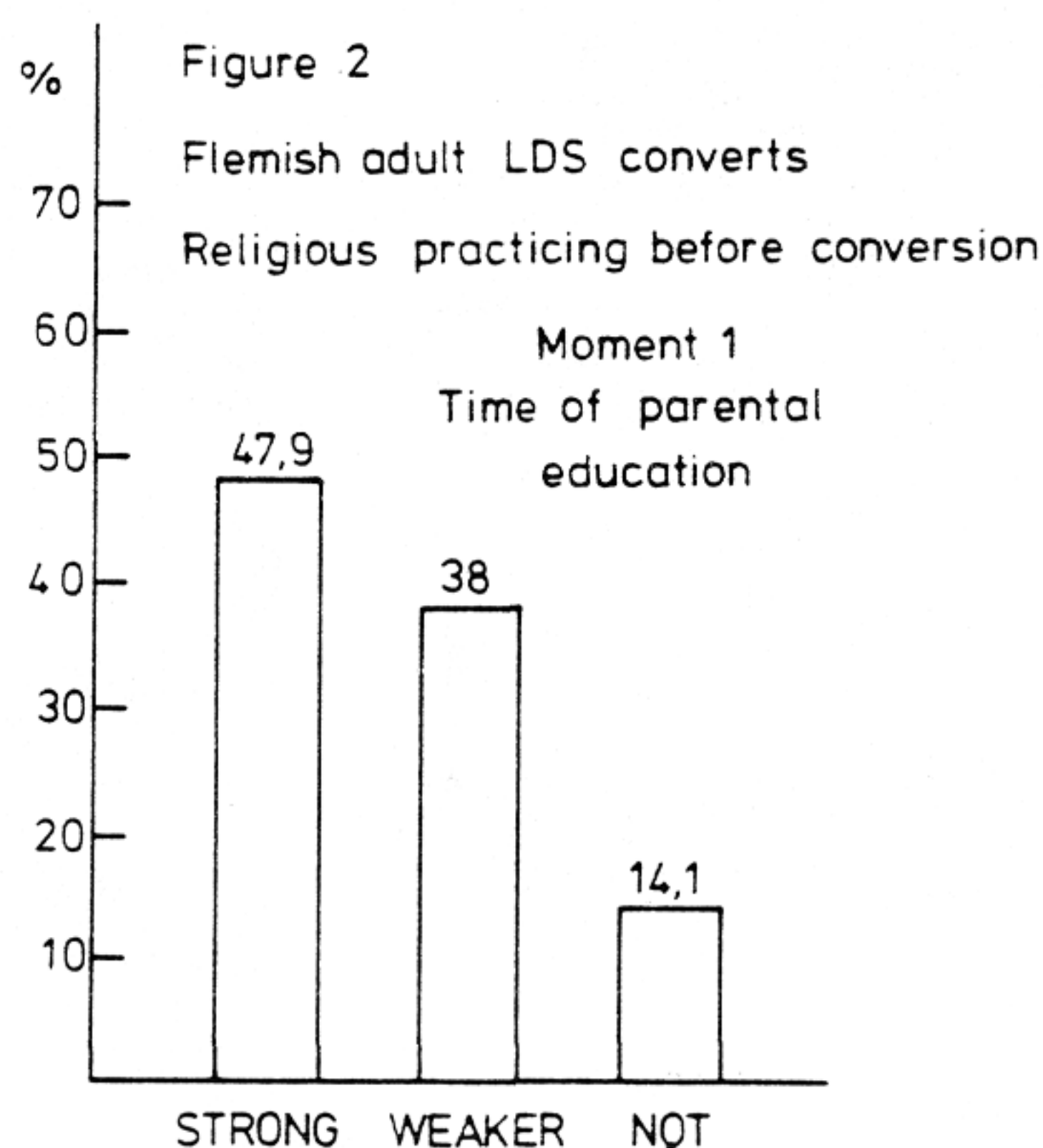
³Van Haegendoren and De Jonghe, *Roergangers in de mist*, 167.

moments in their socio-ideological belonging: (1) at the time of parental education; (2) at the time of acquaintance with the LDS church; (3) at the time of their membership in the Church.

The data are based upon an investigation conducted in January 1981 through anonymous questionnaires sent to all active adult members of five of the thirteen branches of the Flemish mission. The answers received represent 27.8 percent of the total active adult LDS population in the Flemish mission, making the sample representative.⁴

*Moment 1: Socio-Ideological Belonging
at the Time of Parental Education*

Figure 2 shows in a simplified way the answers to the first question on religious educational background.



⁴One hundred and forty questionnaires were sent to the members of five of the thirteen branches in the Belgium Antwerp Mission, which covers the whole of Flanders. Three of these branches had a longer Church history (Antwerp-North, Antwerp-South, and Ghent); two branches had a shorter Church history and are representative of smaller cities, one in the western part of the country (Kortrijk) and one in the eastern part (Hasselt/Genk). These members were all those mentioned in the *Jaaragenda 1980*, published by the Belgium Antwerp Mission, which includes all active and semiactive members. A few of these could have turned inactive in the meantime, but generally speaking the circularized persons were all active LDS. The results thus deal only with active members: it would be interesting to do a comparative investigation dealing with inactive members. Response included 92 persons, or 66 percent, a high ratio for this kind of anonymous correspondence investigation. A calculation based upon the monthly activity report of the Belgium Antwerp Mission in the same period showed that the number of local adult members attending church averaged 330. The sample thus represents 27.8 percent of the total active LDS adult population.

An overwhelming majority were brought up in a religious manner— $47.9 + 38 = 85.9$ percent—practically all Catholic.⁵ Almost half received a strong religious education during childhood.

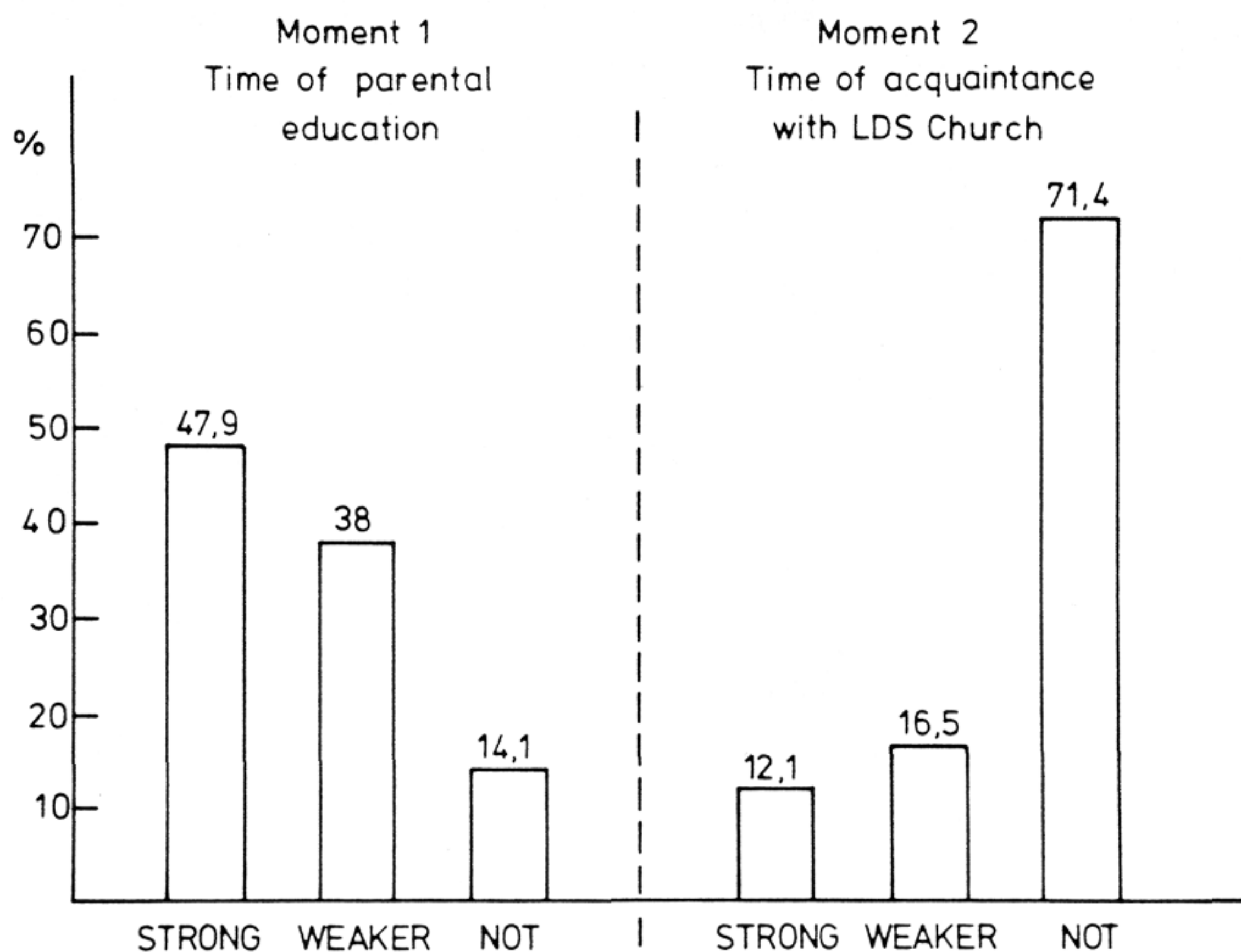
*Moment 2: Socio-Ideological Belonging
at the Time of Acquaintance with the LDS Church*

This important period in the life of converts may indicate the socio-ideological backgrounds that foster receptivity to the restored gospel, through comparison of the representativeness of LDS convert groups according to their compartments of origin in relation to the total spectrum of compartmentalization in Flanders. The questions concerned in the investigation dealt first of all with the eventual evolution of religious practice. An immediate comparison with the situation in moment 1 is most revealing:

Figure 3

Flemish adult LDS converts

Religious practicing before conversion

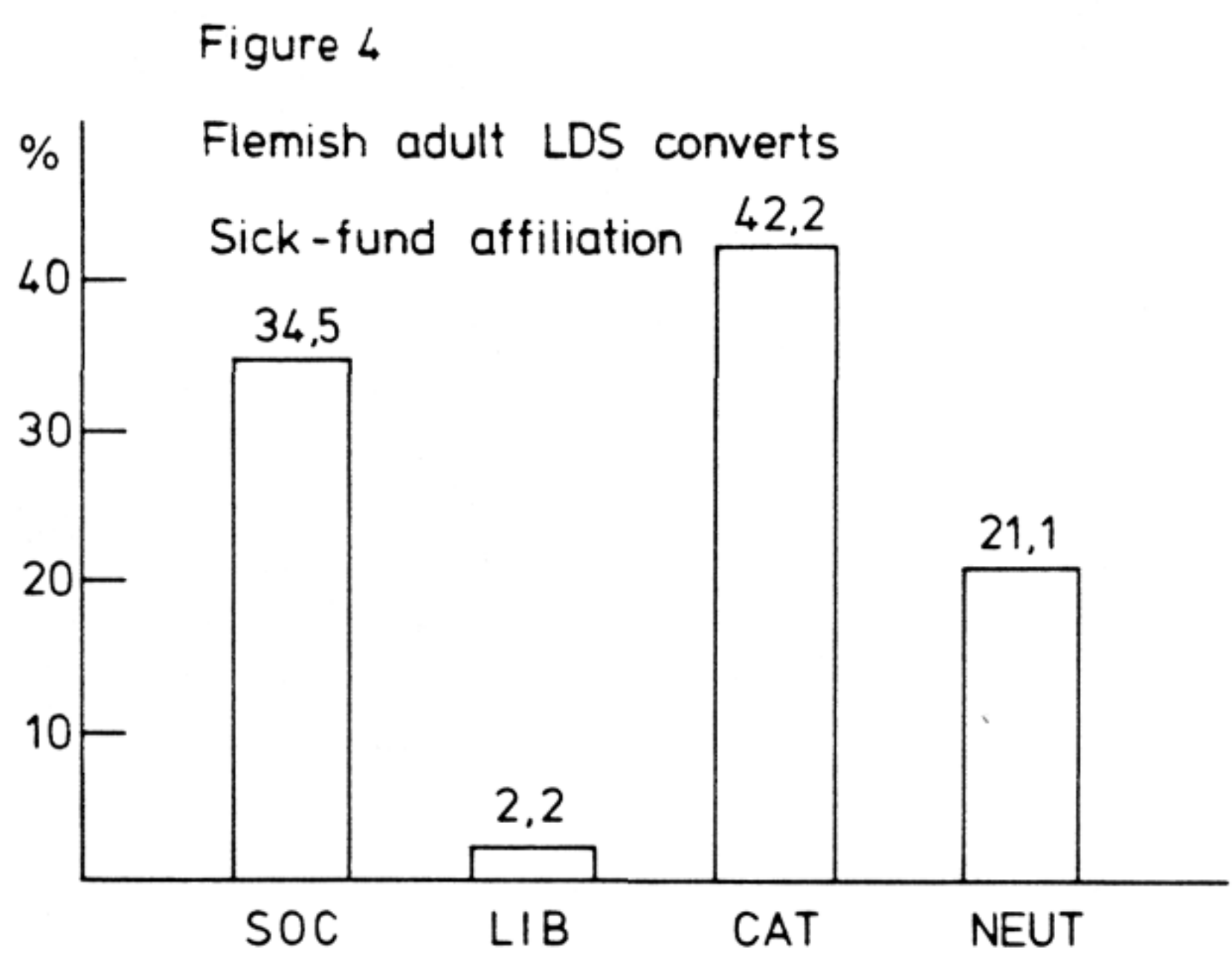


⁵The other affiliations, 3.3 percent, represent in the investigation only a few individuals—an Anglican, a Lutheran, and a Jew—all of foreign origin.

The vast majority, 71.4 percent, of future converts were not practicing any religion at the moment of acquaintance with the LDS church. Except for the minority of 14.1 percent, who were already reared in a nonreligious atmosphere and stay the same in moment 2, the majority have experienced a strong alienation from the Catholic church before the first contact with LDS missionaries.

Figure 3 only confirms a negative process—the alienation from the external religious experience—erroneously giving an impression of predominant ideological apathy. Besides this purely negative aspect of being loosened, the positive aspect of the loosening forces could be studied as reflecting a more or less ideological justification for the loosening itself. However, this cannot easily be demarcated in its deeper boundaries. In our investigation we searched for indications of this ideological justification in the socio-political leanings of these people before their acquaintance with the LDS church. Such leanings can easily be measured through the affiliation in the compartmentalized medical insurance companies and unions, and in the political elections.

Membership in the medical insurance companies can be viewed as the indicator of an intermediate form between childhood and adulthood: As a newborn baby, one obtains a statutory registration in the parental medical insurance company. Some individuals retain that membership, even if in later years their ideological choice changes; others consciously change from the parental medical insurance company to another. The results of the investigation show the following spread. In Flanders there are four possible medical insurance companies or “sick-funds”:



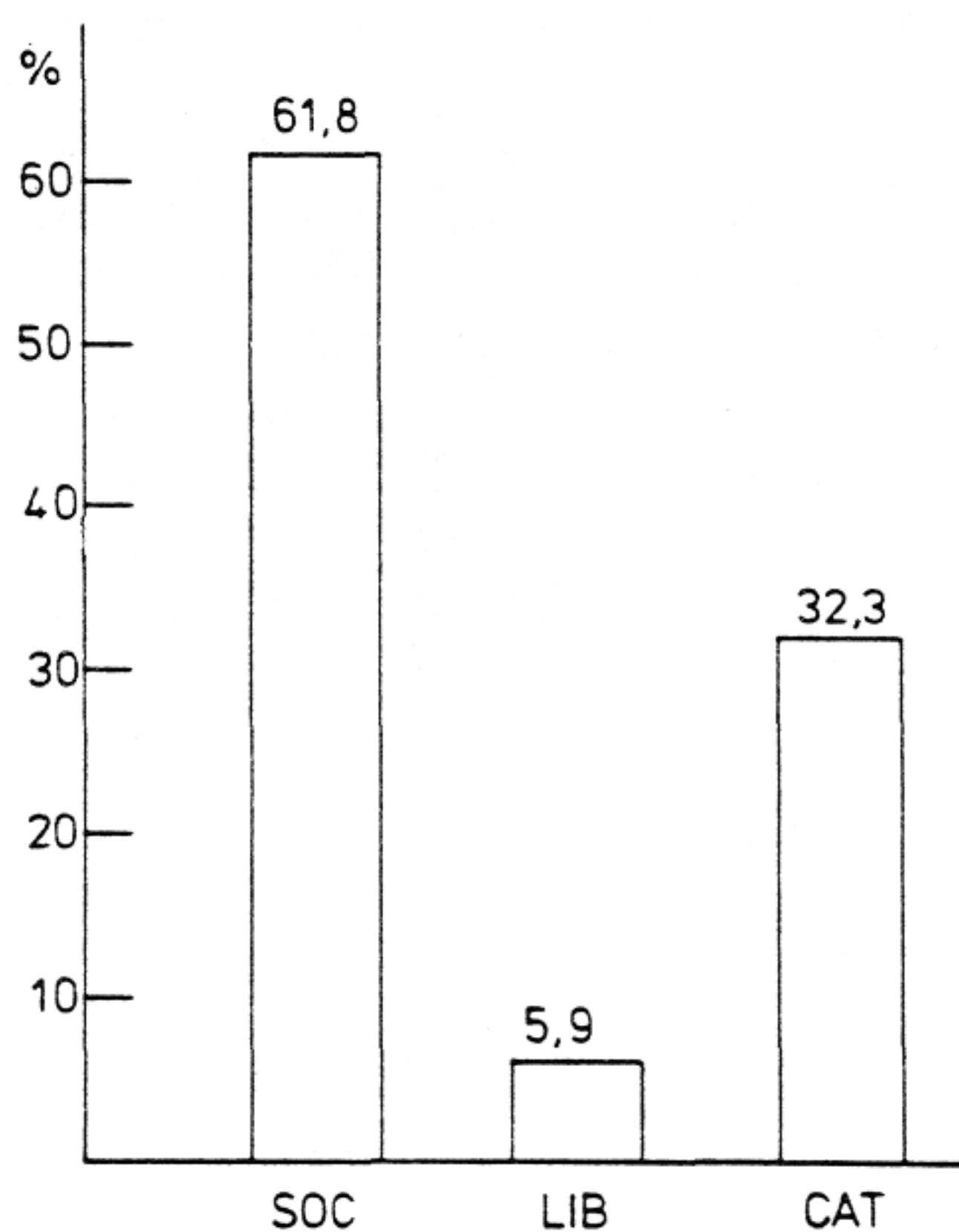
Of the original 85.9 percent who were reared as Catholics (see figure 2), in later years only half are affiliated with the Catholic medical insurance company. One-third of the LDS converts are affiliated with the socialist medical insurance company, while one-fifth prefer the neutral course. The liberal compartment gets very little attention.

To what extent these affiliations represent an intermediate form in an evolution is obvious from the membership in labor unions. People join these organizations voluntarily, usually when they become employees. Of the LDS converts studied, 37 percent are members of a union (in moment 2 as well as in moment 3, without change), spread over the three major compartmentalized groups. There is no neutral union:

Figure 5

Flemish adult LDS converts

Membership in labour unions



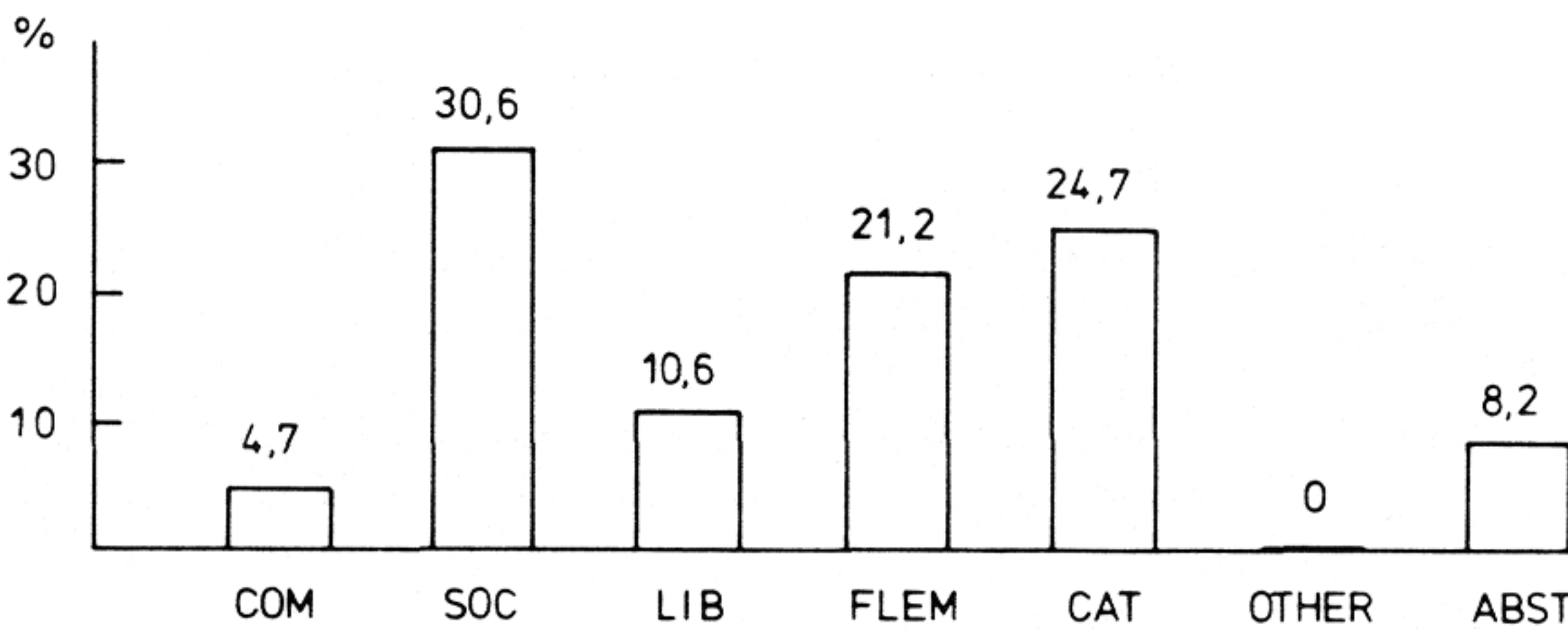
The conscious and voluntary non-Catholic affiliation clearly becomes much stronger here. More than two-thirds of union-affiliated people (61.8 percent + 5.9 percent) choose a non-Catholic course, with absolute preference for the socialist union. Since, in Belgian political terms, this course equates with nonpracticing in religion, the results correspond with the already-mentioned tendency of nonpracticing at the time of acquaintance with the LDS church (see figure 3, moment 2).

The choice in the political elections adds a few more possibilities to the ideological spectrum:

Figure 6

Flemish adult LDS converts

Voting tendencies before conversion

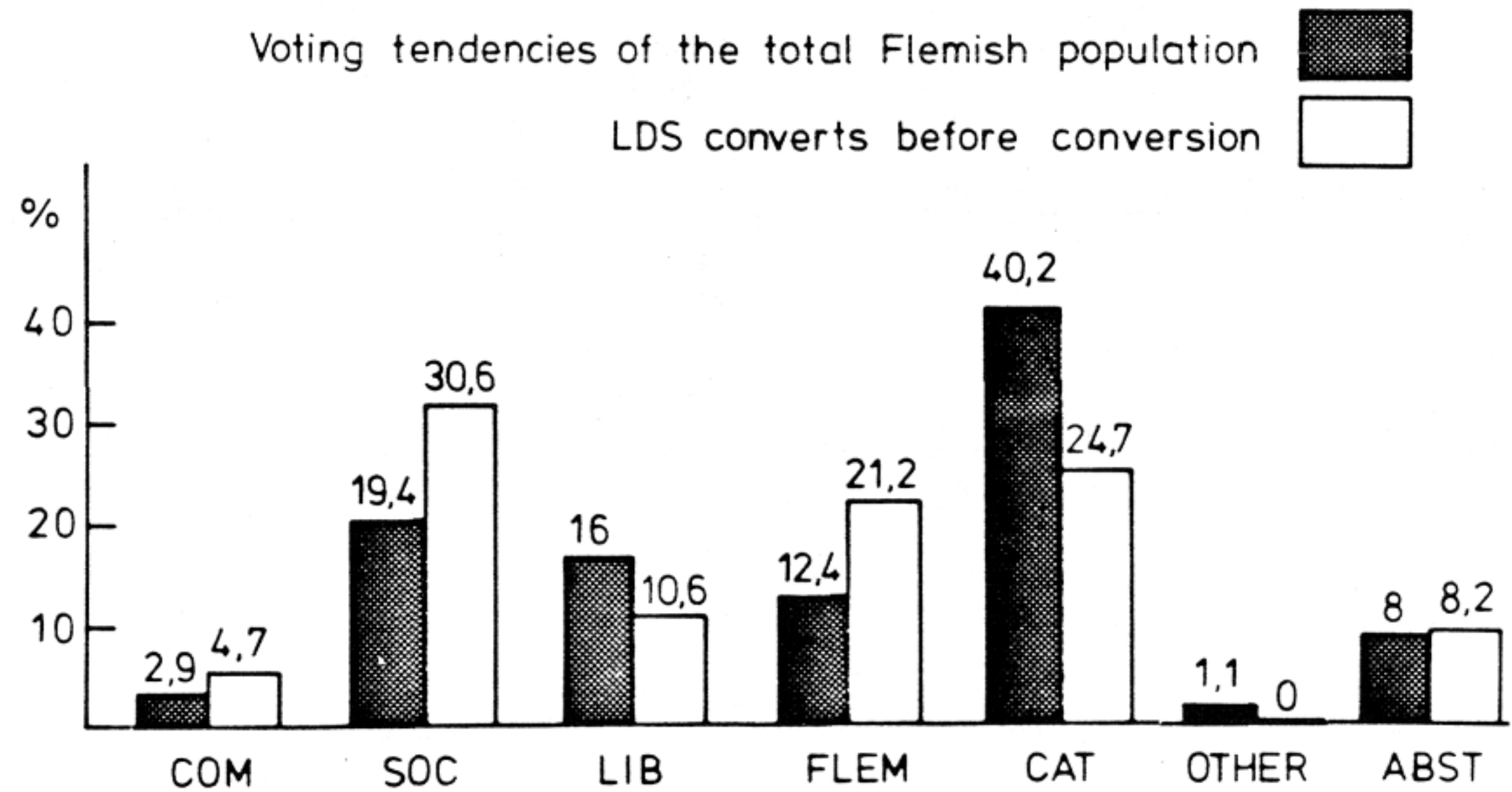


The socialist involvement is the strongest, with 30.6 percent. The first three columns represent the anti-Catholic group, and together they hold 45.9 percent of the votes. As mentioned, the Flemish group grew out of a Catholic basis with strong leanings to the nationalistic right, but it cannot be viewed any more as part of the Catholic forces, which stand on their own with 24.7 percent of the votes.

Really revealing, however, is a comparison of these results with the voting results for the whole Flemish population, as presented earlier in the description of Flanders's political canvas:

Figure 7 Flemish adult LDS converts

Voting tendencies of the total Flemish population
LDS converts before conversion



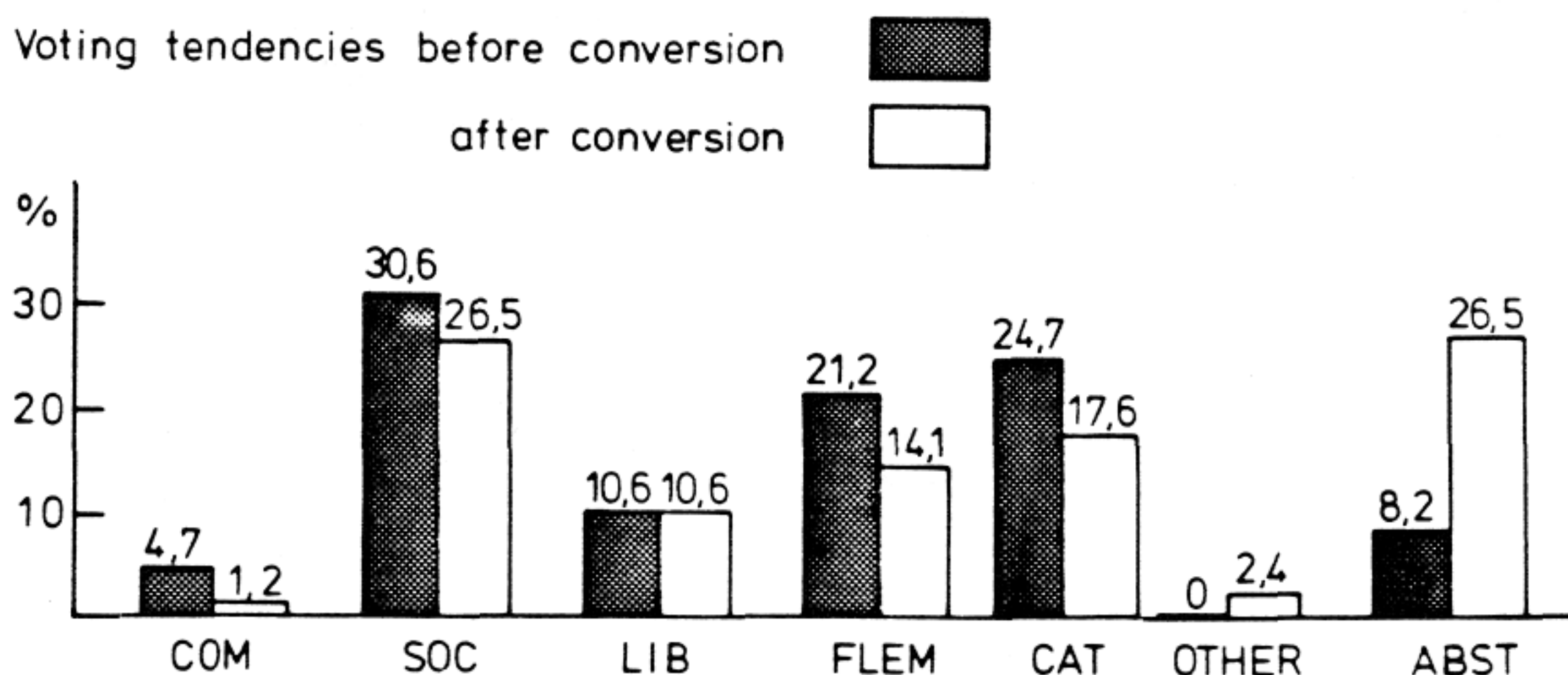
In comparison with the whole population, the future LDS converts show a contrasting pattern: a higher preference for the communist, socialist, and Flemish parties, a lower preference for the liberal and Catholic parties.

*Moment 3: Socio-Ideological Belonging
at the Time of Membership in the LDS Church*

One part of this investigation dealt with the political leanings of converts after they joined the Church, as an indication of their present feeling of socio-ideological belonging. A first question asked the members if they had changed their political choice since joining the Church: 34.1 percent answered that their choice had changed; 65.9 percent that it had not. We then carefully examined the degrees of political stability according to each political party and made a relative calculation of the changes in the political choices according to each party. These smaller shifts to and from each other would take too much time to explain here, and they are not significant in view of the global results, which we present immediately in comparison with the voting tendencies before conversion:

Figure 8

Flemish adult LDS converts



Only the small liberal representation remains constant. A few minuscule milieu parties, classified as "other," gain a few votes. The real movement takes place in the communist, socialist, Flemish, and Catholic parties, which all lose a number of voters when these join the LDS church. Mainly these voters shift to a conscious political negation through abstention. This abstention becomes as strong as the still largest political draw for Flemish Latter-day Saints—the socialist party.

The conclusion is paradoxical if superficially compared with the traditional Mormon political image, that is, responsible concern for politics and aversion to socialism and communism. Among the Flemish LDS converts the reverse tendencies, nonconcern and socialist sympathies, together make up more than half of the Mormon electorate.

TENTATIVE INTERPRETATION OF THE RESULTS

Socialist Sympathies

The British citizens of the Victorian era who joined the Church in vast numbers almost all belonged to the working classes of some urban communities. One of the factors in their receptivity to the gospel was their social disposition: the great majority of these people had become alienated or were in a process of alienation from the constituted religious bodies. According to Jabez Bunting, this alienation was partly due to "radicalism, infidelity and socialism."⁶ This process of alienation, away from the constituted religions and under the impulse of anticlerical and socializing forces preceding the time of acquaintance with the LDS church, seems a rather important factor in the life of many non-American converts, both in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.⁷ However, little appreciation has been shown to the forces that initiated or fostered this valuable process in terms of receptivity to the gospel.

Latter-day Saints believe in the value, even in the divine incentive, of certain preparatory forces and circumstances, such as the discovery of America, the Reformation, and the framing of the Constitution. But little mention of other elements is made. It is of course not surprising that in the Church no appreciation is shown for the forces underlying the above-mentioned alienation process, since for the higher socio-economic classes these forces are the tendencies to agnostic liberalism, and for the lower strata to the broad spectrum of socialist movements. Ecclesiastical spokesmen have unanimously

⁶Jabez Bunting, cited in James B. Allen and Malcom R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840-41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," *BYU Studies* 15 (Summer 1975): 514.

⁷Although more research would be needed, a few well-known LDS converts can be cited: Louis Bertrand, associate of the Utopian Socialist Cabet and editor of the daily *Le Populaire* (see Wilfried Decoo, "The Image of Mormonism in French Literature: Part I," *BYU Studies* 14 [Winter 1974]: 168); Frederik Ferdinand Samuelsen, Social Democrat parliamentarian in Denmark (see personal correspondence with Richard Jensen, 20 February 1981); Arthur Henry King, "If it had not been for Marx, I should not yet be in this Church, if at all" (cited in F. LaMond Tullis, ed., *Mormonism: A Faith for All Cultures* [Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978], 356); Seiji Katanuma, "Before joining the Church I was myself a Marxist" (cited in Tullis, *Mormonism*, 357).

spoken out against these forces, which have been easily labeled as the satanic philosophies of freethinkers, atheists, and communists.

However, in the last ten years a few rare voices in the Church—especially F. LaMond Tullis—have called attention to the complexity and the deeply human sources of some of these forces, especially in Latin America and in countries behind the Iron Curtain.⁸ A newly emerging consciousness tries to avoid precipitate identifications and global condemnations, to permit a look first at the human reality behind these identifications: humans as children of God and candidates for eternal life, maybe more interested in the gospel because of the forces that alienated them from the constituted religions and that made them sensitive to human needs in terms of social justice.

From a statistical point of view we cannot deny that these forces can have a positive influence on receptivity to the gospel. In Flanders the people with socialist backgrounds are not only more numerous in the Church than in the whole population, but in a comparison of the average time a convert needs to become baptized after the initial contact, we discovered that a practicing Catholic needs an average of 8.5 months, whereas someone already estranged from this experience reaches the baptismal goal in an average of 4.5 months.⁹

It becomes difficult therefore to ignore the meaning of socialism or similar ideological trends in an international Mormon perspective. But the question of meaning must first pass through the question of terminology—which we will not attempt to untangle here. Socialism has different political connotations in Western Europe or Latin America than in the United States. It does credit to our inspired Church authorities that they realize these differences and take them into account.¹⁰

⁸F. LaMond Tullis, "Politics and Society: Anglo-American Mormons in a Revolutionary Land," *BYU Studies* 13 (Winter 1973): 126–34; F. LaMond Tullis, "Mormonism and Revolution in Latin America," *BYU Studies* 16 (Winter 1976): 235–49; F. LaMond Tullis, "The Church Moves Outside the United States: Some Observations from Latin America," *Dialogue* 13 (Spring 1980): 63–73. See also Robert R. King on the situation in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe: "The Communist governments have set in motion social and economic changes that are beginning to weaken this link [between religion and nationality]. . . . And by encouraging social, political, and economic change the Communist parties in Eastern Europe are preparing the field for the harvest" (Robert R. King, "Religion and Communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe," *BYU Studies* 15 [Spring 1975]: 346–47). Robert S. Jordan also recognizes proselyting opportunities created by political change. However, he identifies the underlying forces by the ambiguous term *secularization* and views this as only part of "non-communist authoritarian political systems" (Robert S. Jordan with Parley W. Newman, Jr., "The Political Challenges: Mormons, Governments and Politics," in Tullis, *Mormonism*, 298).

⁹We should recognize, however, that for these averages the variances were rather high.

¹⁰For example, various directives for absolute neutrality in countries with leftist tendencies; various public relation offensives through BYU performance groups in communist countries; the decision not to publish in the non-English Church magazines an anticommunist general conference talk by President Ezra Taft Benson (October 1979); "'realist' accommodation between the Church and Communist regimes" (see Ray C. Hillam, "Utopian and Realistic Thought in International Relations: Some Scriptural Prospectives," *Dialogue* 13 [Winter 1980]: 106; see also Bill Heaton, "Mormonism and Maoism: The Church and People's China," *Dialogue* 13 [Spring 1980]: 40–50).

A small digression on the same theme: For a long time we have lived with the intrusive and simplistic representation of ideological confrontation between two blocs—capitalism and communism, or the bloc-dichotomy—as a determinant for the freedom or the prohibition to spread the gospel. But this bloc-dichotomy concept pays no regard to the complex variegations of communist and socialist movements in countries other than the Soviet Union, or to the freedom, including that of religion, these forces may represent versus other ideological factors.

The simple bloc-dichotomy would have us believe that the West European democracies, because they belong to the noncommunist world, are not obstructing preaching the gospel. In his study on "The International System and the Missionary Church," I feel Martin B. Hickman incorrectly makes this generalization.¹¹ We need in these areas a more differentiated approach. One of the most negative factors in limiting the spread of the gospel has been and sometimes still is the status of Catholicism and the bonds between the Catholic church and the local power structures in certain countries. The loosening of these bonds during the rise of socialist or communist forces provides greater freedom of movement and exchange.¹² The point is that these forces are anticlerical, not necessarily antireligious.

In view of the Flemish statistics, of the historical example of England, and of many similar situations outside the United States, one could even see socialism in its positive connotations as a seal-breaker of deceiving structures and doctrines and as an amplifier of receptivity to the gospel. To paraphrase L. Dwight Israelsen in his statement on America as host society for the Restoration, one might dare to state that socialism is the host ideology for Mormonism in many other places.¹³

Nonconcern for Politics

The second item for interpretation is the phenomenon of deliberate abstention from politics, which abstention grows spectacularly—from 8.2 percent to 26.5 percent—when people become members of the Church, this in spite of the recommendation of Church authorities that members be politically responsible and take a conscious part in political choices.¹⁴ The phenomenon can clearly be imputed to the perturbations which becoming a Mormon causes for the individual in

¹¹Martin B. Hickman, "The International System and the Missionary Church," in *American Heritage: A Syllabus for Social Science 100* (Provo: Brigham Young University Publications, 1976), 607.

¹²See also J. Michael Cleverly, "The Church and la Politica Italiano," *Dialogue* 13 (Spring 1980): 105–7.

¹³L. Dwight Israelsen, "Mormons, the Constitution, and the Host Economy," in *American Heritage*, A-56–76.

¹⁴For example, Letter of the First Presidency, 29 June 1979.

the presence of the prescriptive and customary compartmentalization. Conversion brings into being a new ideological consciousness that makes it difficult to fit into the existing compartments. This is obvious from the commentaries many members add to the investigation sheets to justify their political or nonpolitical choice.

Some Mormons justify an affiliation toward a certain socio-political group by attaching themselves to a single characteristic of the group. Thus a few declare that they vote for the Catholic party because it fights abortion; others, because it carries the emblem "Christian" on its flag. Several mention that they choose the socialist party because it shows the greatest concern for man as a human being. Still another comments that he votes for a national Flemish party because it is the only neutral party in the religious controversy. One liberal voter states that the people in the liberal party are the best educated, and another that this party guarantees the most freedom.

The feeling of affiliation can also be negatively selective: A few Latter-day Saints remark that they reject the Catholic party because of its outspoken intolerance toward Mormons.¹⁵ One person indicates his aversion to the national Flemish movement because it is fanatical and racist. Among the large number of abstentionists the comments are related: All parties are imposters, corruption is rampant, parties make the country ungovernable. Such statements are sometimes seasoned with chiliastic hope: Mormons can vote only for Jehovah, and the Kingdom of God will do away with all that political poison.

All in all, this diversity is more a chaotic search for identity. But one of the problems that makes some of these individual positions so categorical in their uncertainty is a faltering and contradictory assessment of the place of the Mormon community in relation to the prevailing ideologies. The historical perspective helps us to understand the problem, which is the evolution in the identification of the ideologies surrounding the Church. Members who joined twenty years ago have known the outspoken anti-Catholicism typified by the first edition of *Mormon Doctrine*, in which the Catholic church was referred to as the Church of the Devil. Members who join now receive a more diplomatic explanation of the "Church of the Devil," and they hear the proud news releases of positive contacts with other churches.¹⁶ In a similar perspective, the altering image of America—once the society of the

¹⁵This charge is related to a 1979 case when two Flemish LDS schoolteachers working in Catholic schools were dismissed because of their religious convictions.

¹⁶For an analysis of a comparable evolution in the RLDS church, see Howard J. Booth, "Shifts in Restoration Thought," *Dialogue* 13 (Fall 1980): 79-92.

promised land, of golden dreams, now stained with Vietnam, Watergate, El Salvador, CIA—raises a malaise over the classical confusion between Mormonism and capitalism or between Zion and the United States.¹⁷ Even more critical in the same sphere is the rupture that “socialist” Mormons can painfully experience between (1) themselves as inveterate opponents of a complacent bourgeoisie, sympathizers with the underdog, and (2) the affluent middle class, the cult of success which American Latter-day Saints project in Church publications and films.¹⁸ Finally, regarding the positive or negative identification of socialist tendencies, recent voices and events point out that here also, after the traditional and global LDS condemnations of socialism and communism, a turn of the tide may come into view on a still misty horizon.

The consequence of all these apparent hitches and contradictions is that a large group wearily chooses political noninvolvement, and that among the others no one can feel fully at home in one of the traditional compartments. This leads to a breach position with society—a phenomenon which the interpretation of certain scriptures and statements encourages. Objectively seen, this breach position has a positive side contributing to the unity of the local LDS community. For many, neutrality toward, and even repugnance to, the political arena is an insurance of brotherhood in the gospel. In the same vein, those who still have a political preference never talk about it: by tacit agreement the subject is taboo. This is the sphere which Hugh Nibley so aptly describes as “beyond politics.”¹⁹

But this triggers a last consideration. One of the greatest concerns for the spreading of the gospel is the participation of local members in active missionary work. The facts reveal that in spite of all the encouragements and challenges, the initiative to do missionary work is not easily taken by most members in Flanders, nor elsewhere in similar socio-psychological situations. Many factors play their role in this, but one is probably the breach position with the surrounding society: many members unconsciously experience the initiative to introduce the gospel as a betrayal of the conventional and time-honored symbols and boundaries of the fixed compartmentalization. But more than this, they unconsciously hesitate to become responsible for

¹⁷On this theme, see Gustav H. Blanke, “God’s Base of Operations: Mormon Variations on the American Sense of Mission,” *BYU Studies* 20 (Fall 1979): 83–92; Garth N. Jones, “Expanding LDS Church Abroad: Old Realities Compounded,” *Dialogue* 13 (Spring 1980): 8–22; John L. Sorenson, “Mormon World View and American Culture,” *Dialogue* 8 (Summer 1973): 17–29.

¹⁸See also J. K. Davies, “The Mormon Church: Its Middle-Class Propensities,” *Review of Religious Research* 4 (1962): 84–95.

¹⁹Hugh Nibley, “Beyond Politics,” *BYU Studies* 15 (Autumn 1974): 3–28.

implicating another person in what they themselves often still experience as a traumatic quest for identity. This explains why, on the other hand, most members find no difficulty whatsoever in actively and enthusiastically helping in missionary work, once the first contact has been made by someone else.

The solution to this problem of taking the initiative probably does not lie in still more admonitions and challenges to the members, since this mainly increases the malaise of fear and guilt, but in a broader forum of balanced information on the Church in the world, in the fostering of a confident relation between members and the daily aspects of life, and in the building of bridges to the existing compartments. In such and other ways members could be helped to experience Mormonism less as a new compartment on the canvas, an essentially differentiating function, and more as a suprasegmental force, functionally separated from the compartments but needfully present in each of them through the Church's individual Latter-day Saints and through its universal message of salvation.

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Y mae hyn yn ddigon i wrthbrofi holl gamgyhuddiadau y dyn hwn yn erbyn Joseph Smith *wedi hyn*, gan na welodd ef byth wed'yn. Cofier hefyd mai ar ol y pryd hyn y cyhoeddodd yr oll a wnaeth. Ond i ddychwelyd at hanes Nauvoo.

Yr oedd pob peth yn myned yn mlaen ar gynnydd cyflym yma er y cwbl, a lluoedd o Saint yn ymgasglu yno o'r taleithiau ereill, o Frydain, a pharthau ereill o'r byd; a llwyddiant anarferol ar yr efengyl yn mhob man. Etto, nid anfynych y cyfodid terfysg yn erbyn Joseph Smith, ar ryw gamgyhuddiadau, a'r mwyaf niweidiol a chreulon oedd yr hyn wedi hyn a gynnyddodd nes lladd Joseph Smith, a'i frawd Hyrum, yn ngharchar Carthage, yr hyn a gymmerodd le fel y canlyn; a goddefer i ni fanylu gyda'r hanes yn ol a welsom â'n llygaid er ein galar; canys mae mawredd y person nodedig, mawredd ac iawn ddeallwriaeth am y grefydd ag y dyoddefodd gymmaint o'i herwydd am dros bymtheg mlynedd, a geirwiredd pa un a seliodd â'i waed, ynghyd â bod cymmaint o gamddarluniadau o'r naill a'r llall, oll yn teilynga manylrwydd ar y mater hwn.

PENNOD XXI.

MERTHYRDOD JOSEPH SMITH A'I FRAWD HYRUM!

Yr oedd rhyw *glan* o ddyhyrod rhagrithiol yn Nauvoo a gyhuddid o laddradau, gwneyd arian drwg, a'r cyffelyb: ond methwyd cael profion o'u heuogrwydd am yspaid, yr hyn a achosodd i Joseph Smith gyhoeddi y rhoddai yn wobwr bum cant o *ddollars* i'r neb a ddygai brofion digonol i'w herbyn i'w alluogi ef i roddi diwedd ar eu drygioni. Yr oedd rhai o honynt yn yr eglwys mewn enw; a chafwyd tystion digonol i ysgymuno wyth neu ddeg o'r rhai a dybid yn euog. Parodd diwydrwydd a phenderfyniad Joseph Smith i garthu y ddinas yn lân oddiwrth y fath ddyhyrod i'w hanathemau ymarllwys ar ei ben ef. Aml yr ymosodent arno yn greulon, ac y bygythient ei fywyd, fel y gorfu iddo gael gwyliadwriaeth o amgylch ei dy yn y nos. Yn mis Ebrill, 1844, crynhöodd amryw o'r dialwyr hyn at dy Joseph Smith, a chlywais hwynt yn ei gymenu a'i ddifenwi yn greulon ac afresymol iawn gyda bygythiadau llym, ar yr addefiad mai yn unig oherwydd ei wrthwynebiad iddynt, a'i ysgymundod o honynt. Er y cyfan, ni fygythiodd yn ol, ond ymresymai yn dirion i'w herbyn, gan eu hannog i adael eu ffyrdd drygionus.

Yn mhen ychydig ddyddiau wed'yn, dvgwyd cyhuddiad yn erbyn un o'u plaid, o'r enw A. Spencer, gan ei frawd naturiol, o fod yn euog o greulondeb at ei fam oedranus, a'i theulu diamddiffyn. Amddiffynodd ei blaid ef yn erbyn y swyddogion gwladol, rhag dyfod i arholiad, nes eu gorchfygu, a'i ddwyn ganddynt i'r *Court House*. Yr oedd Joseph Smith yno; ac un o'r blaid, o'r enw Foster, a ruthrodd ato drwy'r dorf gyda llaw-ddryll llwythog; a phan oedd o fewn troedfedd i'w fynwes, ac ar saethu, yr achubodd J. Smith ei fywyd drwy grafangu y llaw-ddryll, a'i ddwyn oddiarno; ereill a fygythiasant ei saethu; ac yr oedd cenfigen y rhai hyn gymmaint i'w erbyn y pryd hyn, fel y lluchiasant gerig at ei ben yn y dyrfa! Er hyn ni ddialodd

First page of "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum!"
from *Hanes Saint y Dyddiau Diweddaf*

The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum

by Dan Jones

Introduction by Ronald D. Dennis

While operating his steamboat, *The Maid of Iowa*, up and down the Mississippi River during 1842, Captain Dan Jones first heard of the Mormons through the accusations of editor Thomas Sharp and others. Incredulous that the Mormons could be guilty of all the evil attributed to them, Jones eventually sought some missionaries of this new religion in order to gain firsthand information concerning their beliefs and practices. After several late-night conversations, he perceived that he “was almost a full-fledged Mormon already.” The prospect of converting to Mormonism, however, left him apprehensive as he contemplated the erosion of his popularity and the lucrative livelihood he had from his steamboat.

Unable, however, to refute the precepts of Mormonism, Jones became an adept and was baptized in the icy waters of the Mississippi on 19 January 1843. He had not yet met the Prophet Joseph Smith but had the opportunity about three months later when he transported a group of English converts to Nauvoo in April.

Dan Jones was totally captivated by the charismatic Joseph from their first meeting and remained faithful to their friendship through the Martyrdom and to his own death in 1862 in Provo, Utah.

Dan Jones accompanied Joseph and Hyrum to Carthage and was with them in the jail during their last night in mortality. On that occasion the Prophet uttered his final prophecy; he declared that Jones would live through the events in Carthage and return to his native Wales and fulfill the mission to which he had been called earlier.

Three times during the next thirty-six hours Dan Jones had narrow escapes from death. Just hours before the mob fired into the jail cell Jones was given a letter to take to Orville H. Browning in Quincy. The letter was a request for Browning's services in representing Joseph and Hyrum at their trial, but it was interpreted by mob members as an appeal to the Nauvoo Legion to come to the rescue. Taking advantage of the mob's momentary indecision, Jones mounted his horse and rode off in a hail of bullets. He inadvertently took the wrong road on his way to Nauvoo (where he was to take the night boat to Quincy) and thus avoided a group intent on killing him. The next day after going to Quincy and learning of the Martyrdom, Jones hid on a steamboat owned by a friend. Suspecting that Jones was there, some of the mob who had a gallows prepared for him came on board to seize him. Hiding under a mattress, Jones avoided death for a third time.

Dan Jones fulfilled Joseph Smith's prophecy within just a few months after the Martyrdom by returning to his native Wales and serving a four-year mission among his compatriots. He broke through the barriers of opposition by use of the printing press and produced numerous pamphlets, a monthly periodical and a 288-page scriptural commentary in support of Mormonism. When he arrived in Wales in early 1845, there were about two hundred fifty Welsh converts. And when he left Wales in February of 1849, there were nearly four thousand Welshmen who called themselves Mormons. Much of this astounding growth can be attributed to the Welsh publications which Jones wrote and which his non-Mormon brother, John Jones, printed on his press at Rhyd-y-bont, Carmarthenshire.

Among the publications was a small book of 104 pages entitled *History of the Latter-day Saints, from their establishment in the year 1823 until the time that three hundred thousand of them were exiled from America because of their religion, in the year 1846*. A mosaic whose component parts originated from several different sources, the history was advertised as being just off the press in July 1847. Over thirty percent of the book was written by Jones and was based on his personal experience after converting to Mormonism four years earlier. Part of Jones's original portion is his account of the Martyrdom, one of the first published accounts by one who was with Joseph and Hyrum Smith at Carthage. Because Dan Jones's Welsh report of the Martyrdom has remained untranslated until now, it has been unavailable to the majority of those interested in Church history.

Two renditions of Dan Jones's report of the Martyrdom are presented here. The first selection is the translation from Welsh of

“The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum!” The second report was written by Jones nine years after his Welsh rendition. It is a letter to Thomas Bullock in 1855 and contains a few more details than the earlier account.



Dan Jones

The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother, Hyrum!

[The following account was published in Welsh in July 1847 by Capt. Dan Jones as chapter twenty-one of his Hanes Saint y Dyddiau Diweddaf, o'u sefydliad yn y flwyddyn 1823, hyd yr amser yr alltudiwyd tri chan mil o honynt o'r America oherwydd eu crefydd, yn y flwyddyn 1846. (History of the Latter-day Saints, from their establishment in the year 1823, until the time that three hundred thousand of them were exiled from America because of their religion, in the year 1846), 73-83.]

There was some clan of hypocritical rascals in Nauvoo who were accused of thefts, making bad money and the like; but proofs of their guilt could not be found for a time, which caused Joseph Smith to make known that he would give a \$500 reward to anyone who could bring sufficient proofs against them to enable him to put an end to their misdeeds. Some of them were nominal members of the Church, and sufficient witnesses were obtained to excommunicate eight or ten of those supposed to be guilty. Joseph Smith's diligence and determination caused the city to be cleansed completely from such rascals and also caused their curses to be poured out upon him. They would frequently attack him cruelly and threaten his life so that he had to keep a watch around his house at night. In April 1844 some of these avengers gathered at Joseph Smith's house, and I heard them reproving and maligning him cruelly and unreasonably with severe threats, admitting that it was only out of his opposition to them and because he had excommunicated them. In spite of everything, he did not return their threats; rather he reasoned kindly with them, exhorting them to leave their wicked ways.

A few days later an accusation was brought against one of their party named A. Spencer by his natural brother that he was guilty of cruelty to his aged mother and his helpless family. His party defended him against the civil officials from coming to a hearing until they were overcome, and he was brought to the courthouse. Joseph Smith was there, and one of the party, by the name of Foster, rushed toward him with a loaded revolver; and when he was within a foot from his breast and about to shoot, J. Smith saved his life by grabbing the revolver and taking it from him; there were others who threatened to shoot him; these men were so jealous of him at that time that they threw rocks at him in the crowd! In spite of it all, he did not seek revenge; rather the guilty party was fined for his accused transgressions, and some of his party were allowed to bear the expense.

After that the malice of this party increased more and more, and soon they bought a press and put it into operation in Nauvoo under a public admission that their aim was revenge on Joseph Smith and the other inhabitants who were prey for their jealousy. They knew by then from experience how great the influence of the press was to

stimulate persecution against the Saints; and this was the way they expected to succeed in stirring up the people from far away to riot and to take their vengeance on Nauvoo. They published a newspaper by the name of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, which was owned and edited by this group only; and it contained the most disgraceful stories and the most shameful and injurious slanders they could imagine, not only about Joseph Smith but also about some of the best-known inhabitants and merchants of the city, men and women. A verdict was brought against them, and a large fine of compensation was assessed against them by the law of the land; but it did not do any good, for they had anticipated that by giving their property to someone else so that they could not be apprehended.

At last the city court took the matter under advisement; and after a detailed and thorough examination of the laws of the land to see what they could do with the press, it was first understood by lawyers of other places that the printing license which the state had granted gave the City Council (which contained twelve honorable gentlemen of the city, hardly any of them Saints) to determine what constituted a nuisance and how such should be dealt with. As a consequence, the Mayor of the city gave an order to the chief of police, who took about forty policemen, and they took the press from the building to the street and broke it to pieces. That night it happened that some of the party were going away through the country, and they took this opportunity to say that "Joseph Smith was against freedom of the press," something considered a great wrong in that country. They also said that their office and everything was burned by the Mormons, urging everyone to join with them for revenge. They were caught in their deceit that night. Some of their party were left there for the purpose of trying to set fire to the building themselves to magnify the offense, but their deception came to light when the police discovered the fire in time and put it out before it succeeded in burning the office; and the others, taking for granted the success of their partners, prophesied it for a fact. Then this wicked party left the city and set about to excite the country, some who knew no better, and many of them who did not wish to know.

A warrant was obtained from one Smith, a justice of Carthage, against Joseph Smith and his brother and against the entire City Council, summoning them before him to defend themselves in the face of the accusation of destroying the press. In the meantime Joseph Smith was informed that a trap was being set to get him to Carthage, and that he would not leave there alive, and that through such a warrant they could take him there, and that the summons of the other persons was falsified just to get him there. And the informant said that that justice who had signed the warrant was to sit in judgment,

and that he was one of the main instigators of the trap with the owners of the press. After this man had testified to this under oath, his testimony was written down, and Joseph Smith sent it by messenger to the governor of the state (who lived in Springfield, over three hundred miles from Nauvoo), asking for his protection and a fair trial.

Soon after this the county sheriff from Carthage came with the warrant. I was standing by Joseph Smith's side when he came. He demanded that he go without delay to Carthage! Joseph Smith read in the warrant about the freedom which was granted to all men, i.e., "to appear before the magistrate who had issued it or the one closest by." But this freedom was denied to Joseph Smith. Then J. Smith informed the sheriff that he was willing to go with him to some other magistrate. "No," said he with an atrocious oath, "you must come to Carthage without delay, and you cannot go to any other place." This proved the reality of the trap, and Joseph Smith refused to go to Carthage, as the laws of self-defense instructed him and any other man to refrain from going to the slaughter until it was necessary. At that the sheriff summoned him and the others before Judge Wells, where after an inquiry they were proven innocent.

The sheriff returned and said that Joseph Smith had refused to obey the law of the land, which was a nice, useful excuse for them to send messengers through the country in the name of the sheriff to force the number they wanted to gather as a "Posse Comitatus" to assist him in carrying out his function and bring Joseph Smith to Carthage; and great was the excitement they caused throughout the country. The avengers of the Saints boasted that they were invested with civil authority and used every trick, together with forging the name of the captains of the militia, and even the name of the governor of the state.

Also that man Sharp, whom we have mentioned before, published summonses calling the entire militia to gather at Carthage or Warsaw to mobilize against Joe Smith, etc. Within a few days he boasted that they had 7,000 armed men ready for the attack on Nauvoo! Yes, he set the day and the hour, together with the manner of the attack, and many threats which were shameful to the country, such as they would kill everyone in Nauvoo, and they would burn the city if they did not get Joseph Smith, etc. These threats caused the Nauvoo militia to gather together to defend the city, and again messengers were sent to the governor of the state to report the state of affairs and to request his instructions as to how to proceed. But the messengers of the rioters had gone first and had already influenced the governor to believe their false portrayals; and instead of examining both sides he visited Carthage, the main gathering place of the opposition. And there he found several thousand who had assembled and were feasting

on the cattle, the sheep and the pigs which they had stolen from the Saints, and getting drunk on the liquor which their leaders had prepared to get them ready to shed innocent blood.

Governor Ford listened to their accusations together with their threats (for they did not hesitate to threaten him to his face that he would have the same fate if he stood in the way of their determination to get "Joe Smith"). And on 22 June 1844 he sent the same sheriff with the same warrant accompanied by a strong escort to Nauvoo to fetch those who were accused. It was nighttime when they arrived, and they received a big welcome from Joseph Smith and food for themselves and their horses. He promised to return with them the next morning if they would wait, fearing that he would be killed on the way by the mobbers; but they would not wait and returned saying that he had refused to come and that they had barely escaped with their lives from the city!

At the same time Joseph Smith sent word to inform the governor of the truth, but the latter had believed the mobbers more and more by then; and the messengers were thrown in jail in Carthage as spies. Others went, but the same thing happened. Others went on Sunday, June 23rd, and they assured the governor that Joseph Smith and the others would come there Monday morning if he would swear that they would get a trial before being killed, which he very fairly promised. Monday morning, according to his promise, J. Smith and his brother and about twenty of us, including the City Council, went toward Carthage.

And even though J. Smith could have saved himself from their clutches in many ways; yes, even though hundreds gathered around him begging him with tears on their cheeks, out of fondness for him, not to go to the slaughter—for almost everyone including himself believed that he would not come back alive—he went. And I shall never forget that scene when he stood in the middle, and looking around him, then at the city and its inhabitants who were so dear to him, he said, "If I do not go there, the result will be the destruction of this city and its inhabitants; and I cannot think of my dear brothers and sisters and their children suffering the scenes of Missouri again in Nauvoo; no, it is better for your brother, Joseph, to die for his brothers and sisters, for I am willing to die for them. My work is finished; the Lord has heard my prayers and has promised that we shall have rest from such cruelties before long, and so do not prevent me with your tears from going to bliss." And after embracing his little children who were clinging to his clothes and after bidding a tender farewell to his wife whom he loved greatly, also in tears, and after giving the last comfort to his aged, saintly mother, he addressed the entire crowd with great effect, exhorting them to be faithful in

the way and with the religion which he had taught them. And in that way he could greet them before long out of reach of mobs and every oppression, and he was sealing his testimony to that with his blood; and if he had a thousand lives it would be worth them all.

After this wondrous and heartrending scene which tongue cannot tell nor can pen record, we left his house on horses, but totally disarmed except for a few of us who had pistols in our pockets. When we were on higher ground where the temple was and a host was following to catch the last glimpse of him, he stood and looked back on the city for a moment in great solemnity, and then he said, "Oh, city, once the most blessed, but now the most pitiful in sadness. This is the kindest and most godly people and most beloved by Heaven of all the world. Oh, if only they knew what awaits them." But he restrained himself and after looking over it again, we proceeded on toward Carthage.

On the way we met some of the messengers who had gone there Saturday night, and some who had been released from prison that morning. They described the rioters in an unruly and bloodthirsty state. When within four miles of Carthage, we met a large company of armed men alongside us totally unexpectedly. And when they saw us, they formed to attack. At that, Joseph Smith halted his horse in the middle of the road, and he addressed us cheerfully and fearlessly, exhorting us, "Dear Brethren, you cannot come with me any further; retreat for your lives and let them pour out all their vengeance upon my head; I shall suffer it, for I am going like a lamb to the slaughter with a conscience void of offense toward God and men."

And at this he was surrounded by the soldiers (as we understood them to be) with their swords bared, and the Captain ordered him to surrender. Then his soldiers, as if they had won the battle of Waterloo, shouted three cheers for their victory. J. Smith addressed them briefly and succinctly, and he showed to them that he had never been an enemy to them, nor had he ever disobeyed any of the laws, and as proof of their wrong idea about him he was now on his way voluntarily, unobliged, into the midst of them who thirsted after his blood. And he said, "I would ask one favor from you if you are Americans; do not deny me! If you have any humanity in you and honor or human feelings, do not deny this my last request! This big favor is that you defend my life so that I shall have a fair trial before the court of my country. I do not fear the consequence, be it even the most horrible death, as much as I fear dying with a blemish on my character, or for the world to disgrace the religion which I profess. Will you promise this?" he asked publicly.

Their Captain answered immediately (i.e., Dunn; he and his army had come from MacDonough County and were totally ignorant

before this of Joseph Smith), "If this is the Joe Smith whose evils we have heard so much about, I am completely disappointed. We have heard all lies, boys, and I know that this is a good man no matter who he is, and I (said he with a great oath) am determined to defend him until he has a fair trial though it should cost me my own life." And his whole army agreed to the same thing through "three cheers for Joe Smith," even louder than before! After this, Dunn showed a letter from Governor Ford ordering the people of Nauvoo to give up all their arms to him; and though it was a cruel and foolish request, yet the Saints obeyed and gave up quietly the only defense which they had for their lives in answer to the request of the governor, who at the request of the rioters had facilitated their murderous intentions. It is strange that the governor would do this without disarming the attackers if he was not of the same heart and mind as they!

We turned back to Nauvoo; all the arms and cannons were gathered together. And in the afternoon we set off again toward Carthage where we arrived alive by midnight, even though the mobbers had tried to kill Joseph Smith in spite of the soldiers. We took lodging at the Hamilton Hotel, and the next morning we met with Governor Ford. He promised protection and justice to the prisoners. At the wish of the armies, Captain Deming went with J. and H. Smith before them; for there were hardly any of them who had ever seen them before, nor did they know anything about them except for the stories of the rioters. Because they considered that too much respect for the prisoners, it caused a great tumult amidst the army of the Carthage Grays. Their leader was Captain Smith (i.e., the judge who had issued the warrant, and he along with his army were the chief rioters). At last, through being threatened with imprisonment by the rest of the armies, the Carthage Grays calmed down.

In the afternoon an inquiry was held in the Hamilton Hotel, for it was too dangerous for the prisoners to appear in the courthouse. Because of the rage of the rioters, they chose to post bail for their appearance in the quarter session rather than go to the inquiry. Bail was posted and the City Council was allowed to return home; but the bloodthirsty traitors had prepared another jail for J. and H. Smith by putting two of their number, by the names of H. O. Norton and A. Spencer (because of the latter there was the aforementioned tumult at the courthouse), to swear a warrant against them for treason against the state. At this the sheriff wished to transfer them to prison immediately, without an inquiry or anything; but the tumult along the streets was such that they refused to go without an escort to defend them.

And after dark the Carthage Grays came to the hotel and defended them as far as the jail in the midst of threats, oaths and swearing. The

prisoners asked some of us to follow them to the jail "in order to have our company," they said; but we knew before then that it was so that we could be proven witnesses of their words, their comportment and their character. To death we would follow them, and I am grateful for having such an honor. Woe unto us except we surely make the proper use of it.

We were all locked together in a dungeon which was about ten feet square; and there we spent the first night of our imprisonment in pleasant conversation about "the secret of godliness"; and such happiness possessed them when they foretold that both of them were about to finish their race and go to their joy. I had never seen them so cheerful and so heavenly minded, nor had I ever before thought that Carthage Jail was the gate of paradise.

The next morning we were all moved to an upstairs room of the jailer's house, to which the stairs led from the front door; this upper room had a very poor door without a lock or even a latch that would shut; it also had three large windows through which whoever wanted could shoot to every corner of the room through one or the other of them. We understood that the excitement among the mobs was because they had thrown the men into jail without any kind of inquiry, even though the judge had committed perjury by signing on their mittimus that there would be; and so they could not get out of jail whenever they wanted without the permission of the jailer. The latter, on seeing that they were eager to kill the prisoners and that many were hiding in the hummocks with their rifles ready to shoot as soon as they came out of the door, denied them permission.

Again and again the sheriff came to request them under the guise of going to the courthouse for trial, and the jailer refused to let them out unless one or two of the leaders of the mob could be obtained to walk arm in arm with the prisoners, for he considered that a stronger escort than the Carthage Grays and the lot; and like this they went about half a mile to the courthouse amidst such shouts and threats of the drunks, and curses of some who thirsted after their blood, until we imagined that it was not unlike that cruel scene on Calvary, and we heard words quite similar to those which were tauntingly said there, such as, "Now, old Joe (some said in his face), if you are a prophet, how did you come to the jail like this?" Another answered, "Oh, if Joe were a prophet, he would soon call for a legion of angels, and we would all be killed, and he would escape." Yes, some foolish observations like these filled his ears along the way to the courthouse where their professed enemy was again sitting in judgment on them, and his hostile partners were witnesses and lawyers against them. Only by earnest pleading by the prisoners' lawyers, i.e., Mr. Reid from Fort Madison and Mr. Woods from Burlington, was a

postponement of the trial for the next day obtained, so that the witnesses who lived twenty miles away could be brought there. At last this was granted and the prisoners were taken back to the jail.

The magistrate refrained from signing the subpoenas to examine the witnesses for the defense, although he knew that no one else there could do that, until he thought that it was too late. The jail was watched by eight or ten of Captain Dunn's escort, and these were the least prejudiced of any; and due to the efforts of the prisoners and the rest of us in preaching to them, they believed our testimony to the point of confessing that the accusations made by the mobbers were lies for the purpose of getting revenge on J. Smith. Not infrequently they were heard persuading this one and that one to return to their homes and not to join with the mobs to persecute any further. After that, other guards came to whom we would preach the same way. Occasionally, some of them would be so vengeful they would not allow Joseph Smith to speak, while at the same time they would listen to the others.

About twelve o'clock that night we lay down in the following way to sleep: Hyrum Smith and Dr. Willard Richards in the bed; Joseph Smith on one side of me and John Taylor on the other; Colonel Markham and another brother next to him were lying on the mattresses on the floor; and that is all there were of us. We expected nothing less than an attack on us nearly every hour; in spite of that the only defense that we could make was to put a chair against the door in such a way that it would fall if the door were opened. I had not fallen into a deep sleep when I heard the sound of heavy footsteps of an army coming toward us. I got up and spied through the window where by the light of the stars I saw soldiery already at the door! I observed what they said; but they were whispering so secretively that I could understand hardly anything but this: "How many shall go in?" When I heard that, I awoke my brethren; but there was no need to tell them why, for the sound of the feet rushing up to our door signified that it was time to beware. We stood by the door to attack the first to open it, and we clearly heard them breathing on the other side. There was tomblike silence for a minute or two, awaiting a shower of bullets perhaps in our midst; and then J. Smith asked bravely and loudly who was there and what did they want? He invited them in as we were ready to receive them, and it made no difference to him whether he died at that time or at daylight, etc. At that they stole down quietly; and from then to daylight they consulted near our windows what they would do. At times they decided to rush in on us, but before reaching the door, perhaps the other party would hold them back; and thus they continued until the assassin's terror, the morning light, scattered all of them except for about eight of the Carthage Grays who stayed there as guards.

In the morning I went at the request of J. Smith to the lower door to inquire what was the purpose of the confusion in the night and who was responsible. I directed my questions to the sergeant of the guards, who answered me with horrible curses, saying that the prisoners would never come out alive, that I would see before night that he was a better prophet than Joe Smith, and that I was not a bit better than he, nor was anyone else who supported him. At this, I reminded the gentleman who and what he was, that Governor Ford under the oath of the state had promised protection to the prisoners and had put their lives in his hands, and that I would inform the governor of his threats, all of which infuriated him greatly. I went to the Hamilton Hotel and revealed the whole thing before Governor Ford; I reminded him of his promise to defend the prisoners and requested that he put some others to guard them in place of the Carthage Grays, who were thirsting after their blood. But all was in vain; he suggested that there was no danger at all. After that, I went into the midst of the large crowd of mobbers and heard their publicly proclaimed decision to make a sham discharge until Governor Ford left, after which they would return. They were determined to kill "Joe Smith" even if they had to tear down the jail.

After hearing such a verdict being sealed on the innocent with three cheers from the crowd, I returned and related everything to Governor Ford; but yet he did not consider it worth his attention! I went hurriedly to inform the prisoners these things, but the guard did not let me back in. The prisoners earnestly beseeched them to let me in, saying that the governor had granted permission for that (which he had promised when he visited the jail the day before); but all was in vain. For the third time I returned to the governor describing their danger and requested a pass from him to re-enter; he refused this also, even though I followed after him until he was on his horse to start with the escort toward Nauvoo; but he did order Captain Deming to give me a pass for Willard Richards as a scribe to the prisoners and to no one else.

The governor went away at about eleven o'clock, leaving eight of the Carthage Grays to guard the jail and about sixty others in the town to guard the area with them. And after that their purposes became clear; the people would come back to the town in hosts booing and threatening, and not only threatening but preparing for the bloody slaughter. I was the only Mormon in their midst and great were their threats toward me; they gathered around me in crowds, and they would frequently throw a rock at me because I dared to defend the prisoners and dared them to allow them to have a trial next day by the law of their country according to the right of every man; and I reproached them that the prisoners had surrendered to

them on promise of that, and they were now in their possession, and if they could prove them guilty I would agree with their verdict with all my heart, etc.

While I was pleading like this, one of their chief leaders admitted they could not be proven guilty and the law of the land could not reach them, "but powder and balls will." At that, one of the guards came to inform me that Joe Smith was asking for me. Even though the guards did not allow me to go into the jail nor for J. Smith to come out, yet they permitted Willard Richards to come, to whom I informed everything which I understood of the designs of the mobs to kill them before nightfall. He told me that I was in more danger outside, and he placed a letter in my hand with the request of Joseph Smith that I take it to Quincy (about sixty miles away) and return as soon as I could.

News of the letter went throughout the mob like the wings of the breeze, and some claimed that it was orders for the Nauvoo Legion to come there to save the prisoners, and others claimed some other things. When I was requesting my horse to be readied, some swore that I would not go from there alive if I did not give the letter to them; but they could not agree about this, which was just as well for me, for I was determined to die rather than release it from my hand. Then they divided into two or three groups; one group wanted to chase me from there immediately, letter and all; another group threatened that I would not reach Nauvoo alive, and at that I saw several of them with rifles in their hands run across the fields to the nearby woods through which the road to Nauvoo passed. Although I understood their purpose, yet I did not see how I could be delivered; but some way would come, I doubted not a bit.

While they were quarrelling amongst themselves, my horse was readied nearby, and I saw my chance. And it was no time after I reached the saddle before the horse and I were out of their sight in the midst of a cloud of dust with bullets whistling through the air everywhere except where they were aiming. Before I had time to think about the road before me, with which I was almost totally unacquainted, I found myself in the prairie galloping toward Warsaw instead of on the road to Nauvoo. I understood my mistake after having a look at the countryside around me, and I crossed the prairies to the right road. After that I understood that by the horse's mistake my life had been saved from those who were watching for me in the woods; and also on the other side I understood that I had been between two fires, for if I had gone a mile further without turning from the Warsaw road I would have no doubt been killed by about three hundred of the most cruel of all the mobocrats who were coming along the road to Carthage and who killed the prisoners no more than two hours after that!

But I proceeded forth, passing Governor Ford and his escort, and I reached Nauvoo before the setting of the sun. There I waited for a steamboat to go toward Quincy. While I was waiting at Nauvoo, the governor arrived, and I heard his address to a large crowd of people. Its contents were not directed to or worthy of anyone except the rioters. He told with relish the baseless tales of the mobs, as if he believed them to be true, and then he said within hearing of the wives, children, and dear friends of those godly men, who were being assassinated at that very moment, and he threatened aloud, "A severe atonement must be made." The officials of the governor were heard urging him to hasten from there, assuring him that the deed (that is, the assassination) was sure of having been accomplished by then, and that is the reason he and his soldiers hurried from Nauvoo as soon as they could instead of staying until the next day as he had promised to do. It is unlikely that there was so much sadness in any city in the world as there was reigning over Nauvoo at that time. Any messenger who might come was awaited eagerly, and yet dreaded lest they hear that which they feared so much; but no messenger at all returned that night from Carthage.

About midnight a steamboat came down the river, and I went on board toward Quincy (forty miles from there) and before daylight the boat called at Warsaw on its way, and great was the tumult which was there! It was announced with great delight to the passengers on the boat that "Joe Smith and his brother, Hyrum, had been killed at Carthage Jail." Oh, how sweet was this news to their chops! That old "Sharp" again had already published an extra with great haste accusing the Mormons of having gone to Carthage to save the prisoners and that the guards in carrying out their duty had shot J. and H. Smith lest they escape, when in fact, I was the last Mormon to have been in Carthage and had been driven out as if at bayonet point! Yes, when in fact it was that very man, Sharp, who was leading those who killed the prisoners, boasting "that he had put one bullet through old Joe." And when his fingers were still dripping with innocent blood he proclaimed to the world that it was the Saints who had done it and invited all from everywhere to gather to defend Warsaw, that the Mormons had already burned Carthage to ashes and killed its inhabitants, Governor Ford and all, and that they expected them to burn Warsaw at any minute! Yes, he published this in his paper and sent messengers to the other counties to call the militia to defend them when in fact he knew that he was in no danger whatsoever from the Saints.

And when I was there I heard his party admit and praise the cunningness of Sharp's trick to get people there; and that their objective was to "attack the city of Nauvoo and kill or expel the 'd-m-d

Mormons.''' This false story about the massacre of J. and H. Smith flew across the world, and we do not think that the truth has even yet been determined. An example is that of all the publications of that man, Sharp, and his party against the Saints. I was so impulsive as to contradict them on the bank from what I knew, and had the boat not been alongside to jump onto they would have killed me for what I said. After reaching Quincy I saw that the messengers of Sharp had arrived and had stirred up the entire city to the point that they were expecting the Mormons to come there and kill them too, and the militia was hurriedly preparing to go to save Warsaw, as they supposed.

When I got the opportunity with the people together, I opposed those lying messengers to their faces, and then the people saw that they were not in danger and that not one of the Mormons had even lifted his hand against any one of them and had no such intention. Then everyone returned to his business, and I went with the other steamboat toward Nauvoo, where I arrived by eight o'clock the next morning.

Oh, the sorrowful scene to be seen in Nauvoo that day! There has never been nor will there ever be anything like it; everyone sad along the streets, all the shops closed and every business forgotten. Onward I quickened my pace until I reached the house of the late Joseph Smith. I pushed my way through the sorrowful crowd until I reached the room where his body and that of his brother had been placed (for they had been brought from Carthage the previous day). There they lay in their coffins side by side, majestic men as they suffered side by side from prison to prison for years, and they labored together, shoulder to shoulder, to build the kingdom of Immanuel; eternal love bound them steadfastly to each other and to their God until death; and now, my eyes beheld the blood of the two godly martyrs mingling in one pool in the middle of the floor, their elderly mother, godly and sorrowful, on her knees in the midst of the blood between the two, a hand on each one of her sons who lay in gore, her heart nearly broken by the excruciating agony and the indescribable grief. At the head of the deceased sat the dear wife of each one and around their father stood four of Joseph's little children and six of Hyrum's children crying out intermittently, "My dear father." "And my dear father, too," another would say, with no reply except the echo from the walls, "Oh, my father." And from the hearts of the mothers, "My husband killed," and the grey-haired mother groaning pitifully, "Oh, my sons, my sons."

Each in his turn, the thousands made their way forward, sad and desirous of having the last look at their dear brethren whose solemn counsels and heavenly teachings had been music in their ears, lighting their paths and bringing joy to their hearts on numerous occasions.

On the streets around it was almost the stillness of the grave which reigned, but all, the noble as well as the humble, with crystal tears streaming down their cheeks. Even the sun and the elements had stilled as if in surprise, and all nature looked at the unended madness of man toward some of the best on the earth in any age or part of it. I shall ever remember my feelings at the time. Now I saw the two wisest and most virtuous men on the earth without any doubt, whom I had seen just awhile before preaching tenderly from between the iron bars of their jail the gospel of peace to those who wanted to kill them; the two who stood like two reeds in the midst of the storm as witnesses of Jesus, despite the jealous fury of the press, of the pulpits, and of the mobs of the age; and just like the reeds they straightened up their heads after every breeze and scorned worldly profit and fame; steadfast they clung to their objective until they had finished their work; and like their elder brother and their Leader before them, they did not love their lives unto death, nor did they refuse to face knowingly the slaughter; rather they leaped onto the bloody altar which they saw waiting for them in Carthage "so they could have a better resurrection." But what pen can describe that scene and the feelings of thousands of mourners? The only comfort that kept them from sinking under the oppression and the loss was knowing that a day of swift reckoning would come also before long and that he who has the correct scales in his hand perceives the whole and will . . . But I restrain myself. It is easier for the reader to imagine this scene than it is for me to portray it and its results.

The two were buried secretly by one another's side, for there was a reward of several thousand dollars already offered by their enemies for their heads! But to return to Carthage with the story from where I escaped at about three o'clock on the afternoon of the 27th. The portrayal which follows will show clearly the attack on the jail and the situation of the place; it was written by one of the four who were there at the time, that is, Dr. Willard Richards.

The Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

[The following account is taken from a letter written by Dan Jones to Thomas Bullock, 20 January 1855. The original spelling and punctuation of the letter, written in English, have been retained. The letter is being used courtesy of the LDS Church Historical Department.]

June 12, 1844—While Joseph Smith was standing by the side of his brother Hyrum, along with several other friends on the portico of the Mansion House, Nauvoo, awaiting the remains of my little son, 3½ years of age, who had died there to be brought out to be buried, and when he was about stepping into a carriage he was accosted by the Sheriff of Hancock County with a writ to appear before a Magistrate, Smith, in Carthage, charged with destroying the Press of the “Nauvoo Expositor;” he expostulated in vain for the privilege of paying the last debt of honor to the remains of the sacred dead. A few days previously depositions were taken by Mr. Smith, of men from Carthage, who deposed that a band of men residing at Carthage had colluded with some of the owners of the above Press to decoy him to Carthage with the intention of assassinating him. Those affidavits were sent to Gov. Ford with a request for protection, which failing to arrive in time of need, advantage was taken of the writ where it allows to appear before the issuer “or any other Magistrate in the County,” by demanding a trial before Justice D. H. Wells, where he was honourably acquitted. In a few days however another Sheriff was sent with another warrant for the same offence, demanding him to go to Carthage; but the duty of self preservation, with the entreaties of many friends delayed his going, and expresses were sent to the Governor who, upon hearing of the assemblage of several thousand of the mob at Carthage repaired there, and was prevailed upon by the mob, as he himself subsequently admitted in public, to send a possee Committatus to bring Mr. Smith to Carthage who, arriving at his house Saturday evening were respectfully received and entertained at Mr. Smith’s own table, with the best that the place afforded, as was also their horses fed. Having heard that he would be waylaid and shot in the dark if he went out that night Mr. Smith requested the possee to stay with him untill morning, but they returned to the mob, and excited them by fabulous tales of hairs breadth escapes, &c.

Sunday 23—Another possee demanded him and tendered Governor Ford’s “honour” as pledge for his safety; but Mr. Smith sent to inform him that he would come out next day, and remained with his bro. Hyrum and others in Council. The assembled thousands at the Grove, alike was the fair city of Nauvoo on that solemn day enwrapped in sable robes of despair—all felt as if their much loved

Prophet was already beyond the veil; nor could the hideing folds of night's dark cloak cheer their throbbing hearts with a beam of hope; but the pensive morrows sun saw a City bathed in tears, and after a night as sleepless to the devoted Saints below as it was to those sleepless on high recording their prayers and sealing up the "vials."

Monday 24th—Eventfull day! found hundreds gathered before the Mansion House early in the morning;—in their midst with head erect towering above the rest the Prophet stood gazing alternately on the devoted City and its much loved citizens; in suspense he listened to the entreaties of the throng, not to give himself up or he would be murdered; a few, tho' enough, brave hearted men proposed to escort him where he would find the protection denied him by the "Christians" among the red "pagans" of the West:—others, up north would have him go, while a fearless Tar, inured to other climes, whose heart was a Malstrom of fury, proffered him a safe passage on a Steam Boat, then ready by, to whither he would; a smile of approbation lit up the Seer's countenance,—his lovely boys hanging on to his skirts urged on the suite and cryed "Father, O Father don't go to Carthage they will kill you."—a volley of arguments more powerfull yet from the streaming eyes of her he loved best, and whose embrace was hard to sever; nor least impressive were the pleadings of his doting Mother whose grey ringlets honoured a head weather-beaten by the persecutions of near twice ten years, "My Son, my Son, can you leave me without promising to return? Some forty times before have I seen you from me dragged, but never before without saying you would return; what say you now my Son? He stood erect like a beacon among roaring breakers,—his gigantic mind grasping still higher; the fire flashed in his eye; with hand uplifted on high he spoke "My friends, nay dearer still my brethren, I love you, I love the City of Nauvoo too well to save my life at your expense,—if I go not to them they will come and act out the horrid Missouri scenes in Nauvoo;—I may prevent it, I fear not death, my work is well nigh done, keep the faith and I will die for Nauvoo. So said the Prophet as he mounted his steed, and together with his brother Hyrum and some 30 or 40 more who chose to follow, they ascended the hill; when near the sacred spot—the Temple, he paused, he looked with admiration first on that, then on the City ere it receded from view in the flats below, and remarked, this is the loveliest place and the best people under the heavens, little do they know the trials that await them. While on the prairie we met some messengers previously sent to Carthage who had but just been liberated from prison. When within 4 miles of Carthage we met a company of horsemen commanded by Captain Dunn; when they hove in sight Mr. Smith halted his "major" (steed) in the midst of the road and said "brethren you have come far enough; do not further

expose your lives, stand aloof, let all their vengeance be wreaked upon my head, I am going like a lamb to the slaughter with a conscience void of offence. At this time Mr. Wood, his Counsell, rode in front of the Company to know their intentions and soon returned with an order from the Governor for all the State arms which were at Nauvoo. When signal of acceptance was given they advanced and Mr. Smith addressed them after endorsing the order, declaring his innocence of the charges preferred against him and demanded of them as an American Citizen to defend his life until he should have an investigation, to which Capt. Dunn reply'd that he would protect him at the risk of his own life, then turning to his men asked "What say you, boys, will you stand by me to see Mr. Smith have justice?" The response was by three cheers; and we all returned to Nauvoo, got all the arms, and in the evening the Company returned and arrived at Carthage late at night, failing to get a horse I remained in the City.

25th—Documents of importance for the trial being in Mrs. Smith's possession, by request I took them out to Carthage and arrived during the trial of Mr. Smith and the City Council and in time to give in my evidence, which was admitted to be not the least important in their favour. There I heard Wilson Law, in endeavoring to get a warrant against Mr. Smith for Treason, declare that in preaching from Daniel II, 44, Mr. Smith had said that the kingdom referred to therein was already set up, and that he (Mr. Smith) was the King over it! Wonder if Daniel himself was not most treasonable for predicting it? The defendants having given bail to appear at the quarter sessions were released and returned to Nauvoo; but before Mr. Smith could leave I went down stairs in Hamiltons Hotel where I overheard the leaders of the mob say that they did not expect to prove anything against him, but that they had eighteen accusations against him, and that as one failed they would try another to detain him there. One of them, by the name of Jackson, reply'd when I told them to desist from their cruel persecutions that they had worked too hard to get old Joe to Carthage to let him get out of it alive, and pointing to his pistols said, "The balls are in there that will decide his case." I repaired upstairs and informed Mr. Smith what threats I had heard, when he informed me "They are going to take me to prison without a guard; you will not leave me will you?" to which I reply'd that I had come to die with him the rather. He took me aside into the front room and asked "Have you anything with you?" One little bulldog I reply'd, and this switch, pointing to a black hickory club in my hand, the which parried the rifles of the assassins in prison by Mr. Taylor. Let me have the first said he, which was no sooner said than safely deposited where I wished a dozen more to be. Now the rush of heavy treads up the stairs drew our attention and the stentorian voice of

an officer demanding the prisoners, when Dr. Willard Richards met him in the door which was actually too narrow for any but himself to pass. Mr. Reid, their Counsell, also Mr. Taylor, Hyrum Smith, Judge Phelps, Col. Markam and all remonstrated against such an unnecessary exposition of the defendants lives untill they desisted. It was then that Justice Smith made out a mittimus, and the "Carthage Grays" escorted them to prison. Being dark, Mr. Smith asked me to get inside somehow, and Col. Markam on one side, with a hickory club, while I was on the other, outside the guard, I parry'd off the guns and bayonets of the drunken rabble who tried to break the ranks to stab them; the prison doors being open before a light was produced I rushed between the guard and the door and forced my way into the farthest cells unhindered, followed by the defendants and the above named, except Judge Phelps, who remained (I think) at Hamiltons; Mr. Reid also, but some few other bretheren were with us with whom I was not personally acquainted untill then; but it will be a long time ere I forget

The first night in Carthage cells with the Prophet and the Patriarch!

Amusing conversation on various interesting topics engaged us till late; after prayer, which made Carthage prison into the gate of heaven for awhile, we lay promiscuously on the floor, the last words spoken were, by the Prophet,—“For the most intelligent dream tonight bretheren;” and the first words spoken next morning were by him also enquiring for the same. None, save one, were told which was listened to by all as follows—“Portrayed before my mind was Gov. Ford and troops on their way across the prairie to Nauvoo, the prisoners had plead in vain to return with him, although promised by him to go; with a letter of importance I saw myself driven from Carthage, galloping through the masses of medley soldiers, half Indians and semi barbarians, I hurried across the prairie, had gone down on a boat from Nauvoo towards Quincy, but while landed at Warsaw awoke, in the midst of powder, smoke, death, and carnage.” The Prophet reply'd it was ominous of future events, nor did he believe the Governor would ever take him to Nauvoo alive.

After breakfast we were removed to an upstairs room the entrance to which was up a flight of stairs from the front prison door, which was guarded by soldiers, by alternate four hours; the door was of pine, common batton, without bolts, lock, or even a latch that would shut; on the south side were two large windows, and one on the East, a tier of cells lead from the North, while the entrance was at the N. West corner. Its furniture consisted of a bedstead, chair or two, and some mattresses.

During the forenoon we were visited by Judge Phelps, J. P. Green, J. S. Fullmore, and C. H. Wheelock, the last I think brought a

revolver in his boot, and left it with the prisoners when he retired; most of my forenoon's work consisted in hewing, with my penknife, a wharped door to get it on the latch, and in preparing to fortify against a night attack, in which Col. Markam was also industrious. The Prophet appeared extremely anxious by his injunctions to the messengers who left for Nauvoo, amongst whom were Dr. Bernhisel, I think, to send out testimonies to exonerate his brother Hyrum. A portion of us were alternately preaching to the guards, at which the Prophet, Patriarch and all took turns, and several were relieved before their time was out because they admitted they were proselyted to the belief of the innocence of the prisoners, which rendered them incompetent of guarding! Frequently they admitted they had been imposed upon by the tales of the mobs, and more than once was it heard "Let us go home boys for I will not fight against these men." Hyrum showed an ardent devotion to the Prophet, every way encouraging him to believe that the Lord for His Church's sake would release him to their service, while Joseph reply'd, "Could my brother Hyrum be but liberated it would not matter so much about me; poor Rigdon, I am glad he has gone to Pittsburgh out of the way, were he to preside, in less than five years he would lead the Church to destruction." He entertained us much by the recital of two dreams the which he had received not long before, one in which he saw himself pitched into a dry well by Wm. and Wilson Law who had previously tied his hands behind him; while struggling to get up and near the top he discovered Wilson tackled by a ferocious wild beast in an adjoining wood, crying for his help while nearer to him still was William with outstretched tongue; blue in the face, and the green poison forced out of his mouth by the coiling of a huge serpent around his body, relaxing its embrace occasionally and thereby enabling him to cry aloud "Oh brother Joseph come and save me or I die." To which he reply'd as he had done to a similiar request from his brother Wilson, "I cannot, for you have tied my hands behind me." Ere long however his guide finding him there released and comforted the Prophet while the others met the just retribution of their demerit.

Another time he had seen himself on a lee shore in a heavy storm saving a ship from wrecking by wadeing through the foaming surf and leading her out to the open sea; again the reckless mariners on board rushed into dangerous breakers in despite of his commands from on shore to them to beat off to sea. Again he stemmed the raging seas, now and anon overwhelmed in the foam, with a mighty effort he sprang to the surface, the raging elements hushed at his command, and as on a sea of glass he marched with the patriarch by his side untill in the offing he recognized his brother Samuel, light as a fairy, skipping o'er the main;—but the sequel forgotten by me may be

remembered by others; the interpretation he gave, I believe, was the stranding of the great ship "Uncle Sam" owing to rejecting a safe Pilot. Their walking on the tranquil ocean donated their triumphs beyond the vail, Samuel's sudden exit after his bretheren solves the only mystery which the Prophet did not unravel, but sure it is that he gave frequent intimations that he would soon gain his liberty, and soar on high beyond the "rage of mobs and angry strife."

Governor Ford and the prisoners Counsell visited them, and at the close of a lengthy appeal from the Prophet, in which he denied the charges preferred against him, and plead for the protection of his life from mob violence untill he could prove himself so, which appeared to make but little impression upon His Excellency beyond a verbal promise that he should have justice, and that his friends present, agreeably to his request should visit him, His Excellency promised to take them with him to Nauvoo, which promise he afterwards recalled through fear of the mobs. Dr. Richards was busily engaged writing as dictated by the Prophet. Elder Taylor amused him by singing &c.

About the middle of the afternoon the Sheriff came to take the prisoners to the Courthouse to be tried, followed by drunken mobs armed and threatening; an altercation ensued between him and the Prison Keeper, because, as was proved by the mittimus to the latter that the prisoners having been placed with him for "safe keeping," were not under the jurisdiction of the former; whereupon the former rushed upstairs and threatened to enforce obedience had not the latter ordered him off his premises untill he produced authority to enter. The bretheren named remonstrated with the parties to await the decision of the Counsel who were not present but sent for. In the meantime Mr. Smith seeing the mob gathering and assuming a threatening aspect concluded it best to go with them then, and putting on his hat, followed by all of us, walked boldly into their midst,—politely locked arms with the worst mobocrat he could see, whereas Hyrum patterned after him by clenching the next worse one, followed by Elders Richards and Taylor escorted by a guard, but the mobocrats side was the best protection from the levelled rifles of the surrounding bush hidens, Col. Markam on one side, myself on the other, with our "switches" parry'd off the crowding rabble, and after ascending to the Court House much exertion was made by the mob to proceed forthwith with the trial without letting the defendants have their witnesses, and as soon as they were overruled, and the trial postponed until next day, the only Justice in the place, the Smith before spoken of, who could grant subpoenas for witnesses, absconded untill a late hour, as if purposely to prevent the appearing of the defendants witnesses, and in keeping with the conviction expressed by them the

previous day "That the law cannot touch him, but that powder and ball will." In the evening they were again escorted to the prison amidst the whooping, hallooing and denunciations of infuriated thousands; while some tauntingly upbraided him for not calling a legion of angels to release him, and to destroy his enemies, inasmuch as he pretended to have a miraculous power; others asked him to prophesy when and what manner of death awaited him, professing themselves to know all about it; in fact one was forcibly reminded of the taunting and jeering of the Jews to our holy and meek Redeemer, so similar did their words and actions prove their spirits to be.

During the evening the Patriarch read and commented upon copious extracts from the Book of Mormon, the imprisonments and deliverance of the servants of God for the Gospels sake; Joseph bore a powerful testimony to the guards of the divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon—the restoration of the Gospel, the administration of angels, and that the Kingdom of God was again upon the Earth, for the sake of which he was at that time incarcerated in that prison, and not because he had violated any law of God or of man.

Late, we retired to rest, Joseph and Hyrum on the only bedstead while 4 or 5 lay side by side on mattresses on the floor, Dr. Richards sitting up writing untill his last candle left him in the dark; the report of a gun, fired close by, caused Joseph whose head was by a window, to arise, leave the bed and lay himself by my side in close embrace; soon after Dr. Richards retired to the bed and while I thought all but myself and heaven asleep, Joseph asked in a whisper if I was afraid to die. "Has that time come think you? Engaged in such a cause I do not think that death would have many terrors," I replied. "You will see Wales and fulfill the mission appointed you ere you die" he said. I believed his word and relied upon it through trying scenes which followed. All the conversation evinced a presentiment of an approaching crisis. At midnight I was awoke by heavy treads as of soldiery close by, and I heard a whispering "Who, and how many shall go in?" under our window; upon arising I saw a large number of men in front of the prison, and gave the alarm as they rushed up stairs to our room door; we had taken the precaution to fortify ourselves by placing a chair, the only defence, against the door, which one of the bretheren seized for a weapon, and we stood by the door awaiting their entrance; hearing us they hesitated; when the Prophet with a "Prophets voice" called out "Come on ye assassins we are ready for you, and would as willingly die now as at daylight." Hearing this they retired again, and consulted, advanced and retreated alternately, evidently failing to agree, untill the assassins terror—the morning light, chased the murderers with their kindred fiends and the darkness to the abodes where the reveller in crime was the hero of the day.

Early in the morning of the 27th June, eventfull day! A day ever to be remembered! The Prophet requested me to descend and interrogate the guard as to the cause of the intrusion upon us in the night, in doing which I was replied by the sergeant, whose name was Worrell, I think, of the Carthage Grays, in a very bitter spirit that "We have had too much trouble to bring old Joe here to let him ever escape out alive, and unless you want to die with him you better leave before sundown, and you are not a d—n bit better than him for taking his part." I endeavored to cool him down and to recall those threats which so ill became those who were entrusted with the lives of men, but he insisted the more "You'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe that neither he nor his brother nor anyone who will remain with them will see the sun set today." With such threats did the Sergeant, in presence of his men, declaim against the prisoners; and one of them levelled and cocked his rifle at me, swearing with an awfull imprecation how he "would love to bore a hole through old Joe." Joseph and Hyrum were all this time listening unobservedly at the head of the stairs to all that was said, and on my return desired me to go and inform Governor Ford of all that I had heard.

While going to his Excellency's quarters I saw an assemblage of people and met Col. Markham who was out of the gaol before me; I listened to what they had to say and beheld one of the mobocrats addressing the crowd saying that they would make a sham discharge in obedience to orders, but that the Gov. and MacDonough troops would leave for Nauvoo in the forenoon, "Then we will return to town boys and tear that prison down and have those two men's lives before sundown," which declaration was not uttered in a whisper nor in a corner, but at the top of his voice, which echoed in the walls of the Town Hall and public square, and which was responded to by the loud three cheers of the crowd as eagerly as [crease has worn away the words] another barrel of whiskey was called into their midst to the eternal disgrace of the name of sectarianism be it remarked. Accompanied by, whether Col. Markam, J. P. Green or J. S. Fullmore or who I do not remember, I went to His Excellency's apartment in Hamilton's Hotel, where I found several Officers with him in conversation; in their presence I informed him of the threats made against the lives of the prisoners, offering to produce further proof if necessary; to which he at length reply'd "You are unnecessarily alarmed for your friends safety Sir, the people are not that cruel." Irritated by such a remark I urged the necessity of placing better men than professed assassins to guard them; that they were American Citizens surrendered to his "pledged honour"; that they were also Master Masons, and as such I demanded the protection of their lives; when this appeal failed to reach his adamant heart, whose face appeared to be pale with

fright or horror, I remarked that I had then but one request to make if he left their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed. "What is that sir?" he asked in a hurried tone. "It is that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place to testify that you have been timely warned of their danger." All this produced no other visible effect than to turn him round and stroll to the other end of the room. I returned to the prison, and sought to enter, but would not be let in by the guard. I again returned to the Hotel when his Excellency was standing in front of the Mac Donough troops in line, ready to escort him to Nauvoo, the disbanded mob, retiring to their rear at the time, shouted loud in his hearing that they were going only a short distance out of town and would return and hang old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the Governor would be gone out of the way. I begged to call his attention there and then to their own threats which he could hardly fail to hear as well as myself [creased and worn line] for myself and friends to be in prison according to his promise to the prisoners when he declined giving any, but told Col. Demming to give me one to take to Dr. Richards the secretary, by obtaining which I was near being massacred, and was told by Chauncey Higbee on the street that they "were determined to kill Joe and Hyrum and that I had better go away to save myself." I was then alone in the midst of the turbulent mob with whom I contended for the innocence of the prisoners, and for their right of trial, untill enraged, they attempted to seize me, but I eluded their grasp. Meeting Mr. A. W. Babbit in the street I informed him that Mr. Smith wished to see him, whither he went with me; he was admitted as Counsel. I tried to get in by means of Dr. Richards' pass, in my hand, but in vain; Joseph, Hyrum,—all endeavoured to get me in but failed; I however informed Dr. Richards who was allowed to come outside, of the threats of the mobs, who reply'd that they deemed my life in imminent danger in the midst of the mob. I was handed a letter from Mr. Smith, with a request to take it to Mr. Browning of Quincy forthwith; the guard aware of the letter informed the mob "that Joe had sent orders to raise the Nauvoo Legion to rescue him," drew the mob around me, and they demanded the letter, which I utterly refused to give up to them; when some would take it by force others objected; the mob disagreed among themselves while some said I should not leave the place alive, others swore that I should not stay longer there; at this the former party said if I left then I should not reach Nauvoo alive, and about a dozen started off with rifle in hand to waylay me where the road runs through the woods. Having previously ordered my horse which was already in the street, I took advantage of their disagreement and no sooner in the saddle than both spurs were to work, and a race-horse and rider were enveloped in a cloud of dust with balls whistling

nor saw the second scene untill beyond the point of timber stretching into the prairie half a mile; to my right I discovered the road to Nauvoo, and the Gov. and escort about 4 miles off having dined there; proving that I was on the Carthage road, my horse having like myself, lost the waylaid road leading through the woods, and thereby escaped those awaiting me there. I turned across the plain to the other road, and passed the Governor, whereas, as was ascertained afterwards, had I advanced half a mile farther on the Carthage road, I should have come upon a gang of about 300 painted assassins who were then beyond a prairie ridge on that road waiting the disappearing of His Excellency in order to march upon the prison and execute the horrid threats. Thus I was providentially led as if between two fires unharmed. While tediously traversing the sea of grass which separated Nauvoo from Carthage, tho' under all the pressure my craft could carry, my dream in the prison came fresh to view, and this for the fulfillment of it;—the letter actually in my possession,—the troops in full view, myself going to Quincy filled my soul with ominous forebodings of the sequel, so that having left the troops far behind, arriving in the edge of the City I entreated of the crowds who had assembled to meet His Excellency to haste to Carthage and save the Prophet's life—the only alternative. But wiser ones, perhaps, had otherwise decreed, and I with thousands more had the mortification of seeing, formally, greeted within the mourning "City of Joseph" the "Pilate" that should have changed places and doom; had the untold disgrace I say of listening to a man stuck up in front of the Prophet's house, and harrangueing an innocent and inoffensive people with the insinuations applicable only to his own party; anything less than the superhuman endurance of those saints would have been tantalized to retaliate, when in presence of the wives, children, and friends of his victims he declared that "a great crime had been done by placing the City under Martial Law, [which was done only so far as self preservation from the mobs was demanding,] and a sever atonement must be made; so prepare your minds for the emergency." So awful a threat proceeding from the lips of the highest functionary of a State, while the victims had surrendered themselves as pledges of his "honour", drew from bursting hearts of many bystanders a half stifled shriek of horror as it echoed in the walls of the Prophet's house and drew louder shrieks from his wife and mother who later sank into her chair crying "My sons O my sons' lives are means to make the atonement." Even the obdurate spirit of the speaker felt the shock; and appeared to quiver from the effects of his own denunciations, from which he could not recoil. But I forbear to advert to that memorable oration! After which he and his escort were entertained at the Mansion House, and while sitting at the Prophet's table

the hands of the assassins were dripping with his blood, and His Excellency might have said "A severe atonement has been made," as doubtless the Prophet and Patriarch were weltering in their own atoneing blood while their doom was being proclaimed to their families and friends.

Late that night I boarded a steamer bound to St. Louis, and landed at Warsaw after midnight, seeing a great excitement on the landing I stepped among them when I heard a mobocrat stating that "Joe and Hyrum were both shot while trying to escape from prison,"—He said that they had sent messengers to Quincy and the lower Counties to raise the Militia to defend Warsaw against an attack from the Mormons: but that "their real object was, when they got them there, to take the beauty and booty of Nauvoo." One, in order to stimulate the others, said, "I know where a chest full of gold is hid in old Joe's cellar." The general feeling manifested there was of rejoicing at the crime committed, and of exulting in the horrid act of shedding innocent blood, which reminded me of the sequel of my dream; altho' I hoped against hope that they boasted of their desires, rather than of overt acts. Then I got hold of a "Warsaw signal Extra," a slit of paper a little larger than my hand, was just issued, containing nothing but the news of the massacre; commencing by putting the letter J for Joe upside down; it stated "that the Mormons attacked the prison;—that the guards were compelled to shoot the prisoners in defense of their own lives, and to prevent their escape;—that three of the Citizens of Hancock were shot by Joe;—the Mormons have killed Governor Ford—and suite, burned Carthage; and we look for them to attack Warsaw every hour; will not the inhabitants of the surrounding Country rush to our defence before we, our wives and children will be massacred." In order to dupe the public to believe this tissue of falsehood, without even a shadow of truth in one statement of it, to my positive knowledge, they had sent a number of women and children in their night clothes on a previous down Steamer to Quincy, merely to raise their sympathy in their favour, even when the mob acknowledged the whole as got up purposely to create alarm, and even boasted of "Tom Sharps" long headed shrewdness in the scheme, and exulted in the prospect of heralding forth that first impression on the public mind so as to justify the horrid deed; and singular as it may appear to a sane mind that the above account of the tragedy took the lead through all Newspapers through the States East, West, North & the Canadas, South & Texas, and then through Europe it went, thence around the world; and even to this day we find Clergy, Priests and Editors who either know no better, or knowing, willfully reiterate these glaring falsehoods to the ends of the Earth.

While on this passage down to Quincy 60 miles distant, I met a steamer crowded with soldiers and other passengers being the Militia first sent for by the mob to Warsaw,—the Boats neared and stopped; and to the disgrace of civilization, when the Captain of our boat reply'd to the enquiry for the news from above, “Nothing only old Joe and Hyrum are killed;” it was responded to by hearty cheers and swinging of hats by all that Boatfull of—what? As our passengers and crew had hats off to return the salute, I shouted at the top of my voice although inadvertently—“Shame Gentlemen, shame on such cruelty, will you by cheering approbate the blackest crime recognized by the law of even barbarous nations—will you as civilized men tolerate the cold-blooded murder of American Citizens, and that while laying in prison untried, while the honour of the State was pledged to protect them? Gentlemen desist, or whose lives will be safe if Republicanism is swallowed up by such a blood thirsty spirit as that? All this was spoken in much less time than writting and with other power than mine which carried shame to their faces, and paralyzed the arms that still clenched the hats tho' drooping by their sides, and sent them sneaking out of sight. On our arrival we saw the Carthage families in a crowd on the banks of the Mississippi as monuments of the sincerity of the blood stained crew, whos actions were admissable of the inefficiency of their testimonies to sustain their foul cause. Quincy was all in an uproar,—a crowd of Militia waiting for a steamer to take them to the scene of supposed action—the Warsaw mobs' emissaries inflaming the populace and distributing that infernal Budget of Tom Sharp the “Extra” already noticed. A meeting of the Citizens was convened in the City Hall to which I repaired, and after listening to the death almost, to the exciting lies of the mob emmissaries of Warsaw—I jumped up and demanded a hearing—that I could prove all the statements made to be known falsehoods purposely to excite false alarm; a fuss followed “Down with him” “Order, Order.”—“Hear the stranger;” the “Hear” carried and on I spun my tale; as if with a voice of fearless little thunder, characteristic of truth alone; I denied that the Mormons had attackted the prison, that I was the last Mormon but one from Carthage yesterday evening—left all the Mormons peacably at Nauvoo about midnight that Gov. Ford nor any of his suit were neither killed nor wounded when they left Nauvoo early in the morning—that it was palpably false about Carthage being burnt;—that the Mormons had no intention of attacking Warsaw and that neither Militia nor any other need not trouble themselves about Warsaw or go there; unless they wished to attack Nauvoo, that that was the only object the mob had had in calling them there; and I also told them what I had heard at Warsaw—carried a strong influence, and the Chair decided “No cause of alarm, all go about your business.” Soon

after this a Steamer came up the river having a company of Militia on board; again my antagonist mounted the wheelhouse and preached his infuriating sermon, who, before he could put in the amen, found another alongside of him tearing his Bwcibw by piece meals, as he had done in the Court House, to his irremediable chagrin, and swayed a similar proselyting influence, so that instead of embarking more Militia on board, those already there landed and remained there. My noble friends (the mobocrats) just alluded to, foreseeing the end of their campaign in that field, concluded to leave on that Boat for Warsaw threatening vengeance on my head. Having accomplished my mission thereto, I was about going also had not the Captain of the Boat, who was an intimate friend of mine informed me that I had better wait for another Steamer, as the mobocrats had concocted a plan to take my life if I went up with them, to revenge on me for defeating their object. I accordingly waited till evening when I started up on another Boat. While on the passage, the hostile spirit of mobocracy was rife among the passengers, which caused much dispute because I would defend the innocency of Joseph and Hyrum; only occasionally I found a truth seeking person amongst them. Before we reached Warsaw the Captain and Clerk of the Boat, who were old friends of mine while Boating together, informed me that some of the mob on board intend to inform at Warsaw that I was on board, and that "the mob there will take you ashore and hang you without Judge or Jury"—I remonstrated against going on shore, because if landed on the Illinois side I must travel up through the heart of a mob country who would hunt me out like hunting a wolf; whereas if I landed on the Missouri side it would be like jumping out of the frying pan into the fire."—I could not escape them. They said that the fury of the mob was such that they would fire their cannons into the Boat, as they had done on other Boats bound for Nauvoo but they would do what they could. I told them I would risk the result with God if they would act up to my instructions which they promised to do; to the credit of Capt. Atchinson of the "Ohio" and generous Officers they did; for while the mob rushed on board as she landed crying "Where is Capt. Jones; where is he; bring him out; out with the d—d Mormon;" and while I could hear a general hallooing on shore "Bring him out, hang him up" &c., and I had crawled under a mattress alongside of which many more laid on the Cabin floor owing to the crowded state of the passengers, the Captain and Officers stood like lions in the Cabin floor keeping a drove of wolves from a pet lamb, declaring that they had landed me below the town. Turned off thus the mob returned on shore and back again only to be repelled the second time, while the mate was busily landing what freight they had for the place, the Engineer being ready to start by the sound of

the bell for which I listened with breathless silence, nor dared to breath freely untill the signal bell rang, and the Boat pushed off; nor did I regret to hear the mob plunge into the river splash, —splash after each other making for the shore without their prey, to the great disappointment of hundreds of blood thirsty mobs on shore, who had prepared a gallows on a tree on the bank and eagerly anticipated seeing the morning sun shine on a Mormon suspended by it. Fairly afloat—the God of my Salvation received the tribute of a grateful heart. I particularize on these scenes to illustrate the spirit prevalent amongst the mobocrats generally which seemed to sanction by their toleration the sacrifice of the lives of the Martyrs for the Gospel's sake; and altho' alone in this scene, surely I will be an uncompromising witness against them.

In the forenoon I landed at the welcome shore of Nauvoo, but Oh what a scene! Never to be pictured or painted by the pencil of art! Sad as the tombs, cheerless groups mourning wend their way by closed stores and windows of former busy life towards the place where lay the bloody cor[p]ses of the martyrs! Old, young, male and female together bewail the day—their much loved Prophet and Patriarch from their embraces by ruthless assassins were untimely torn—how can they be comforted? The Sun and the Moon of the City's moral hemisphere are untimely set behind a cheerless bank of storm clouds. The wonted buoyant atmosphere seemed impregnated with death by suffocation—nor could heaven maintain its usual smiles; its face it veiled, and commiserating wept a shower of tears to comingle with those of the Saints below. Heart rending as was the scene along the streets as I passed along the crisis did not come nor the scene beggar description untill within the dining room of the Mansion House, statue like I stood, and saw in their coffins on tables laid the Prophet and Patriarch! Ah yes, fond hope no longer found a place to doubt, they are they—the lips from whence flowed the words of life like rivers that quenched the thirsting souls of thousands are closed in death—those eyes, the heaven lit torches, are dim and motionless, the spirit has fled. At the head of the one, bathed in tears, was seen the wife of the Prophet with her little boys and adopted Julia—at the other no less so was the Patriarch's wife surrounded by six little children who alternately with the grey haired Mother while kneeling in a pool of the comingling dripping gore of the Martyrs on the floor, with her streaming eyes first on one, then on the other cry “My husband, my husband too.” “My father in blood”. “And my father is dead too,” and “My son, my sons” were the pitiful murmurings of the anguished widows and orphans that echoed in the walls which as but yesterday danced at the music of the Prophet's voice. On, on in solid columns the moving throng moved steadily to and off the solemn

scene to take the last long look on those they loved most dearly—like the inexhaustible current of the mighty “Father of waters” as it for ages flows to the ocean appeared the passing current of mourning friends. The holes of the bullets, the bleeding gashes of the fatal bayonet need not the finger to point them out; nor need the assembled millions ask Who are they? When their “Elder Brother” from them will be distinguished by the prints of the nails in his hands and feet. But why linger o’er the horrid scene of humane fiendish conduct they are free, the Prophet and Patriarch have soared on high beyond the rage of mobs, their testimony sealed with their hearts blood when they could have escaped if they would, but heroic like demi-gods they firmly trod the road to death and glory; they boldly leaped on the scaffold with eyes open and souls unsullied—forever honoured be their memories.

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY
Announces the 1984
David Woolley Evans and Beatrice Evans
Biography Award

A prize of \$10,000 will be awarded for a distinguished biography of any person significant in the culture or history of what may be called Mormon Country. (Mormon Country is generally regarded as extending throughout the Intermountain West of the United States but also includes Southern Canada and Northern Mexico.) If manuscripts are submitted, they should be book length and ready for publication. If books are submitted, they should have been published within 1984. All authors, regardless of religious affiliation, are invited to submit entries. Entries are not limited to Mormon subjects.

This award is made possible by a generous grant to Brigham Young University from David Woolley Evans, Beatrice Cannon Evans, and other members and friends of the Evans family. The judging will be by members of the Governing Board of the Biography Award or other qualified judges appointed by them. Among others, board members include

Jeffrey R. Holland
president of Brigham Young University
Howard Lamar
Coe Professor of American History, Yale University
Merlo Pusey
eminent biographer and former *Washington Post* associate editor

Decisions of the judges will be final.

Manuscripts may be submitted to

Neal E. Lambert
Associate Academic Vice-President
D-367 ASB
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602

The deadline for submissions for the 1984 prize is 31 December 1984. The University expects to announce the winner by 1 April 1985. Subsequent awards will be given annually. For further information write to Neal E. Lambert at the above address.

Book Reviews

MARY LYTHGOE BRADFORD, ed. *Mormon Women Speak: A Collection of Essays*. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1982. 237 pp. \$9.95.

Reviewed by Sondra Sumsion, an English major at Brigham Young University.

Many Mormon women recognize that selfless service does not preclude development of talents, but finding how to balance both is a genuine concern for them. It is not surprising, therefore, that balance becomes a key theme in Mary Lythgoe Bradford's anthology of women's essays, *Mormon Women Speak*. Many of the essays deal with the task of achieving a balance, and Bradford has structured the book to make balance an even more distinct message. The cover design of the book is a mandala. Composed of four divisions balanced around a woman's face, the mandala symbolizes attempts to harmonize a woman's "home, her church, her service to others and the development of her own talents" (p. 8). Each section of the mandala represents a division of the book. The essays in the first section discuss self-awareness. Those in the second section demonstrate the joys and trials of being wives and mothers. Essays in the third section reveal the growth and awareness that come through service. The fourth section, a series of essays tracing journeys of discovery, demonstrates self-development. Finally, in the fifth section, the essays discuss individual identity within the Church. Thus, moving through the various aspects of a woman's life, the book traces spiritual growth from the early, developmental encounters with conscience to deeply perceived personal manifestations achieved through the balance of family, service to others, self-development, and church activity.

The center of the mandala, a woman's face, is the image for the first section of essays. Dian Saderup, in the opening essay, decides that "God would have me penetrate my countless tangled images of self but that he does not *shout* direction or inspiration at me. He knows I need to learn to hear *inwardly*" (pp. 16-17). She learns she can best understand herself through personal revelation. The next essay, by Gladys Clark Farmer, shows how one woman could understand herself by understanding her mother. She explains, "What I am is not only a

product of an era of 'liberated women,' it is also a result of and a reaction to the example of my own mother'' (p. 21). Helen C. Stark, in the third essay, senses bitterness in herself and realizes she must gain self-knowledge before she can repent. Surfacing from self-examination with "hands overflowing with weeds and with treasure" (p. 35), she has gained the needed insight. The last essay in this section, by Karen Rosenbaum, is a confrontation with doubt. Thus we see self-knowledge growing from budding awareness, through understanding others and probing self, to the unequivocal self-honesty essential to balance. As Bradford says, quoting C. G. Jung, the mandala "cannot tolerate self-deception" (p. 7).

Demonstrating another aspect of balance, the theme of motherhood connects the essays in the second section. Appropriately, Maureen Ursenbach Beecher's opening essay tells how the birth of one of her children brought deepest self-awareness and spiritual communion. She explains, "And I had known it all. Had experienced the sisterhood, had participated in a ritual as old as seeding wheat, had sensed the link, to powers beyond my own, had found my own soul, had felt God" (p. 55). The next essay, by Judith R. Dushku, moves back into pregnancy and a difficult decision on abortion. After agonizing days, she acknowledges, "I could not abort this child. . . . It was clear that I had already projected a lifetime of dreams, of mother-daughter intimacies upon it, calling it by name and talking to it" (p. 65). Myrna S. Marler and Elinor G. Hyde deal with the work and demands of actual mothering. Finally, Edna B. Laney's essay completes the examination of the roles of wife and mother by recording her response to the death of her husband: "Instead of knitting our lives together, we would now begin to unwind the strands and go our separate ways" (p. 84).

The third section, on service, begins with Rubina R. Forester's discussion of discrimination in the Church, "Mormon Brown." Carol C. Ottesen's essay is an act of service in itself, a letter to a discontented friend whom she tries to help by describing the balance she has achieved in her own life. In the third essay, Ann Edwards-Cannon declares, "I *need* my women friends" (p. 110) and describes and celebrates the simple but vital services her friends have rendered her. The fourth essay returns to the theme of service to others, as Donna T. Smart tells how helping a Thai refugee family helped her pinpoint life's basic values. In the final essay, Phyllis N. Barber describes how helping a black man in a stalled car enabled her to confront and overcome her own racism. She says of the experience, "At that moment, I knew that he knew. He had been there just for me" (p. 133).

Though personal development is a minor theme in every section, the fourth section makes it the major theme. Jerrie W. Hurd's opening essay traces her intellectual and emotional journey into the professional world. She realizes she can successfully balance work and home only by overcoming self-imposed limits. She explains, "Believing that the pursuit of my dreams would be inconsistent with my image of a nurturing Mormon woman, I had avoided identifying the things I really wanted. This blindness had led me to accept limits that did not, in fact, exist" (p. 140). The next essay, "A Purple Rose" by Reva Beth L. Russell, examines her desire to excel and remain as individual as a purple rose, "unique, yet beautiful" (p. 147). In the case of Jean W. Johnson, development outside the role of mother was not welcome, but forced. Nevertheless, work outside her home brings her self-confidence and self-responsibility and teaches her balance. Happy in her new lifestyle, she explains her new-found balance: "My job is not my career; it does not occupy the center of my life. I have come to view the whole of my life, with its multiple components, as my career" (p. 161). In the next essay, Marilyn C. White continues the themes of development and balance by using trail imagery. She writes: "It seems to me that we are all born to different tracks and whether or not they head over mountains depends on the map each of us is given to follow" (pp. 163-64). The final essay in this section makes the figurative journeys of the other essays into a literal trip. Delores C. Ritchie describes her growth as she traveled alone through France: "I traveled alone to prove something to myself, and as such it became a personal pilgrimage—a 'rite of passage,' of sorts" (p. 172).

The final section completes the themes of balance and personal development by showing the importance of the Church in the balance of a woman's life. Cherie T. Pedersen describes how she came to balance gospel ideals and the women's movement: "The goals of both the Church and the women's movement are the same: to help women to be the best they can in every aspect of human development" (p. 188). That realization helps her understand how personal development can make her a better Church member: "To acknowledge needs that make us unique and to seek to fulfill them is not selfish. It is wisdom born of the understanding that we cannot give to others unless we ourselves are full" (p. 193). Marlene J. Payne describes how she found joy and fulfillment by developing her nurturing abilities not only as a mother but as a psychiatrist. Mary Ellen R. MacArthur describes an imbalance that developed during her daily commute to college: "I began noticing that I really had developed a 'Stanford self' and a 'home self'" (p. 202). Years later she learns she can

balance both: "It is perfectly possible to be considered a liberal, intellectual feminist at church and a religious, conservative 'square' in the world and still be accepted in both spheres" (p. 210). Also dealing with the lack of balance, the next essay, by Elizabeth O. Wach, parodies a zealot who must return to earth and "have a good time" before she can enter heaven. Completing both the section and the book, Loretta R. Sharp's "Saturday Voice—Sunday Burning" consummates the themes of balance and development. Sharp directly addresses the problem of obedience and autonomy. What she calls "Saturday voice" is an individual revelation, and what she calls "Sunday burning" is a commitment to support leaders whose words do not always correspond to individual revelation. She recognizes that self-awareness is essential to perceiving truth but that it must not turn into selfish autonomy which disregards community truth. She concludes, "If we allow ourselves instruction from heavenly beings in different ways, and if we then celebrate rather than fear differences in one another, we will do as our Heavenly Father commands: we will become one, we will receive the Holy Ghost" (p. 230).

By arranging the book to show positive development between the beginning and ending of each section and beyond—from Saderup's opening to Sharp's closing essay—Bradford encourages women to seek personal development. Just as the mandala symbolizes balance in the book, the book itself symbolizes balance in life, never discounting the nurturing role so stressed by Church leaders yet always reminding women of their unique talents and encouraging development of them.

MARY LYTHGOE BRADFORD, ed. *Mormon Women Speak: A Collection of Essays*. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1982. 237 pp. \$9.95.

Reviewed by Camille S. Williams, part-time faculty member of the Brigham Young University English Department, researching a language approach to Shakespeare.

In 1980 *Dialogue* and the Olympus Publishing Company sponsored an essay contest for Latter-day Saint women, the contest announcement declaring that "essays will be judged on originality, depth of perception and clarity of expression. They should be a product of the writer's

soul-searching and should reflect her conflicts and struggles, whether she views them realistically or idealistically.” The winning essays were gathered in *Mormon Women Speak*. While the contest announcement called for originality, and the editor, in her introduction, alludes to “common themes” and “exciting differences,” the collection in fact reflects the same themes and thoughts that have been published during the past ten years in *Exponent II*, in *Dialogue*, and in the writings of the women’s movement outside the Church. Some of the names and faces have changed, but most of these essays persist in the tradition of the liberal subjective quest of the self presenting an account of the self seeking the self.

Such a result was probably inevitable, given the clichéd terms of the contest announcement. To call for essays which are the product of “soul-searching,” “conflicts,” and “struggles” is to invite postures of self-pity and self-assertion. A personal essay need not be about the self, nor need it be self-conscious. The essayist has many means of helping us to know and feel what she has felt without giving us a guided tour of her psyche. The constraints the contest put on the writers has shaped too many of these twenty-four essays into accounts of primarily mental events, or cerebral accounts of physical events. Incidents are often recounted merely to illustrate the author’s state of mind. This places the focus on the author, not on her experiences.

The best essays in the book do not feature their authors as sole protagonists, nor do they aspire to art. Edna B. Laney (“The Last Project”) tells how she and her dying husband arrange for her to care for him at home. “He came to call [it] ‘Our honeymoon in reverse.’ Instead of knitting our lives together, we would now begin to unwind the strands and go our separate ways” (p. 84). She recounts incidents which allow us to see their love, humor, and faith. Her use of standard phrases sometimes distracts (for example, “he breathed his last,” p. 90), but her essay is genuine and unpretentious.

In “Tse Her, My Sister” Donna T. Smart introduces us to a Hmong refugee and her family adjusting to life in the United States. The friendship exists despite the language and cultural differences.

In contrast to the plainness of these essays, Dian Saderup and Helen C. Stark overwork their overriding metaphors, “the Wall” and “the Witch,” respectively. This strain for literary language is seen in the shifts from good prose to a semi-poetic diction, sometimes in the same paragraph. Compare Saderup’s description of her father, with her description of herself: “[I love] my father’s broad hands, the ridiculous Russian hat he wears in cold weather, the pair of old temple garments he has wrapped around his prized first edition copy

of the Book of Mormon in his dresser drawer . . . (p. 19); my heart . . . starts with sudden feeling, like the dark flock of sparrows exploding into the air from the limbs of a barren tree" (p. 19). This mix of normal and formal language deflects attention from the theme of the essay (testimony) to "*this* artist as a young woman" (p. 16) exhibiting her "tangled images of self" (p. 17).

Stark's essay begins straightforwardly: "It was the first evening of a college course in magazine article writing" (p. 31) but gets lost in the play of her own language: "I stand humbled before that alchemy which has merged my welter of positive and negative happenings into a tenuous new insight. I perceive that although nemesis does indeed follow hubris, it is not for me to force that resolution. The gods grind inexorably and in their own time" (p. 35). Stylistically, most of the essays are between the straightforward and the strained, although patches of overwrought prose are sprinkled throughout. Personal essays with a message—whether social critique, testimonial, defense of the faith, or feminist analysis—tend to alternate narrative and commentary, wobbling between analytic prose and poetic outbursts. Deciphering the tone(s) of an essay which couples impersonal with personal, formal with colloquial, or logical with emotive language is messy business: a collage of many discrete bright bits allows no clear focus on message, analysis, or perception. This mix of styles within essays is more distracting than the stylistic differences between authors.

The thematic grouping of essays attempts to give the book cohesiveness but sometimes results in too frequent repetition of common complaints, such as the zealous belief in and intolerance for the "stereotypical" Mormon woman. While viewing themselves as victims of stereotyping who are trying to destroy stereotypes in their own lives, contributors frequently perpetuate the stereotyping of other Mormon women. "I would cringe if someone told me I look Mormon. I must admit that I don't feel as I expect a Mormon woman to feel" (p. 150); "I don't seem to be cast in quite the same mold as all those other mothers" (p. 69); "I used to think being a Mormon woman meant . . ." (p. 137); "I somehow fell short of the ideal Mormon womanhood had come to symbolize" (p. 192). Because the existence of the stereotype is necessary as a checklist of what some of these Mormon women *aren't*, they have a stake in perpetuating it by writing about it as though it did exist. Elizabeth O. Wach's "Have a Good Time" is dependent upon the stereotype of a narrow-minded Wasatch Front Mormon family. Her exaggeration seems more tolerant, however, than the occasional slaps at an assumed Mormon subculture

appearing in other essays as though they were unquestionably true: "Church culture strives to suppress ambivalence, to deal only with the positive, two-dimensional view" (p. 199); "In our society, and particularly within the Mormon culture, there are seeming rewards of love and protection for the woman who remains, in some respects, a child-like, semi-adult" (pp. 152–53). Maureen Ursenbach Beecher condemns an insensitive—or simply inarticulate—father via an ecclesiastical comparison: "The [handicapped] baby's father came in, in his bishop's voice playing out complacencies about this 'special angel,' this seventh child whose difference neither parent had in the slightest anticipated" (p. 52).

The theme of the isolated intellectual squelched by the oppressive "normal-Mormon" (p. 147) is repeated by Mary Ellen R. MacArthur: "I still tend to ruffle my feathers at too much emphasis on unthinking obedience. . . . [I am expected to] play the role of the devil's advocate in any good discussion" (p. 210). Such an indictment of stereotyped Church culture in general is less accurate and less important than reported instances of Church members failing their brothers and sisters inside or outside the Church. For example, Marilyn C. White describes LDS women who misused their "power" at Hawaii's International Women's Year Conference: "I saw Mormon women chosen as leaders, who over the pulpit and in the name of Jesus Christ told their sisters to watch their lead and vote 'no' as a block on every issue" (p. 167). Rubina R. Forester discusses racism, noting, for example, "I know a former Relief Society president who, when she speaks with Polynesians, changes her language to pidgin English . . . and they, though they can speak English fluently and correctly, speak pidgin right back" (p. 96). Aside from a few specific instances (such as these) where individual Church members go wrong, the Mormon subculture is criticized in generalities. The tendency to stereotype other LDS people (as nonthinkers, naive, culture-bound, etc.) is not only a "common theme" but also the foundation for didactic passages such as Cherie T. Pedersen's testimony that "the goals of both the Church and the women's movement are the same" (p. 188), or Jerrie W. Hurd's rediscovery of feminist analysis: "Every woman, whether she is an active feminist or not, must learn to deal with the bias against her. She must recognize both subtle and blatant forms of discrimination" (p. 141). Stereotypes are straw men, convenient fillers when analysis fails, conveniently attackable when pressing questions are to be ignored.

The first-place essay by Judith R. Dushku invokes a straw-man argument (free agency), avoiding the issue at hand—the morality of

elective abortion. Her thesis is poorly formulated. She describes her attitude toward abortion: "Of course I am Pro-Choice. . . . I had read President Kimball's strong statement on abortion. . . . But I had never understood his counsel to negate individual agency" (pp. 58, 59). Free agency is never negated by statements declaring the position of the Church. The purpose of a statement of church policy is not to proscribe choice, but to articulate a moral position. The essay concentrates on the importance of choice, which is a given, but provides no moral insight. Perhaps the essay would have been more effective had she allowed us to *feel* what she was *feeling*, rather than *telling* us what she was *thinking*: "What followed were the most agonizing days of my life. I spent hours examining doctrines, arranging priorities, trying to understand fears and analyze anxieties. . . . I spent intense hours in prayer and intense hours with my bishop. . . . President Kimball's strongly worded cautions against aborting a baby without careful, even agonizing thought and prayer, reminded me of my responsibilities. I was accountable. I could not abrogate that accountability" (pp. 64, 65). *She* draws the conclusions; *she* terms the experience "agonizing" and "intense." Had she simply told what happened her agonies and intensities might have been more perceptible. Her speculation that she decided to give birth in part because this would be her first girl after three boys is disquieting. Her worry "Can we parents provide them [our children] with the spiritual sustenance they need?" (p. 67) seems disingenuous after the admissions that a handicapped or male child would more likely have been aborted.

This collection is not intended to answer all questions about or by LDS women, but it does give an excuse to consider topics related to Mormon women and to the personal essay. It may be that the cumulative effect of reading several of these essays at a stretch gives the impression of too much "temperature-taking." Occasional essays in periodicals are interesting partly because they contrast with the other articles or poems in the same issue. Perhaps Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's question should be asked about private efforts, too: "In the realm of publications, are the needs of women better served by integration . . . or by independence?" (*Dialogue* 12 [Summer 1979]: 126). How valid is a collection based on the writers' sex? Why restrict the essays to the conflict/struggle mode of writing?

Finally, we need to decide how long women are going to be granted immunity for writings that would be considered sexist if written by men. We probably wouldn't tolerate "In Celebration of Male Friends" written by a Mr. Cannon but might still be comfortable

with Ann Edwards–Cannon’s “In Celebration of Female Friends.” Cherie Pedersen’s supposed insights that “the gospel . . . is a celebration of womanhood” (the gospel is a celebration of manhood?), and “my awareness of the multi-faceted nature of my own womanhood” (the multi-faceted nature of my own manhood?) (p. 194) would sound sexist or silly voiced by a man; imagine *Mormon Men Speak*. *Mormon Women Speak* is the feminist variant of the books written to cheer up and enlighten Latter-day Saint women. As a thinking woman’s guide to self-esteem, or an intellectual’s “joy of womanhood,” it is no more satisfying than the conservative originals.

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