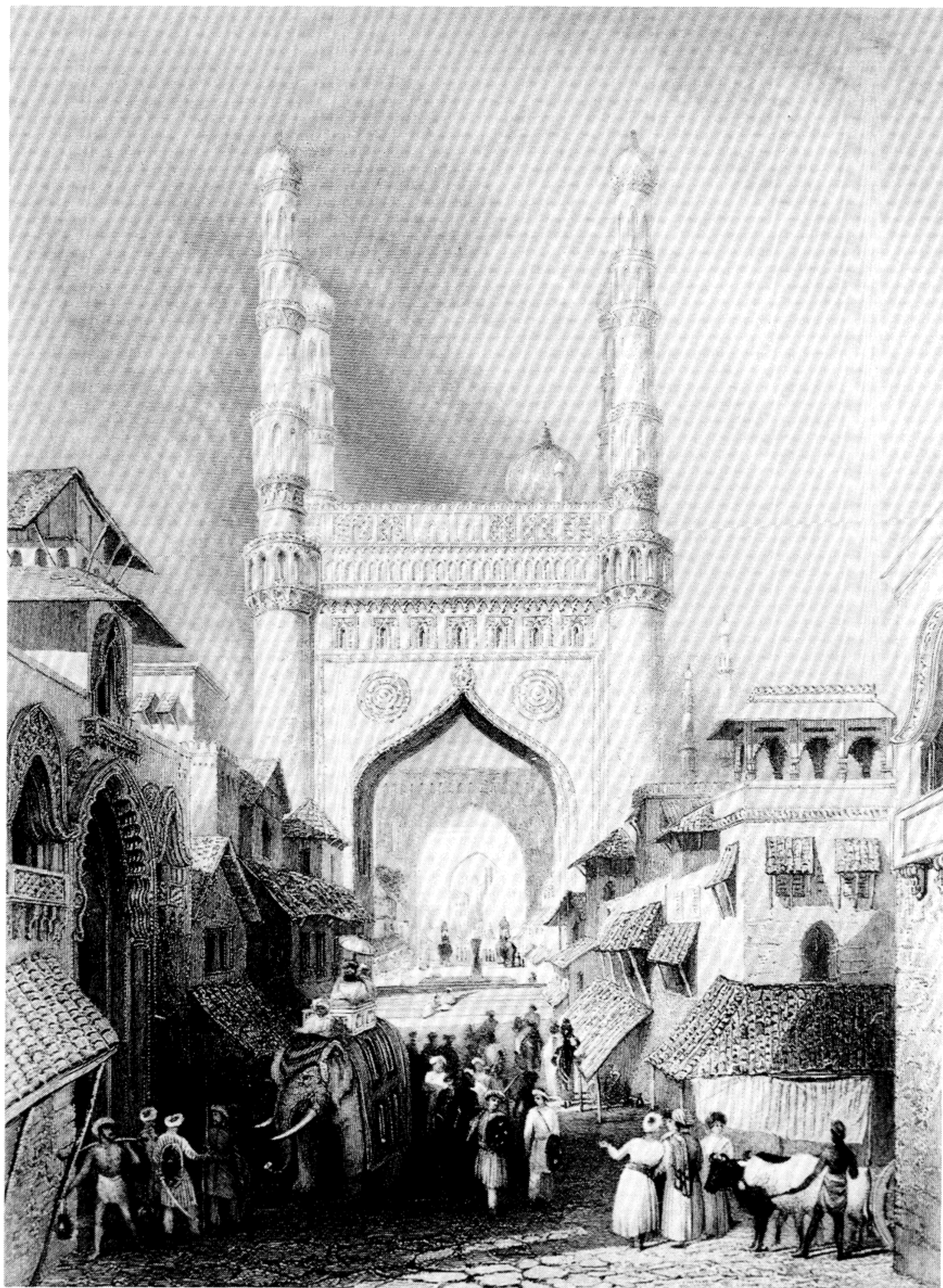


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The Last Months of Mormonism in Missouri: The Albert Perry Rockwood Journal

Edited by Dean C. Jessee and David J. Whittaker

Few events in the history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have had the impact of the last months in Missouri. Names such as Lilburn Boggs and Alexander Doniphan and events such as the Haun's Mill Massacre and the Extermination Order still evoke strong feelings in the group memory of the Latter-day Saints. The events of a few weeks in 1838 seem to symbolize for Mormons their treatment by the larger society throughout the nineteenth century. The defensiveness of their histories from 1839 on can, in large measure, be attributed to their experiences there. The Missouri experience casts a long shadow down through the years of Mormon history.

One of the best contemporary Mormon records of the last weeks in Missouri is that of Albert Perry Rockwood. He was born 9 June 1805 to Luther and Ruth Perry Rockwood in Holliston, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.¹ His father remarried shortly after Albert's mother died in August 1805; thus he grew up mostly with stepbrothers and stepsisters until he married Nancy Haven, also from Holliston, in 1827.

Brigham Young and Willard Richards had earlier come as missionaries of the LDS church to Holliston, and Albert, after investigating their message, journeyed to Kirtland, Ohio, where on 25 July 1837 he was baptized by Brigham Young. The Rockwoods moved to Ohio, but Albert was back in Massachusetts between May and July 1838 when Wilford Woodruff records visiting him in jail, where he had been incarcerated on false charges relating to a debt.² He traveled to Missouri in July and shortly thereafter wrote the letters that follow.³ Rockwood made his way up the Grand River from DeWitt to Far West in Caldwell County, where he remained until 10 January 1839 when he moved his family east to

Dean C. Jessee is an associate professor of Church history and a research associate in the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History at Brigham Young University. David J. Whittaker is an associate librarian at Brigham Young University and associate editor of *BYU Studies*. The documents reproduced here are with the permission of the Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, and Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.



Albert Perry Rockwood, c. 1870s

Printed with permission of the Utah State Historical Society

Quincy, Illinois, as part of the larger exodus of Mormons from the state of Missouri.

With other faithful members of the Church, Rockwood gathered his family to Nauvoo, where they assisted in the building of a new city. When the Nauvoo Legion was first organized in 1841, he was elected captain of one of the companies in addition to being drill officer. In 1843 he was assigned to be commander of Joseph Smith's life guard, in which capacity he assisted in the rescue of the Prophet when he was "kidnapped" in Dixon, Illinois, in June.⁴ Rockwood would later achieve the rank of general in the Legion.

In December 1845 he was set apart as one of the first Presidents of the First Quorum of Seventies, thus making him one of the General Authorities of the Church. As a cousin of Brigham Young as well as a father-in-law (President Young married his daughter Ellen A. Rockwood in January 1846), Rockwood remained close to him all of his life. He traveled west with President Young in 1847, even sharing the same illness that struck in July 1847 just before they entered the Salt Lake Valley.⁵ Rockwood returned to Winter Quarters with Brigham Young and in July 1849 brought his three wives, Nancy Haven, Angeline Hodgkins, and Elvira Teeple to the Salt Lake Valley. He later married two additional wives, Juliana Sophia Olson and Susana Cornwall. He fathered twenty-two children.

In September 1851 Rockwood was elected to the first session of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah. He remained a member until his death in 1879. He held other civic responsibilities also. In 1862 he was elected to the office of warden of the penitentiary; he was a director and organizer of the Deseret Agricultural and Manufacturing Society; he served as watermaster of the Salt Lake City Thirteenth Ward; in 1870 he was appointed as a road commissioner in Salt Lake County; and following his role in 1871 as co-owner of a fish company, he was appointed by Brigham Young as the first fish commissioner for Utah Territory.⁶

MORMONS IN MISSOURI: A SUMMARY

A short history of the Mormon experience in Missouri should prove helpful to the reader of Rockwood's letters, even though they were written at the very end of that experience. Basically the history of Mormons in Missouri can be divided into three periods, each of which can be focused (allowing for some overlapping) in specific counties: Jackson County from 1831 to 1833; Clay and Ray counties from 1833 to 1836; and Caldwell, Daviess, and Carroll counties from 1837 to 1839.

The millennial fervor that is so apparent in the Rockwood letters found an early focus in Jackson County where Joseph Smith, during a



A map of northwestern Missouri in the late 1830s

Courtesy of Ivan J. Barrett

personal visit in 1831, declared Independence to be the “center place of Zion,” the area where the pure in heart were to be gathered in the last days prior to the second coming of Christ. By 1833 about twelve hundred Latter-day Saints had gathered there. But local vigilante activity, moved by fears of the economic and political consequences of the growing Mormon presence, combined to force the LDS population from the county by November of that year.⁷

Finding refuge primarily in Clay County just north across the Missouri River, Mormons sought redress through legal channels in addition to the anticipated paramilitary support of Zion’s Camp. Neither proved effective.⁸ Thus by 1836 it was clear that no redress for their Jackson County losses would be forthcoming. Fearing another possible civil disturbance, the Missouri legislature moved in 1836 to organize Caldwell County as a place for Mormon settlement. It was understood that Mormons would concentrate themselves in Caldwell. In the summer of 1836, John Whitmer and William W. Phelps chose the site for Far West, and it quickly became the most important Mormon settlement in the area. Within two years, about five thousand Mormons were living in the area of Far West, which itself had all the basic businesses and services for even further growth.⁹

By early 1838 Mormons were settling in Daviess County, just north of Caldwell. In May Joseph Smith officially approved Adam-ondi-Ahman (also known as Di-Ahman) as a place of Mormon settlement.¹⁰ By the summer of 1838, about fifteen hundred members of the Church were settling there. Down the Grand River from Di-Ahman, at the strategic place where the Grand enters the Missouri River, George M. Hinkle and John Murdock established DeWitt in Carroll County as a Mormon outpost in July 1838.¹¹

From 1831 to 1838, Joseph Smith had retained the headquarters of the Church in Kirtland, Ohio. But with the growing problems there following the failure of the economy, Joseph requested the faithful to gather with him to Missouri. He arrived in Far West on 14 March 1838 to a warm greeting from his followers, who now looked forward to peace and prosperity. But the problems associated with dissenters that had plagued the Prophet in Ohio followed him to Missouri. Even before his arrival, William W. Phelps, David Whitmer, and John Whitmer had been disciplined by Church courts. In April Oliver Cowdery was excommunicated from the Church as dissent continued to trouble the settlements in Missouri. On 17 June 1838, Sidney Rigdon preached his “Salt Sermon” (see Matt. 5:13), a discourse that was widely interpreted as a clear warning to other dissenters to get out. Many did.¹²

By July Mormons were fanning out in their search for places to settle. That they were feeling more secure is revealed in Sidney Rigdon’s Fourth of July oration. In it he declared that Mormons would no longer

be silent when mobs came against them. He went so far in his rhetoric as to warn of a “war of extermination” against any mob that came against the Saints.¹³ It is clear that the resentments of the older Missouri settlers still festered and that Ridgon’s sermon only added fuel to the simmering fire. The first serious clash came at Gallatin, Daviess County, on 6 August 1838, when non-Mormons tried to prevent Mormons from voting in a local election.¹⁴ The impact was far-reaching for both sides. On 7 August the Mormon militia from Far West rode north to protect fellow Church members. Reports of this Mormon “invasion” quickly moved through the adjacent counties, providing further justification for anti-Mormon feelings and actions. By 20 August armed Missourians were threatening Mormons in DeWitt, and various citizen groups were discussing possible solutions to the “Mormon problem.” By 11 October, the Mormons were forced out of DeWitt.

During October things went from bad to worse. Opinion on both sides was intransigent to the point that no real communication was possible. Various clashes between the two groups, increased militia activity on both sides, and finally the shedding of blood led to a state of civil war by 18 October. On 24 October, Captain Samuel Bogart mobilized his Ray County militia, arguing that it was necessary to prevent further destruction by Mormons. The same day, Bogart’s group captured two individuals they considered to be Mormon spies. Reacting to this situation, Captain David W. Patten led a group of armed Mormons to rescue the captives. The resulting clash is remembered as the Battle of Crooked River wherein three Mormons (including Patten) and one Missourian were killed.¹⁵ Rumors and false reports of the skirmish spread across the state, and this time the state militia was called out to stop the Mormons. On 27 October, Missouri Governor Lilburn W. Boggs issued his executive order that Mormons must be “exterminated or driven from the state.”

Three days later, on 30 October, Missouri militia descended on Haun’s Mill, a Mormon outpost east of Far West, where they killed eighteen people and wounded another fifteen in the most brutal act of the conflict.¹⁶ On the same day, Missouri troops under the leadership of General Samuel D. Lucas arrived near Far West. Mormon representatives met with him on 31 October, and only the surrendering of key Mormon leaders prevented a potential bloodbath. The next day, 1 November, Joseph Smith asked his followers at Far West and Adam-ondi-Ahman to surrender. They did. On the same day, Lucas court-martialed seven Mormon leaders and sentenced them to death. Only the intercession of General Alexander Doniphan prevented the sentence from being carried out.¹⁷

The days that followed saw the arrival of General John B. Clark (on 4 November) who announced on 5 November in the public square

at Far West his intention of carrying out the surrender agreement of General Lucas. Meanwhile Mormon leaders were taken first to Jackson County and then to Richmond in Ray County, where Judge Austin A. King presided over a Court of Inquiry from 12 to 29 November. The court concluded that there was enough evidence to hold some of the Mormon prisoners until a trial could begin the next spring. Some of those detained were imprisoned at Richmond. A few, including Joseph Smith, were transferred to Liberty in Clay County, where they remained in jail for the next five months.¹⁸ Most Mormons moved out of the state between December 1838 and April 1839, when Joseph Smith and his associates escaped their guards while being transferred to another jail. They then joined other members of the Church who had already fled east to Illinois.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ROCKWOOD LETTERS: THE DANITES IN MORMON HISTORY

The serious student of Mormon history discovers that there are very few primary sources available or extant that deal with the last months of 1838 in Missouri. Because the vast majority of texts relating to these critical months were written *after* December 1838, the importance of the Rockwood letters becomes apparent. They are significant contemporary records of the inner history of the LDS community at Far West during this period and for that reason alone are worthy of publication.

But besides their detail for the events during the final months of 1838, revealing, as it were, a closeness that puts the reader in the eye of the storm, these letters also offer a new solution to the old debate over the existence and function of Danites in Mormon society. The existence of groups of armed Mormons called “Danites” during 1838 in Missouri has both plagued faithful Mormons and seemingly provided almost unlimited historical license to their critics ever since. The presence of the word *Danites* in early sources dealing with the so-called “Mormon War” in Missouri and the fact that some in the LDS community, apparently reacting to the clamor about Danites, crossed out or attempted to delete references to Danites, including the Rockwood material in the Church archives, have unfortunately further suggested the worst interpretation to critics of the Church as well as to well-meaning defenders of the faith.

Historiographically, the further removed from 1838 the source is, and the more critical the author was of the Church, the greater the detail the account contains of illegal activity by the Danites. Thus, accounts written by apostates or other enemies of the Church appearing by 1840 tend to suggest that the Danites were a secretive, militaristic, extralegal organization. And generally, accounts by faithful Mormons after 1840 tend to be very defensive. The main difficulty with most of the critical evidence is that it comes from individuals who were clearly prejudiced

against Joseph Smith. In fact, the most negative accounts can be traced to two main sources: the highly questionable testimony of Sampson Avard at the November 1838 court of inquiry, or individuals who had or did come to question the whole concept of the kingdom of God in early Mormon thought.

The conceptual framework of Stephen LeSueur's recent book, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, is based on the assumption that Joseph Smith knew about and even led marauding Danite bands on their offensive raids on non-Mormon Missouri farms and villages in 1838. LeSueur consistently maintains an interpretation of the Danites that places the major blame on Mormon leaders for their problems in northern Missouri. Thus he concludes that the court of inquiry in November 1838 correctly bound Joseph Smith over for trial based on the evidence presented against him, particularly by Avard. On this matter, LeSueur follows directly an old interpretation.¹⁹

The only other major interpretation was advanced by Leland Gentry, first in his 1965 dissertation and later in an article in *BYU Studies*.²⁰ Basically Gentry argues that the Danites were real but that they went through three stages of development: (1) in June at Far West and in July at Adam-ondi-Ahman, groups were organized to specifically aid in the expulsion of dissenters from the Mormon communities; (2) from June to mid-October 1838, Danites provided protection for Mormons against mob violence, primarily a defensive movement; and (3) during October 1838, during the "Mormon War," the Danites began to steal from non-Mormons, a stage and activity justified and led by Sampson Avard. The value of Gentry's thesis has been that it admits that Danites existed and even that Joseph Smith could have known about the first two stages, but it disassociates the Prophet from the most militant and illegal manifestations. The irony, argues Gentry, is that Avard, in providing the testimony against Joseph Smith in November 1838 as a witness for the state, successfully shifted all blame for his own activity onto the Prophet. While Gentry's work is cited by LeSueur, at no time does he address Gentry's arguments. While Gentry apparently did not know of the Rockwood texts, LeSueur cites them but misunderstands what Rockwood is saying.²¹

Rockwood's own narrative suggests that both Mormons and non-Mormons have fundamentally failed to grasp what the Danites were, and this misunderstanding is perpetuated in the continued use of the term only for meanings critics of the Church early attached to it. While space limitations prevent a detailed analysis here, several points are revealing.²²

Rockwood's record for 22 October 1838 suggests several important points for our understanding of the Danites. First, the origin of the "Armies of Israel" predates 1838; in fact, it goes back to Zion's Camp in

1834 (see D&C 105:30–32). Here militia operations in or by the Church were tied to divine injunctions to redeem Zion, a central part in Joseph Smith's mission of establishing the latter-day kingdom of God in Missouri (see D&C 107:72–73). And it has been clearly established that "Zion's Camp" was a defensive operation, depending solely on the promises of the governor of Missouri.²³

Second, Rockwood's account of the organization of Danites involves the whole Mormon community, and he describes its structure in the biblical terms of companies of tens, fifties, and hundreds (see Ex. 18:13–26). He clearly says the various groupings provided all kinds of community service, not just bearing arms. Some groups of Danites were to build houses; others were to gather food or care for the sick, while still others were to help gather the scattered Saints into the community. There can be no doubt that Rockwood is describing the *total* activities of a covenant community that viewed itself in the same terms as ancient Israel. Working in groups, these Danites served the interests of the whole. The consecration of labor and property involved the whole community. It was hardly a secret organization working under the cover of darkness; in fact, Rockwood is more explicit about Danite activity in the letters he sends than in the accounts he copies into his own journal. This would hardly be a proper course to take if the whole thing were to be kept in absolute secrecy. Rockwood thus presents a view fundamentally different from Avard's, a view that allows for an interpretation of these developments in a much broader perspective, both historically and doctrinally.

Finally, Rockwood reveals that the name *Dan* came not from the warrior tribe of Dan (Gen. 49:16–17; Deut. 33:22; 1 Chr. 12:35) or from the militant references to the "Daughters of Zion" (Isa. 3:16), as critical sources alleged or misunderstood, but rather, and more consistently, from the book of Daniel, "because the Prophet Daniel has Said the Saints Shall take the Kingdom and possess it for ever" (Dan. 2:44). To the student of Mormon history, this brings the whole notion into clear focus. Early Mormons consistently used the book of Daniel in their own self-understanding of the mission of the Church (see especially D&C 65:2). The "stone cut out without hands" was to fill the whole earth. It was, in their minds, the kingdom of God, and it was a direct outgrowth of their millennial expectations. It was not to be established by bloodshed or lawbreaking (see D&C 58:19–22; 98:4–7; 105:5). The righteous were to be gathered out of the world, and, as Rockwood notes, it was the growing concentration of Mormons that really bothered their Missouri neighbors. General Clark's counsel to those who remained at Far West was to not gather again.

Throughout Rockwood's letters, Mormon millennial expectations are obvious, but nowhere is there the cutthroat secrecy that Avard later

persuaded Judge Austin King and other non-Mormons there was. The illegal activities Avard testified to are also missing in the other known contemporary Mormon references to Danites. John Smith's diary speaks of the Danite activity in Adam-ondi-Ahman in very matter-of-fact terms; and the reference in the "Scriptory Book" of Joseph Smith kept by George Robinson also confirms the essentials suggested by Rockwood:

Some time past the bretheren or Saints have come up day after day to consecrate, and to bring their offerings into the store house of the lord, to prove him now herewith and se[e] if he will not pour us out a blessings that there will not be room enough to contain it. They have come up hither Thus far, according to the order <Rev?> of the Danites, we have a company of Danites in these times, to put right physically that which is not right, and to cleanse the Church of verry great evils which hath hitherto existed among us inasmuch as they cannot be put to right by teachings & persuasyons, This company or a part of them exhibited on the fourth day of July [illegible word] They come up to consecrate by companies of tens, commanded by their captain over ten.²⁴

All of this is not to suggest that the Mormon militia obeyed all the laws or that a segment of them were not misled by Avard. But as Richard L. Anderson has recently shown, even the burning of Gallatin and the raid on Millport were defensive in nature and came only after years of patient suffering.²⁵ Therefore, to argue that these were simply the more public side of the very dark Danite activities is not historically accurate. It might be suggested that either Sidney Rigdon's speeches or private counsel could have encouraged Avard's activities, but it is unfair to continue to use the term *Danite* to cover only an aberration.

Rockwood's record would lead us to conclude that the original intention of the Danites was to more fully organize modern Israel into an integrated community with each person contributing to the benefit of the whole. It is unfortunate that the term has only been used to identify the activities of the more radical fringe, probably those led in that direction by Avard.

Avard's testimony seems to have laid the foundation for all subsequent interpretations. Even General Clark admitted Avard was the key to his investigation of the Mormons.²⁶ Surely the accounts of such individuals as Reed Peck, John Corrill, John Whitmer, William Swartzell, John Hunt, Ebenezer Robinson, and even John D. Lee were framed less by what was happening in the Mormon community than by the interpretative framework Avard managed to provide for anyone who needed a rationale for rejecting either the leadership of Joseph Smith or the centralizing tendencies of a covenant community intent on establishing Zion.²⁷

Students of Mormon history must also consider the various contemporary histories by individuals who remained faithful to the

Church. Their lack of references to Danites not only suggest that perhaps they equated the community with the title, but that it had become a negative label, hence they denied knowing the term in the context of Avarð's use of it. In the 1880s John Taylor recalled, "I have heard a good deal about Danites, but I have never heard of them among the Latter-day Saints. If there was such an organization, I never was made acquainted with it."²⁸ Other sources, usually autobiographical recollections such as those of Mosiah Hancock, William Huntington, or Luman Shurtliff, are best understood in the context of Rockwood's use of the term *Danite*.

If what we argue here has merit, and we think the Rockwood letters suggest this, then the Danites in early Mormon history must be reevaluated. When Parley P. Pratt wrote to his family just at the end of the court of inquiry, he could, in honesty, tell them that "they accuse us of things that never entered into our hearts." And Joseph Smith, writing from Liberty Jail in December 1838, added:

We have learned also since we have been in prison that many false and pernicious things which were calculated to lead the saints far astray and to do great injury have been taught by Dr. Avarð as coming from the Presidency . . . which the presidency never knew of being taught in the church by any body untill after they were made prisoners . . . the presidency were ignorant as well as innocent of these things.²⁹

We might even consider the impact the Missouri organization had, not only on the host of dime-novels of nineteenth-century America,³⁰ but on the organization Brigham Young gave to the "Camp of Israel" at Winter Quarters in 1847 (D&C 136:2–11) and his continued stress on consecration and community building in the Great Basin.

SOURCE DESCRIPTION

One explanation for the lack of contemporary historical sources dealing with Mormonism in Missouri in the period 1838–39 is that in times of crisis the struggle for survival interrupts the record-keeping process. Rockwood was one of those who did write during those difficult months. The Rockwood journal published here, covering the period between 6 October 1838 and 30 January 1839, is a series of journal entries sent in installments as letters to family members and friends in the area of Holliston, Massachusetts, where Rockwood had lived before he left for Missouri.

The text below is taken from three manuscripts: two housed in the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City and the third at the Yale University Library at New Haven, Connecticut. The Yale manuscript, written in Rockwood's own hand, appears to be a copy recorded by him in a handmade notebook retained for his personal record. The

manuscripts at the LDS Church Archives are a parallel version of Rockwood's journal-letters copied by Phineas Richards in Holliston, Massachusetts, from material he had evidently received from Rockwood and desired to pass on to his wife at West Stockbridge, Massachusetts. While the Yale and LDS manuscripts essentially cover the same time period, each contains textual differences not found in the other. In some instances, the text Rockwood sent to Richards is more explicit than the one he copied in his own notebook. But in two instances long additions are made in the notebook that do not appear in the Richards manuscripts.

That the journal material sent by Rockwood was received and read in Massachusetts is seen in correspondence from that locality involving the Richards family. This correspondence also reveals the context in which the Richards copy was made and substantiates his having copied it. In a letter postmarked St. Louis, Missouri, on 1 January 1839, Franklin D. Richards, the seventeen-year-old son of Phineas Richards, reviewed his own experience in western Missouri for his parents in West Stockbridge. Among other things, Franklin told his parents details of the massacre at Haun's Mill, where his brother George had been killed. But for further information about events at Far West he referred them to the Church in Holliston, where, he said, Albert Rockwood "says he kept a daily journal of the whole transaction and sent it to them."³¹

Other references to the Rockwood journals are found in letters of Phineas Richards at Holliston to his wife, Wealthy, in West Stockbridge. After writing about the Haun's Mill Massacre and quoting Rockwood in a letter of 7 January 1839, Phineas adds, "I can not now write many of the particulars respecting the war, Brother Rockwood has kept a journal of all this transaction, and as soon as possible I shall transcribe the same and send or fetch it to Richmond for your benefit."³² Writing to his wife again on 21 January, Phineas introduces an extensive summary of news about "the troubles at the west" by giving his source:

Brother Rockwood keeps a journal of the proceedings there and when he gets a sheet filled he sends it out of the reach of their enemies to mail them and so they come regular. [T]hrough their hardest conflict letters did not pass and repass in mail, evil minded men detained them. Now he says they are more regular in going and comeing.³³

The differences between the Rockwood manuscript at Yale and the Phineas Richards manuscripts at the LDS Church Archives indicate that Rockwood tailored different versions of his journal to different audiences. His method is seen from instructions he gave his father: "I have kept a Journal of what has been in this vicinity & sent it to Sister Bose [Vose] of Boston up to this date and requested her to let you have the reading of it which you have probably had before this. I shall now continue to you the Journal & request you to let her have the reading of it."

THE MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscript 1, located in the LDS Church Archives, contains entries from 6 October to 19 November 1838. It is written by Phineas Richards on unlined white paper, folded and sewed to make a twenty-four page booklet 16.5 cm. x 20 cm. The first seven pages and four lines are written in a dark bluish-green ink; the remainder is in dark brown ink.

Manuscript 2, also housed in the LDS Church Archives, contains entries from 19 November to 2 December 1838, followed by a copy of a letter and poem written by Parley P. Pratt from Richmond, Missouri, dated 9 December 1838. It is written by Phineas Richards on white lined paper, folded and sewed to make a sixteen-page booklet 16.5 cm. x 20 cm. The writing is in brown ink, but the Pratt letter and poem are in a lighter shade. The last 5 3/4 pages of the booklet are blank. Someone other than the writer has numbered the pages, continuing the second manuscript in sequence after the first.

Manuscript 3 is located in the Albert P. Rockwood Papers, Coe Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. This manuscript, in the handwriting of Albert P. Rockwood, is written on off-white, unlined paper in dark brown ink, folded and sewed to make thirty-six pages measuring 24.5 cm. x 19.5 cm. The pages have mostly become unsewn. This manuscript covers the entire period of the other two, but with substantial differences in the text, including word changes, additions, and omissions. Where Manuscript 2 ends with the Parley P. Pratt letter and poem following the entry of 2 December 1838, Manuscript 3 continues with material dated in January 1839. The Yale manuscript is written on twenty-one unnumbered pages; the remainder of the notebook is blank.³⁴

EDITORIAL METHOD

The featured text in this publication is Manuscripts 1 and 2, with substantive departures from Manuscript 3 given in the notes. However, two segments of Manuscript 3 become the featured text where that manuscript contains extensive new material. These lengthy insertions are enclosed in braces { }. The narrative is transcribed as written and punctuated in the manuscripts, so far as possible within the limits of modern printing. An exception: dates of the entries are made uniform and have been set apart from the rest of the text. Redundant repetitions of a few words are not preserved. Additions to the text for clarification are enclosed in brackets []. Insertions in the text appear in angle brackets < > at the point of insertion.

What follows is an important primary source for Mormon history in Missouri. It is one of the few contemporary accounts of the last months of the Church in that state in 1838–39. In general it reveals the thoughts and commitments of a recent convert as well as the observations of a recently arrived emigrant in northern Missouri. It is clear that along with recording what he personally witnessed, Rockwood reported rumor and gossip that filtered into Far West during the fast-paced weeks of October and November 1838. His love for his people, his loyalty to his religion, and his indignation over the contemporary events that caused his people to suffer remain alive in his letters.

Albert P. Rockwood
MANUSCRIPT 1

6 October 1838, Saturday.
Sister Vose³⁵

Agreeable to my engagement to you I now proceed to give you a short journal of what is passing in this vicinity.³⁶ When I was at st. Louis (sept 6) on my way to this place I learned by the public papers, that a mob was gathering to drive the Mormons out of Davies County, and seeing the excitement that prevailed it seemed not wisdom to be publicly known as a Mormon as I had on all my journey. I passed up the river without being publicly known and land-ed at De Witt which is 60 miles from Far West. while there a man came along notifying the Missourians to go to Davis County to drive the Mormons out of Adam-ondi-aman[.] [I] saw some of them making preperations &c.

About this time the Sherriff of Caldwell County took 40 stands of armes that were on the road to arm the mob. The Missourians gathered from all the upper Counties to join the mob to the number of several hundreds, they continued to incamp in various places for several miles round Adam-ondi-aman for about 2 weeks, taking some prisoners, robing and insulting in various ways many of the Brethren, and driving many from their homes that were scattered about the county, but thos[e] at the City of Adam-on-diaman were not molested only threatened[.] they were constantly under arms and on the watch[.] the Brethren went from this plase by hundreds to their relief. Far West was in a state of constant alarm for several days[.] the common was almost constantly covered with armed men, who were determined to maintain t[he]ir rights even at the expence of life. [p. 1]

The armies of Isreal³⁷ are already acknowledged to be terible by the Missourians³⁸ Three or four hundred of the Missourians malitia were called out to disperse the Mob which was done by the help of the brethren without coming to an engagement the Mob have now retired from Davis County with shame and disgrace. Great verry great fear rests on the Missourians in Davis county[.] they

are now selling their property verry low to the Brethren. in many cases they sell their real Estate with their houses and crops on the ground for less than the crop is worth[.] Davis County is now considered in the possession of the Brethren. The real estate of the Brethren has risen while that of the Missourians has fallen 3/4 in three months, thus the Lord is preparing the way for his Children.

One of the causes of the above was ~~they~~ Missourians refusing some of the Brethren the right of suffrage at an Election.³⁹ The Missourians comenced beating the Brethren when they manfully defended themselves and sent an express to far west and in 12 hours the armies of Isreal were at the place of contention demanding peace which was restored for a few days only when the Mob began to gather.

Brother Joseph Smith Jr & Lyman White⁴⁰ <were> at the head of the army of Isreal that went up to the relief of the Brethren in Davies County. This army that went up were without author<ity> [p. 2] by the laws of the land, and are therefore considered as breakers of the peace, Brother Joseph & B. White have been bound over for the sum of \$500 each for their appearance at the higher Court but it is thought nothing more will be done with them but that remains yet to be Proved.⁴¹

Far West, is 25 miles from Adam-on-diahman. During the campain there was a station every few miles of men and horses between the two Cities to convey the news. This City was guarded at evry entrance, It was no uncommon thing to hear the trump of the Lord sound to call the armies of Isreal to armes. You would have laughed⁴² to have seen the fear that rested on the Missourians, on one occasion the malitia that were raised by <order of> the authority of the state in Clay County had occasion to pass through Far West, on their journey to suppress the mob at Adam-on-di-ahman. They sent their wise men to ask if they could be permitted to ride through our streets, the answer to them was that any peaceable citizen could freely pass, On the strength of this answer they mustered <up> courage enough to pass through[.] their number was 93[.] most of them looked rather sower. I suppose it was because the law of the state obliges them to turn out ~~and~~ to suppress a mob against the Mormons. During the campaign an express came from the commander of the Malitia that he feared that most of his men would desert him and join the mob, but the mob was dispersed with out an [p. 3] engagement, so they had not the chance to desert that many wish[ed] for.

During the campaign at Adam-on-di-ahman the Missourians sent Petitions & Depositions to the Governour⁴³ representing that the Mormons were the worst of people that among other things they were murdering Robing &c.

And the honourable governour believed that the Mormons were all in the fault and the Missourians right[.] nor did he satisfactorily learn to the contrary untill he had actually raised 3000 troops and march[ed] with them to within 60 miles <of> F. West when to his astonishment he learned that the Mormons were not the agressors, but the defenders on the Laws of Missouri, but the very people that had been sending there depositians & petitions were the Murderers and Robbers & the all manner of evil people ~~people~~ that they had been representing the Mormons to be. He then left us to continue about our own buisness and returned home, instead of searching out and bringing to justice the vilinous Mobacrats. The Govenour arrived a few days after the[y] was dispersed. I

suppose that the time and other expences of this campaign has cost the City of Far West more than \$3,000[.] the Brethren in Davies County have suffered much more loss than in Caldwell County.

Among other things the Brethren have been represented to be enemies to our Country⁴⁴ and the Laws of Missouri but [p. 4] the test of this is come bringing shame on our accusers. For about this time the Governour issued his Proclimation for a large amount of Malitia to be raised and held in readiness to march against the Indians at a moments warning. Caldwell County was called upon to furnish 63 men. the Malitia were all warned to meet at Far West to beet for volunteers and a deficiency was to be filled by draft, they acordingly assembled and one beet was made when, a b[o]ut twice the required sum was immediately raised by volunteers. Proving to the state that we are ready to suppress foreign invasion as well as internal Mobs. It was with difficulty some of the Mob Counties could raise men to an[s]wer the Pr[o]climation.

Permanent arrangements are now making for constant imployment for both Male & Female by the operation of Church firms which are about being extensively established[.] the members leas[e] all their real Estate (save their City lots) to the firm to which they belong for a term of years, from 10 to 99 without any consideration or interest.⁴⁵ Personal Estate is put in on nearly the same condition[.] Evry member that join[s] is to put in all he has over & above his needs and wants for his present stewardship, in all cases each person is morally bound to pay his honest debts before leaving. The calculation is for the Brethren to dwell in the City & cultivate the [p. 5] land in the vicinity in fields many miles in extent or from city to City. The Brethren own most of Caldwell County. most of it is or probably will be leased to the firms.

City Lots are owned by the Bishop of the Church⁴⁶ untill sold for private stewardship. All kinds of necessary articles will soon be manufactured by these firms. that we be under no necessity of purchasing of our Enemies. The firms furnish Constant imploy for all who join them and pay \$1.00 per day for a mans work.

Any surpluss that may remain after paying the demands of the firm is to be divided according to the needs and wants (Not according to the property invested) to each family, Annually or oftener if needed. The firms have put in verry large lots of wheet this fall but the season for sowing is nearly over, and the Brethren, will soon go to building up the City[.] many houses will be built this fall. The operations of these firms enables a man to get a comfortable house in a verry few days⁴⁷ when he gets about it. 1st by his working for the firm 70 or 80 days then the firm turn out stone cutters, Teams, Carpenters Maysons &c. to complete the House and nearly evry thing (save the land,) is paid for by ~~the~~ a mans own labor day for day.

Arrangements will soon be made that a person can get [p. 6] every necessary to Eat, Drink, Live in or & to wear, at the store house of the firms, and the best part of it all is that they want no better pay than labor. Arangements are making that no person shall have the excuse for not laboring, nothing to do, nor shall the idler eat the bread of industry. It is a time of union & peace in the Church. But Rob, Mob, & Plunder [are] in the vicinity.

Crops are verry good, it is said there is corn enough in Caldwell Co. to last the inhabitance and the Emigration 2 years but preperations are making for

10 fold larger crops next year. This is truly a delightful County[.] the air & water is verry good.⁴⁸

I will now give you a plan of the City. The publick square in the center contains 10 acres, the 4 main streets are each 8 rods wide, the others are 6 rods wide. The squares contain 4 acres each, and are calculated for 4 Buildings,⁴⁹ (streets [are] mark[ed] 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th North st also East, south, and West)

The City is situated on a high roling Praary the timber is on Shoal & Goos crick which are from 2 to 4 miles and nearly surrounds the City.

This plan is the first square mile of the City[.] it is continued out on the same plan. The House of the Lord is to stand in the center of the Public square[.] the corner stone was laid [p. 7] on the 4th of July last. Most of the lots in the first square mile are sold. City lots can be bought 2d handed but it is thought not advisable to purchase only of the Bishop. Plenty of lots [are] yet for sale in [the] 2d mile which brings the nighest lots 1/2 mile to the square. Those that wish to purchase lots in F[ar].W[est]. would do well to purchase soon for if the war which is now blackning on all sides should abate the lots would sell verry fast.⁵⁰ Lotts cost 30 to 60 Dol[lars] (work on the Lords House pay[s] for lots.) this is the pay the Bishop desires of those that can-not pay the money.⁵¹

14 October 1838, Sunday.

soon after the Mob was dispersed in Davis county they began to asemble at De Witt in Carrilton Co. an express came from that Place here a week last Thursday⁵² night r[e]questing assistance & Council[.] Friday morn Capt. Brunson⁵³ started with 42 men all mounted and well armed, he was hailed by the Mob that were encamped near De Witt but they passed on and arived in safety at De Witt[.] On Friday afternoon another company started under Brother Joseph.

The attack⁵⁴ was made on De Witt by taking Elder Humphreys⁵⁵ family and burning his house[.] he lived about 1 1/2 mile[s] from the landing which is head quarters, several scattering shots were made at the Brethren during 3 or 4 of the first days, no damage save making holes in their Clothing. [p. 8] One heavy charge was receivd from the Mob when the brethren returned the fire and killed 4 Missorians, The Campaign lasted about a week when a treaty <of peace> was made with the Mob and the Brethren have left the place. De Witt was not an appointed stake of Zion, but was designed as a Port of Landing on [the] Missouri river[.] it contained about 10 or 12 families of the Brethren when I Passed through on my way to this place.

The engagement at Davis has probably cost them more in time and damage than \$2000.⁵⁶ It is geting verry unsafe for the Mormon[s] to traven [travel] in small companies in Carrilton Ray & Seline Countise[.] A camp that are on their way to this place have been stoped near Grand River by a Mob nearly a week. The Missourian women partake of the same spirit of the Mobacrats, their husbands[.] they have been seen & heard by the sisters of the Church to threaten their lives by brandishing their knives and hatchets &c.

Emigration to the stakes of Zion is verry great[.] almost every day witnesseth from 1 to 30 teams with furniture & families[.] Teniment room is verry scirce in this place, many families have to live in their tents & waggons. The houses are mostly made of logs and generally contain as many famalies as rooms and in many cases more[.] The houses are mere shanties[.] they cost from

30 to 80 days work [of] 1 man besides from ten to fifty Dollars in Cash[.]⁵⁷ not more than 20 or 30 houses have been built since the first of Sept. the Brethren have been more than 1/2 of the time in dispersing Mobs which are almost continually about us, They have [p. 9] not yet dared to come on us at Far West but attack [attack] the weaker parts

During the campaign at De Witt the Brethren called upon the Governour for protection but instead of turning out with his 3,000 Troops as he did when he supposed the Mormons were in fault only a few days before, He says to them settle your own difficulties

The Governour was one of the leading characters in driving the Brethren from Jackson Co in 1838 [1833]⁵⁸

Some of the officers of militia did harm to themselves in trying to get the militia to disperse the Mob but they found <them> Mob at heart and <they> were ordered home.⁵⁹

15 October 1838, Monday.

The Brethren have all returned from De Witt[.] the Mob is now assembling again in Davies Co[.] they have sworn in their wrath that every Mormon shall leave the County. Adam-ondi-ahman & Seth are 1 stake of Zion and will not be so easily surrendered. Seth is 12 miles from this place.⁶⁰ A meeting was called this day to make arrangements for the defence of the Brethren in Davies Co. Our lives Honours & Fortunes are pledged to defend the constitution of the U.S.A. and our individual rights and our Holy Religion. the strong bands of union appear to be wreathed around the heart of every man & woman, come life or come death come what will[.] here we stand or here we die is the will of the Lord. [p. 10] Here the Hoary headed sire and the stripling youth gird on their armour and for the field prepare. Death appears to have lost its terror among the armies of Israel.

19 October 1838, Friday.

About 300 of the Brethren are gone to Davies Co. to the relief of the Brethren[.] No Battle as yet, the Brethren are gathering into the Cities in haste. Brother Joseph says things here are all right

A meeting was called this day[.] the Brethren here consecrated Beef, Corn, Wood, & finally they do freely impart to those that have need. Finally here is a time and place that tries men[']s souls. the wicked have no place in Zion. Much property has been consecrated in the last 2 months.⁶¹ The Mob have cannon in Davies Co. which the Brethren ~~have~~ are determined to take. They have taken about 40 stands of arms.

N.B. I was bitten by a Dog 2 weeks ago Last Thursday and have not walked much since.

21 October 1838, Sunday.

Proclamation was made this day that Orson Hyde ~~offred~~ had apostatised[.] he left the place last night and left a letter for one of the Brethren which let out the secret.⁶²

*22 October 1838, Monday.*⁶³

Beloved parent⁶⁴ Far West is the head quarters of the Mormon war. the armies of Isreal that were established by revelation⁶⁵ from God are seen from my door evry day with their Captains of 10.s 50.s & 100. A portion of each Day is set apart for drill. after which [p. 11] they go to their several stations (VIZ.) 2 Companies of 10.s are to provide the famalies with meal[,] 2 provide wood[,] 2 or 3 Build cabbins[,] 1 Company of 10.s collect & prepare armes, 1 company provide me[a]t, 1 Company are spies, one Company are for express, 1 for guard[,] 2 Companies are to gather in the famalies that are scattered over the counties in the vicinity[,] 1 company is to see to & provide for the sick, and the famalies of those that are off on duty[,] Others are employed in gathering provisions into the city &c &c.

Those companies are called Danites⁶⁶ because the Prophet Daniel has said they shall take the kingdom and possess it for-ever⁶⁷

23 October 1838, Tuesday.

Last night about 7 o'clock the cavelry that went from this place to Adam-ondi-ahman came in under the tune of Yanke Doudle, their number was about 130[,] these are the horsmen of Isreall, President Rigdon⁶⁸ gave them a short address suited to the occation when all the people said Amen.

The Mob have been dispersed by the Brethren nor have they had any assistance from the Malitia neither do we desire any (at least not without it is better than what we have had)

The Missourians have nearly al[l] left Davies Co[,] fear rest[s] down upon them and they flee when no man pursueth. [p. 12]

News came in this morning that the Bretheren had taken the cannon, they found it buried in the ground[.]⁶⁹ the Brethren are fast returning from the Northern Campaign with hearts overflowing with joy[,] not a drop of blood has been spilt nor a gun fired as I have heard of, the Mob dispersed by 100ds on the approach of the Danites.⁷⁰

The word of the Lord was [received] several months since for the saints to gather into the cities but they have been slow to obey untill the judgments were upon them⁷¹ and now they are gathering by flight and haste, leaving all and are glad to get off at that[,] the City of Far West is literally crowded and the Brethren are gathering from all quarters. This day while Jessee⁷² & Elisabeth⁷³ were in school the trustees came to them and requested them to give up the house for families[,] it was no sooner done, than 6 famalies drove up with their goods and took possession. Here is no place for Idlers[,] evry man is at work. women take turns in cooking for the soldiers. when a soldiers duty is done for the day on parade he retires to the corn-field⁷⁴ or wherever his duty may be. The main cloud⁷⁵ is not quite so black now as it was sunday & Monday.

24 October 1838, Wednesday.

Last night the Mail came and brought papers but not a single letter to any person[,] it is supposed they were stoped by some evil minded person or persons, it is nothing unexpected to us that it is stoped, hereafter letters from you to us may be verry irregular. [p. 13] But from us to you they may be more regular as we can send them out of the City before we mail them. I wish you all to be verry

particular in acknowledgeing letters that are sent that we may know what you have receivd.

Provisions are low, here Corn is 20 Cts per bushel, Beans 1.00 Wheat 87 1/2 Cts [blank] .31 Apples .75 Butter 12 1/2 per lb Honey .7 Beef 2 to 4 Cts Wood \$2.00 per cord Pork 3 to 4 Cts per lb. soap is the hardest necessary to be got, Bar soap is worth 18 3/4 per lb. soft soap is from 7 to 10 Cts per lb which is about \$1.00 per gallon, salt is 12 1/2 Cts per qt. saluratus 25 per lb Milk nothing but is geting rather skirse.⁷⁶ Pumpkins are verry plenty by going a few miles, good squashes are plenty of the 1st quality. verry little of domestic fruit is raised within 20 miles.

Medical herbs are reather scirce bring on Lobelia, Babary Rasbury, slipery Elm, Composition, bitters, & Hot drops, Peneroyal⁷⁷ is plenty, Bring a good stock of Rasbury.

Clothing is twice as high hear as at the East,⁷⁸ shoes also. 3 Months since 1 per cent would insure goods from St. Louis to this place but now ~~thought~~ is thought worth 25 per cent. Indeed perilous times have verily come, and it is at the Risk of our lives that we go to the landing for our goods.

The word of the Lord is now for the saints to gather to Zion in haste,⁷⁹ it has been not to flee in haste or by flight but to have all things prepared before them. And now we <all> say to you and all of the Chirch to make speed and haste to Zion (se[e] doctrin & Covenant Page 128 Section 15)⁸⁰ [p. 14]

25 October 1838, Thursday.

Last night about 12 O.Clock the drumms beat to armes. it was caused by the arival of the news, that the Mob had taken 2 of our spies[.]⁸¹ 70 horsmen started for the encampment of the Mob, about 8 miles, arived at 3 OClock within 2 miles. left their horses, went on foot. they were fired upon by the Mob[.]⁸² one man was wounded the first fire, about 70 of the Mob fired the second time from behind the river bank, 4 of the brethren [were] wounded at this shot, (among was David Patting⁸³ 1 of 12) a rush was now made by the Brethren on the Mob[.] a short but terrible conflict ensued, in 2 minutes the Mob were making their way up the oposit bank, several of the Mob were left dead between the banks, [we] took 1 prisnor⁸⁴ the rest escaped to the woods leaving about 70 horses with sadels & bridles, some Armes Blankets Tents Waggon &c. which were taken as the spoil of our enemyes. Several of the Brethren ~~of the~~ were slightly wounded and 5 dangerously, 3 of which if saved, must be by a miracle.⁸⁵

Last night the Mob burnt a number of houses in a bout 4 miles of here.⁸⁶ The spies were found in the camp of [the] Mob as prisners and set at liberty, one slightly wounded in [the] shoulder,⁸⁷ the other was Elder Greens son.⁸⁸

27 October 1838, Saturday.

This is a solemn day to us 2 of the wounded Brethren Buried David Patten & a young man of 18[.]⁸⁹ Brother Gideon Carter⁹⁰ has been missing since the battle. Untill last Night when he was found near the battle ground shot through the head. The Mob have stoped a No. of famalies 27 miles from here among them is Brother Joseph Youngs⁹¹ and many others, in fact it is a common thing, by Mob, [p. 15]

28 October 1838, Sunday.

I will now give a discription of the battle on the 25[.] The number of the Brethren engaged in the Battle [was] 55[.]⁹² one division of 15 [was] not in the engagement. The Mob No. [was] about 80. a Methodist Minister⁹³ and about 10 men fled,⁹⁴ which left about 70 in the engagement[.] The Mob had advantage by the lay of [the] land and rivers bank. The Brethren were wounded as follows, (VIZ.) 3 in the Bowels, 1 in the neck, 1 in the shoulder, 1 Through the hips, 1 through both thighs, 1 in the arm, all by musket shot,

Befor the Brethren jumped down the bank, 1 Br. had his arm broke by a <cut of> sword down the bank. Brother Gideon Carter was shot in the head and died on the spot.⁹⁵ the best information obtain'd is <between> 20 and 30 of the Mob died on the ground.⁹⁶

A more severe battle perhaps never was fought when we consider the smallness of the number, and the shortness of the time which was about 1 1/2 minutes

Now Father, come to Zion and fight for the religion of Jesus[.] many a hoary head is⁹⁷ engaged here, the Prophet goes out to the battle as in days of old. he has the sword that Nephi took from Laban.⁹⁸ is not this marvellous? well when you come to Zion you will see <& learn> many marvellous things, which will strengthen your faith, and which is for the edification of all the saints. The Prophet has unsheathed his sword and in the name of Jesus declares that it shall not be sheathed again untill he can go unto any County or state in safety and in peace.

29 October 1838, Monday.

The war cloud is blackning around us. [p. 16]

30 October 1838, Tuesday.

This P.M. 3. O.Clock an express came in stating that an army⁹⁹ more than a mile in length was approaching. which soon made its appearance. They marched over goos river & formed a line of battle within 1 mile of us. The armies of Isreal were soon in battle array to receive them. Seeing we were ready to give them battle they withdrew & incamped in the woods near by for the night. a flag of truce came in saying they pitied our deplorable condition and requested 2 famalies to be delivered to them &c.— That was all the favor they asked of us, immediate distruction is threatened us. the famalies that were asked for chose rather to share the fate of the Saints in the City. About 40 fires can be seen in our enemies Camp. the family¹⁰⁰ went up to see them this evening

31 October 1838, Wednesday.

A strong gard was posted around the City last night & a fortification built on the south side, the men were nearly all e[m]ployed in guarding & fortyfying the City[.] little or no sleep in City last night, Women were e[m]ployed in looking & picking the most valuable articles supposing a terrible battle would take place in the morning and perhaps evry house fired. About 8 O Clock our enemy salied forth in line of Battle, but seeing our fortifications and probably knowing that we had been reinforced by about 100 men during the night again retreated (we have

at this time about 500 men.) (And our enemies about 1700) during the day our enemies receivd a reinforcement of about 1500 men. Our spies come in evry few hours and bring news of the depridations of the Mob in evry [p. 17] quarter for many miles round. About 4, O.Clock this P.M. our enemies again salied forth ~~forth~~ for battle they came within gun shot, then withdrew, then sallied forth again, the work of death appeard to be before us, An army of 2200 horse & more than a 1000 foot was now brought before our City which had less than 600 men to defend it, we knew their determination was to exterminate us, & all made up our minds to defend our City untill the last man should fall to the ground, Our determination was known to our Enemies, as there were some that turned traitors.¹⁰¹ Our Enemies <feard> the distruction that was nigh at hand & sent a flag of truce to this effect. That they would delay¹⁰² the City for the Night. if we would surrender Joseph Smith Jr. Sidney Rigdon, P.P. Pratt,¹⁰³ & George W. Robinson¹⁰⁴ as hostages untill to morrow morning at 8 O Clock. when they are all to be returned,¹⁰⁵ You may now imagine to yourself the solemnity that now rests upon us, we have the promis that but little blood will be shed at this time, but God only knows how we are to be delivered, this promis was made last Tuesday The Governour has long since refused us any aid, but he has now come out openly against us, and given leave for all to go against the Mormons that wish, the Mob take great liberty from this,¹⁰⁶

1 November 1838, Thursday.

Last night a treaty in part was made, we have all given up our armes & surren[d]ered ourselves as pris[on]ers, our enemies now guard our City that no man pass in or out. 400 <men> remained for this purpose [p. 18]

2 November 1838, Friday.

several of the leading members of this Church have been taken to Jackson Co gaol [jail].¹⁰⁷

News came in that a Mob had fallen on the Brethren at Hauns Mill about 18 miles from <here> they killed 15 on the ground 3 more have died of their wounds & several more are severely wounded, there was about 30 of the Brethren at this place[.] those of the Brethren that were not killed or wounded have made their escape as they could being hunted by the Missourians like wild beasts[.] Among the killed was Brother Phinehas Richards son¹⁰⁸ that was about 15 years of age, Br. Joseph Young was at the place with his family, he made his escape amidst a shower of Bullets and arived in this City the day the Massacree took place (Tuesday P.M.)¹⁰⁹ none of the Mob were kill[ed] as we can learn. the Mob consisted of about 300[.] the Br were taken on surprise

3 November 1838, Saturday.

It is truly a solem time in Caldwell & Davis Countys, more than 50 of the Brethren have been prisners in our enemies camp[.] where they are now we know not, save a few of them, one man was bruised and brought into the City and has since died of the wound. 2 have been killed & the last we knew of them they were un buried nor would the Mob suffer them to be buried, a few have been set at liberty, but the most of them are yet among the missing. ~~the Lord only~~ [p. 19]

4 November 1838, Sunday.

Gen Clark¹¹⁰ has this day arrived with 1600 men as malitia 600 more are within eight miles.

More than 6000 men have been in Far West in one week. [On] Orders from the govennour to exterminate the Mormons, the Brethren are hunted as wild game and shot down, several have been shot in site of the City, womin are ravished and ~~their~~ houses rifled, one woman has been killed within less than 2 miles of this City, we are here as captives strictly guarded by the Malitia[.] no person is allowed to go out of the City.

5 November 1838, Monday.

The captives sons of Zion were paraded this day and the names of 51 that were present were called and they ordered to the front as prisners to receive their trial for some thing they know not what, they are kept under close guard this night, not permitted to go to their houses without a gard of 3 soldiers. The Governor and all our enemies are determined that we shall not gather togather, but shall be scattered or exterminated (at least from the state,)

6 November 1838, Tuesday.

The Brethren that were ordered out yesterday, take up their march for Richmond, verry few know what they are acused of. we are completely in the hands of our enemies. they are our Judges, Jurors, & Executioners. God only can deliver and we that are firm have only to wait and see the salvation of God. These troubles make a sifting in the Church[.] many have denied the faith, but they are those that were week before [p. 20] in most cases[.] some however have denied¹¹¹ that have long been in good standing. Among those is Thomas B. Marsh¹¹² he is one of the 12 and Jared Carter¹¹³ is on the main.

The Brethren at Adam-ondi-ahman are in like condition with us[.] the Malitia guard them to keep off the Mob. They have agreed to guard them 10 day[s] in which time they all cal[c]ulate to leave the Co. they are scattering verry fast. mostly to Caldwell Co. Davis Co. contains about 300 famalies of the Brethren.

10 November 1838, Saturday.

The army that approached our City on the 30 were all Mob under colour of Malitia voluntarily collected from the upper Counties, and placed themselves under Malitia officers. this army murdered, plundered, & distroyed.

A few of this army was rais[ed] by draft and officered like respectable men and it was probab[l]y through their ~~means~~ inf[l]uance that evry body & evry thing pertaining to the Mormons were not distroyed[.] The other Malitia that have visited us have a more respectable appearence. General Clark came last Sunday with about 3000 men but has now reïred.

10,500 men have been called into the field by the governour, with orders to exterminate the Mormons. but the Officers [k]new the order to exterminate was unlawful therefore they have taken the responsibility to make treaties.

The Governour has also ordered 19,500 men to stand ready at a moment¹¹⁴ against a little hand ful of Mormons. [p. 21]

Br. Joseph and the rest of the prisners that were taken to Jackson Co were treated with great politeness & Hospitality[.]¹¹⁵ instead of being killed & buried on the Temple Lot (as their enemies said they should) they Preached on the Temple lot which is the fulfilment of a prophesy spoken several months since.

11 November 1838, Sunday.

The Brethren have returned from Jackson Co. by order of Gen. Clark as it was not lawful to take them to that Co. for trial. they are now at richmond 40 miles from Far West, about 60 of the Brethren are at Richmond waiting their trial, we are not able to learn what they are accused of, some of them are in Irons.¹¹⁶

Some thing like 30 of the Brethren have been killed and about 100 are missing but we are in hopes that they are not killed[.] we had a heavy fall of snow on the 17 & 18 of Octr also on the 7 & 8 of Novr. also several small fluries of since. It has been verry cold for a month past the ground is and has been frozen, several inches for a number of weeks. It has been colder for a month past than the winter months will average at the East. My family are well. I have not done a days work for 44 days[.] we have enough for comfort. we must learn to bear affliction for it is of the Lord. as a people of our afflictions are great[.] those that remain firm have no desire to raturrn to Babylon.¹¹⁷

19 November 1838, Monday.

Broth[er] Joseph Smith is indited for high treason and 7 others with him. [p. 22] among the number is P. P. Pratt[.] they are confined in chains[.] the court has been in session one week and as yet have found nothing to condem the Prophet. Christ told his deciple[s] they should be brought before rulers for his name sake, and if the Prophet should be condemned to die it would be no more than was done to Christ & his Apostles.

MANUSCRIPT 2

19 November 1838, Monday.

Brother Nurse,¹¹⁸ & Church in Holliston,

I last Saturday closed a sheet containing a Journal of what is passing in this vicinity & directeted it to Father Haven¹¹⁹ if there has ben no interuption in the Mail that has reached you before this will, this is a continuation of the journal & I wish you to shew or read it to the Brethren

I direct my journal to different individuals hoping that each will make it their buisness to let others of the Brethren know what is going on

Yesterday was a pleasant day yet it did not thaw enough to cause the icicles to drop from the south eaves of [our] house. Our crops are mostly in the field, Potatoes not dug are frose solid, verry little work has been done here for 8 weeks we have all been mostly employed in keeping the Mobs from burning our houses.

As our religion is different from all others, we recieve different treatment from the world and this very thing confirms us in the faith once delivered to the saints and now delivered to us. Notwithstanding our great trials & tribulations, God is working all things to his honour & glory. Therefore be not shaken at what I wrote in my last, but do even as we. Lift up your heads & rejoice knowing these

things will precede the coming of our Saviour, [p. 24] [Brethren] pray for us for we have to wrestle not only against [page torn]ad but against principalities, & powers, against the [rulers o]f the darkness of this world, against gross wickedness in high places.¹²⁰

We are captives we have sold ourselves for nought yet we pray to be redeemed without money. (Isaiah 52–3) we hasten that we <may> be loosed and that we should not die in the pit, and that our bread should not fail (Isaiah 51–14)¹²¹ The Br[rethren] have nearly all left Davies Co. Our Enemies have ordered us to leave Caldwell Co. immediately but we are slow to obey and look unto God for deliverance.

We came by order of the Lord & shall go from here at his command[.] it is our gathering that excites the indignation of our enemies & they are determined to prevent it but it is of the Lord and who can hinder? Yet we may be scattered and driven, but God is able to redeem us even from Babylon (Micah 4–10)

We are captives in a defenceless condition, suffering the insult, of our Enemies daily, by their coming among us & taking what or who they please & that too without any precept, or authority[.] our only defence is the helmet of salvation & the sword of the spirit, for whi[c]h we are imbasinders [ambassadors] in bonds

Brethren we are not in darkness that these tribulations should overtake us as a thief in the night, but we are the Children of light & of the day, Therefore let us not sleep as do others but let us wa<c>th [watch] and pray. [p. 25]¹²²

25 November 1838, Sunday.

We are here nearly secluded from what is passing in the world around us[.] our mail comes to us now and we should be verry glad to have you send some of your eastern papers after you have read them. I have seen a Boston paper in which was a slip like this, (the citizens [of] Davis Co called on the citizen[s] of Ray, for arms to defend themselves against the Mormons. it was answered by their turning out 40 guns[.] while these were on the way the Mormons took them and brought them to Far West.)¹²³ But the fact was the Mob in Ray Co. went to the U.S. armory and took the 40 guns which they easily had access to as they were left so they could be stolen, probably by design. and while in the act of conveying them to the Mob in Davis Co. the Sherriff of Caldwell Co. took them and brought them to Far West, & after a court of enquiry returned them to the armoury from whence they were taken.¹²⁴ †

I have seen & heard of other slips but I have seldom seen or heard of one but what was so colloured so as to give a wrong impression. Our houses are rifled & our sheep & hogs, & horses and [are] drove of[f] before our eyes by the Missourians who come in in small companies well armed. here is no law for poor Mormons.

At Hauns Mill the battle that I spoke of in my last, is a massacre instead of a battle as the Bretheren were in [p. 26] mostly in an unarmed condition, pages of history do not record such scenes of cruelty among civilized people save among Pirates, their cruelty has been renewed by driving the defenceless women & Children from their homes, on the vast wild prairie where they wandered through the snow for 2 days many of the Children were bear foot nor had they any food during this time. More than 100 famalies have been stoped near the

Missourie River by the Mob. they are determined to stop the gathering. My pen fails to describe the percussions and afflictions that the unbelieving Missourians are permitted to inflict upon us.—

The half can not be told[.] the blood of innocence cries from the ground. Perhaps I have written more than some of you can bear. So let me turn from the scene and ask the little Church¹²⁵ in whose tribulations I have shared while with you and is still twined around my heart, are you prepared for such scenes as we have to pass[?]

Are you willing to leave your splendred houses and take the Log Hut or the less convenient Tent[?] Are you willing to leave the present luxuries, & take our coarse but healthy fare of Corn bread & Beef? will you divide the last loaf with a Brother that is needy. Can you be willing to be driven from Co[unty]. to Co. with not where to lay your head? Are you ready literally to spend & be spent in the cause of Christ. Are you ready to lay down your [p. 27] lives as many <of the Brethren> have done within these last few weeks

Finally are you ready to be made perfect through suffering even as Christ[?] If you are ready for all this you are fit subjects of Zion. You need not think to come here & be wafted into the Celestial Kingdom on flowery beds of ease. But remember that after much tribulation cometh the blessing[.] You know but little about the refiners fire in Zion, therefore prepare for the worst & hope for the best. Our troubles are blowing the chaff of the Church to the four winds. And our prayer is she may be made clean evry whit. News came in this morning¹²⁶ that 22 of the Prisoners at Richmond were set at liberty, no cause of action to require a defence by them. The Brethren that are & have been confined have been charged with evry crime from high treason down to petty Larceny.

(A few of the Brethren & Sisters met to day for prayers. A part of a Revelation was read which was given a year ago last July and sent to the Elders in England. concerning the judgments which were to be poured out upon the Nations like a whirlwind commencing at the house of the Lord, after that upon those who profess to know his name, but know it not¹²⁷

The Pestilence was in our midst last summer, & now the sword, and if the men should be employed for months to come as they have been for 2 months past famine will stare us in the face.¹²⁸ {Dear Sister, I must write a few lines to you in this for in imagination I am often with you in conversation & the rest of the little band of persecuted Saints in Holiston, we are seperated far apart but I feel it will be but for a short time before I shall greet my Friends in Zion, You will learn from this & other letters which we have sent to Mass. of the trials & afflictions which we have passed thro in this place they are greivous Dear Sister to the Flesh, but in our spirits we do rejoice, amidst tribulation, knowing assuredly that if we are faithful, it will be for our salvation.— The scenes which we have passed thro of late is a bright evidence that the work in which we have enlisted is of the Lord, for these things must all be before the comeing of Christ, Pestilence, Sword, Blood, Famine, & Fire commenced at the Lords House among the Saints, & will shortly be upon those who profess to know & love him & love him & know him not.— Yes like a whirlwind from Heaven, then gather to Zion, do not be slow to hear his voice.— The saints will soon have to come at the peril of their lives[.] We all feel anxious for the Church at Holiston, that they should dispose of their property & assist each other to Zion without delay,

as soon as the roads are passable in the Spring.— Yesterday was appointed by Father Smith as a day of Fasting & Prayer.— I attended meeting it was a verry interesting & solemn day to us, we felt it was a day to humble ourselves in the dust before God, Our prophet & Presidency are taken from us. Many of our Brethren are taken from their Wives & children & are in bondage, while many wives & children mourn over the Departure of Husbands & Fathers that have sealed their testimony for Jesus with their blood.— In meeting 1 Lady sung in Tongues & another arose & interpreted.— The Patriarch wished us to be humble and united at a throne of Grace[.] he also remarked that the sword was unsheathed & could not be sheathed again until sin was swept from the face of the Earth & Christ come to reign with his saints, Our Prophet & Brethren are now brought before the Govenor & Rulers of this state & no doubt they will soon be brought before Kings & Nobles for their Testimony of Jesus, many of the Brethren could not endure the trials which we have had to pass thro, they have turned aside & will probably walk no more with us in Zion The stakes of Zion is the shore for the net which is cast forth into the world, & gather of every kind & these trials will purge the Church & cast much of the bad away but not all for Christ says that the Tares shall grow with the wheat until the harvest.— Be faithful to warn sinners, while you remain in New England for the time is short for them to hear the Gospel sound.— The warning voice has gone forth and after the testimony of my servants saith the Lord Cometh the Testimony of thunders, Lightnings, Earthquakes, Wars, Bloodshed & Famine, the testimony of Judgements have now commenced¹²⁹ & like a whirlpool will sweep our inhabitants off the U. States.— The Patriarch observed last fast day that the time would soon come when a man should be considered of more value than a talent of gold for God would assuredly make the earth empty & waste by Judgements & but very few would be left.— We often speak of the anxiety that we have that the Saints in Holiston should make all possiable exertion to come to Missouria & assist those who cannot assist themselves.— Do not delay to make speed, we all sometimes want to pluck you out of Babylon.— Do not let the Scourges of Zion weaken your faith[.] these things will all work out for the purifying of the church from dross & the ultimate Glory of God, do not ~~wait to think~~ think to wait till Zion is built up before you come, but come & help build it, for verily thus saith the Lord it is my will it should be built up by the gathering of my saints — If we hope to reign with Christ on earth with Abraham, Isac, & Jacob, Jeremiah, Daniel & others, who have come up out of much tribulation we must also be willing to come up thro tribulation that our garments may be washed in the blood of the Lamb. }¹³⁰

A. P. Rockwood [p. 28]

2 December 1838, Sunday.¹³¹

To the Church. I Albert P. again resume my pen to continue this journal. Last Tuesday¹³² 6 of the Brethren were set at liberty & on Wednesday 6 more no cause of action being found. The Brethren that were chained found favor and had their irons taken off last Sunday & were permitted to board at the Tavern, instead of having the gaol fare.

The other Brethren are feebly guarded, & frequently they have no guard at all (these other Br. have not been in the gaol for want of room but have been

kept in the Court House under a strong guard)¹³³ We conclude they have not found them as guilty as they were in hopes for, And would be glad to have them run away to get clear of them, But the Brethren know their innocence and will not leave untill they are discharged.

All the Mormons in Caldwell & Davies Co. have been taken captive unless we would deny the faith. Those that deny the f[a]ith have gone clear.

More than 100 of [the] Br have been taken into close custerday[.] all but 24 have been discharged without making a defence. These 24 have been called upon to defend themselves against the charges aledged. But none of them saw fit to make any defence at all, they were therefore recommitted or bound over for their appearance at the higher Court. There they will defend themselves if necessary.

The Br. supposed it would <be> of little use to make a defence at this Court & knew it would jeopardize the lives of the witnesses.¹³⁴ [p. 29]

Most of the Brethren that were let to Bail have obtained it and returned to their families. Joseph Smith Jn Hiram Smith Sidney Rigdon P.P. Pratt Lyman Wight and a few others were not let to Bail and are now in gaol to wait their trial at the higher Court in March next.¹³⁵

I observed in my last that something like an 100 of the Br. were among the missing, probably some of them are killed, but it is hoped that most of them are in the field lifting up their voices in the Congregations of the wicked,¹³⁶ we know not where¹³⁷ they are among the Gentiles or Lamanites, But verry few of them have been heard of.¹³⁸

PARLEY P. PRATT'S LETTER¹³⁹

Richmond, Ray County Decr 9

Dear Sister

You will doubtless have read much of the troubles long ere this reaches you. Respecting the things where of you wrote unto me be assured that such things are not named among us here[.] Brother Joseph is in full fellowship & the Church has more confidence in him if possible than ever before — Our troubles are sufficient to unite us <firmer> in the bonds of union. The whole state of Missouri has risen up to destroy us from the face of the Earth or drive [p. 30] us from the State by orders from the Gov. From 30 to an 100 saints have been slain & about a dozen of us are now in chains (VIZ) Joseph Smith Hyrum Smith Lyman White [Wight] S Rigdon myself and others We have all been sentenced to be shot without Judge or Jewry [jury] & the day set But God did not suffer it. We have been confined about 6 weeks, they design to hang or imprison us if they can. But what will be our fate God only Knows. The apostates have sworn to murder & Treason & almost evry thing against us which never entered our hearts to say or do but we are in the hands of God.

Much property has been plundered, provision distroyed Chastity of women violated houses burned, woman & Children fired <up>on & some slain. About 14 thousand men have been in motion against us. The dissenters are the worst to plunder & rob Murder & swear falsely. I give a list of some noted

apostates (VIZ.) Oliver Cowdery,¹⁴⁰ David Whitmer,¹⁴¹ John Corrill,¹⁴² George M. Hynkle,¹⁴³ W. A. Cowdery¹⁴⁴ & famaly Doct. Avard¹⁴⁵ and a vast many others have gone to rise no more. Iniquity abound & the love of many wax cold — But he that indureth to the end the same shall be saved, for my part, I feel more firm than ever in the faith of Jesus I fear not what man can do, I only fear him who is able to deal with soul & body. If I live I am [p. 31] determined to live unto Christ, and to die is to leave a world of sorrow & go to rest in the paradise of God, with a shure and a certain hope of standing in the flesh upon the Earth with my redeemer in the latter day. My dear sister if such news as this will strengthen you, you will be strong but all the prosperity which Earth can afford will never sanctify a Church of Saints, neither would any thing but suffering prepare them for fit companions for those who wandered in sheepskins & Goat Skins being destitute, afflicted, to[r]mented, or of those who had trials of cruel mocking, scourges, stripes & imprisonments, or of those who were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, or, who were slain for the witness & testimony of Jesus who loved not their lives unto death. If judgment has begun at the house of God, what will the world do: for peace in [is] now taken from the Earth. and the saints hardly escape. How long before the Lord will avenge the Blood of his saints on them that dwell on the Earth I know not. But he said to the souls under the Alter that they should rest for a little season till their fellow servants who were to be slain as they were should be fulfilled: If this is all that vengeance is waiting for it need wait no longer for the [p. 32] Blood of Latter Day Saints is now mingled with the Blood of Former Day Saints. in cries to heaven for vengeance upon an Ungodly World — As it respects the glories of the Kingdom of God in things whereof you write unto me it is not wisdom for me to write it [at] present, suffice to say that all things which are written by the Prophets must be fulfilled[.] they that have ears to hear let them hear

P. P. Pratt

1

As down a lone Dungeon with darkness orespread
In silence and sorrow I made my lone bead [bed]
Far far from the scenes of confusion retired
While hope from this bosom had almost expired.

2

From all that is lovely constrained for to part
From the friends of my bosom so dear to my heart
While Jesus¹⁴⁶ exulting, and friends far away
In half broken slumbers all pensive I lay. [p. 33]

3

A light as from Heaven on suden appeared.
And a voice as of Angels stole soft on my ear
A theme full of Glory, inspired their tongue
Of Zion's Redemption most sweetly they sung. [p. 34]

MANUSCRIPT 3

{ Quincy, Illinois 1839¹⁴⁷

Dear Beloved Father

while Babylons bells are tolling & people flocking to hear what they think is the gospel I will inform you of our situation.— We left Far West Jan'y 10th in company with another Family & arrived at the Missippa River after a Journey of 12 days the distance of 200 miles[.] we had snow & rain every day but 2[.] we had heavy loads, were obliged to walk from 2 to 8 miles a day thro mud & water, camped out on the wet ground 3 nights before we arrived at the River, A few days before we got to the river it grew cold[.] the river froze over & we were obliged to camp close to the river 3 days & nights before we could cross in the boat, 6 waggon's were with us at the time.— The Saints are leaving Far West daily[.] A Carrage left here this morning for the Prophets Family, most of the Church cross the River & come to this place, The People here recieve us Quite Friendly & think us an abused people.¹⁴⁸ We have meetings among the Brethren but last night we heard that the Prophets advise for the Brethren to scatter, hold no meetings in this place & be wise servants that the wrath of the enemy be not kindled against us, we are a poor, afflicted & persecuted people, driven to & fro, & when you come, you will have to share with us in our afflictions, I advise you to fetch considerable tin ware, such as the tin plates & dishes[.] The Saints have yet no continual abiding place but like the saints of old must wander about seeking shelter where we can find it.

30 January 1839, Wednesday.

We are commanded to bridle our tongues & be wise in these last days especially in this reigon of excitement.— It is thought by some we shall not gather again in large bodies at present, still we do not know[.] our leader is gone, we have none to tell us what to do by direct Revelation, We want our Prophet & we feel we shall have him before long but our enemies triumph over us believing we have lost our Prophet unto death.— Peraphs [Perhaps] it would be interesting to you & the Church at Holiston to read a copy of the speech of Genrl Clark to the Brethren in Far West after they were taken Prisoners.¹⁴⁹ He called them upon the public square surrounded them by a company of his armed men & holding in his hands a paper which contained the names of those whom he intended to prison, he proudly delivered the following message — [“]Gentlemen you whose names are not attached to this list of names you now have the privilage of going to your fields to obtain Corn & wood for your Families, those that are taken, will be taken from hence to prison, be tried, & receive the due demerits of their crimes, but you are now at liberty, all such as charges will hereafter be prefered against — It now devolves on you to fulfill the treaty that you have entered into the leading items of which I will now lay before you, first of these you have already complied with, which is this that you deliver up your leading men to be tried according to Law, the second is you deliver up your Arms, this has been complied with[.] third is you sign over your property to defray the cost of the war[.] this you have also done¹⁵⁰ — Another thing remains to be complied with, that is you leave the state forthwith, and whatever your feelings concerning this are,—

whatever your innocence it is nothing to me,— Genrl Lucas who is in eaqual rank with myself has made this treaty with you, & I am determined to see it executed, The order of the Govonor to me was, that you should be exterminated & not allowed to stay in the State. had not your Leaders been given up & the treaty complied with, before this you & Your Families would have been destroyed & your houses in ashes, There is a descriminating power resting in my hands which I shall try to exercise in season[.] I do not say you shall go now but you need not think of staying another season or putting in another Crop, for the moment you do this the citizens will be upon you, I am determined to see the Govonors orders fulfilled, I shall come upon you immediatly, do not think I shall act as I have done any more, but if I have to come again because the treaty which you have made is not fulfilled you need not expect any mercy but extermination for I am determined the Govonors message shall be executed — As for your leaders, do not for a moment think, do not imagine, let it not enter your minds, that you will ever see their faces again.— Their doom is fixed, their dye is cast, their fate is certain.— I am sorry Gentlemen so many apparently inteligent men [are] in a situation in which you are placed.— Oh! that I could invoke the spirit of the unknown God to enlighten your minds & deliver you from those bonds of superstition & liberate you from the chains of fanaticism with which you are bound, that you may no longer worship a man, you have always been the agressors, & brought upon yourselves these troubles by disaffection & not being subject to rule, I advise you to scatter and become as other Citizens lest by recurrences of difficulties you bring upon yourselves inevitable ruin”—}

NOTES

¹The biographical material on Rockwood is taken from the following sources: Luceal Rockwood Curtis, *Compiled and Assembled History of Albert Perry Rockwood* (Salt Lake City: N.p., 1968); Family Group Sheets, Library of the Genealogical Society, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1959), 2:512–14; Andrew Jenson, *Latter Day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History Co., 1901), 1:194–95; and the eulogy in *Deseret Evening News*, 26 November 1879.

²Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 9 May to 9 July 1838, MS, Library-Archives, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as LDS Church Archives).

³Rhoda Richards, in a letter to her brother Willard, then a missionary in England, wrote: “A company from Holliston, Middlesex Co., Mass left the same day that sister left Kirtland. They arrived eight days later at the Richmond [Ray County, Missouri] landing on the north side of the Missouri river” (Journal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 15 July 1838, MS, LDS Church Archives).

⁴Rockwood’s own account is presented as part of the larger story in Joseph Smith, Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1964), 5:454–56. The LDS Church Archives originally possessed what was divided into four diaries of Rockwood. They cover 7 April–25 July 1847; 1 June 1848–18 June 1849; 21 April–10 May 1852; and October–November 1857. All but the 1857 record remain in the LDS Church Archives, and its whereabouts is unknown. The record cited in the *History of the Church* is also missing.

⁵See the details in Woodruff, Journal, July 1847.

⁶It is possible to follow many of these activities through the entries in the Journal History just by using the extensive index to this multivolume scrapbook of Church history. Additionally, the LDS Church Archives has a variety of manuscripts, many written by Rockwood, relating to the various activities of his life: “Report . . . and Concise History of the Penitentiary” (1878); “Report of the Agricultural Society” (1872); and “Zion’s Cooperative Fish Association” (1878). A synopsis of Rockwood’s address before the National Prison Reform Congress in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1873 appears in *Deseret Evening News*, 21 February 1873, 56.

⁷The basic study of this period is Warren A. Jennings, "Zion Is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1962). Jennings has published an excellent article that surveys the basic and underlying forces at work in the conflict between the Mormons and non-Mormons in "The City in the Garden: Social Conflict in Jackson County, Missouri," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado Press, 1973), 99–119. A good summary of the nature of these early conflicts is Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience, A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 44–64. See also Patricia A. Zahniser, "Violence in Missouri, 1831–1839: The Case of the Mormon Persecution" (Master's thesis, Florida Atlantic University, 1973).

⁸The best study of this period is Max H. Parkin, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Clay County, Missouri, from 1833 to 1837" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1976). The best studies of Zion's Camp are Peter Crawley and Richard L. Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp," *Brigham Young University Studies* 14 (Summer 1974): 406–20; and Wilburn D. Talbot, "Zion's Camp" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1973).

⁹The details are given in Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 23–27. A more detailed study, with important differences in interpretation, is Leland H. Gentry, "A History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri from 1836 to 1839" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1965). Jedediah Grant's contemporary description of Far West is in *Journal History*, 12 November 1838.

¹⁰A useful overview is provided in Robert J. Matthews, "Adam-ondi-Ahman," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1972): 27–35. Lyman Wight was an LDS leader in this area.

¹¹Basic information on DeWitt is provided in LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 30–31, 54–58, 101–11.

¹²See the discussion in Gentry, "History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," 68–114. See also John E. Thompson, "The Far West Dissenters and the Gamblers at Vicksburg: An Examination of the Documentary Evidence and Historical Context of Sidney Rigdon's Salt Sermon," *Restoration* 5 (January 1986): 21–27. An important contemporary source is the "Far West Record," MS, LDS Church Archives. It has been published as *Far West Record*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983).

¹³The talk was printed and widely distributed. A convenient reprinting is in Peter Crawley, "Two Rare Missouri Documents," *BYU Studies* 14 (Summer 1974): 517–27.

¹⁴See the excellent discussion in Reed C. Durham, Jr., "The Election Day Battle at Gallatin," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1972): 36–61.

¹⁵Details are in LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 137–42.

¹⁶See Alma Blair, "The Haun's Mill Massacre," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1972): 62–67; and LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 162–68.

¹⁷See Andre Paul Duchateau, "Missouri Colossus: Alexander W. Doniphan, 1808–1887" (Ph.D. diss., Oklahoma State University, 1973); and Gregory Maynard, "Alexander William Doniphan: Man of Justice," *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 462–72.

¹⁸See the brief summary in Leonard J. Arrington, "Church Leaders in Liberty Jail," *BYU Studies* 13 (Autumn 1982): 20–26; and Dean C. Jessee, "'Walls, Grates and Screeching Iron Doors': The Prison Experience of Mormon Leaders in Missouri, 1838–39," in Davis Bitton and Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, eds., *New Views of Mormon History: A Collection of Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 17–42.

¹⁹Sampson Avard provided detailed testimony against Joseph Smith during the court of inquiry in November 1838. His lengthy testimony alleging secret oaths and illegal activities can be found in *Documents Containing the Correspondence, Orders, etc. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons; And Evidence Given before The Hon. Austin A. King* (Fayette, Mo.: Office of the Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841), 97–108. Of the others who gave testimony against the Mormons, no one added anything of significance to Avard's testimony. It is beyond our purposes here to trace the negative Danite scenario through the subsequent literature, but even a superficial look at the more influential histories will show how great the dependence was on Avard's testimony: See John C. Bennett, *History of the Saints, or an Exposé of Joe Smith and the Mormons* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), 265–72; Henry Caswall, *The Prophet of the Nineteenth Century; or, The Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints: to which is appended an analysis of the Book of Mormon* (London: Printed for J. G. F. and J. Rivington, 1843), 155–73; John Hyde, Jr., *Mormonism, Its Leaders and Designs* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1857), 104–5; [Charles MacKay], *History of the Mormons, or, Latter-day Saints* (London: Office of National Illustrated Library, [1851]), 89–91; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons, from the First Vision of Joseph Smith to the Last Courtship of Brigham Young* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), 91–94; William A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons, from the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), 189–93; M. R. Werner, *Brigham Young* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1925), 102–3; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History, The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 214–16, 219, 228, 244, 314–15; and Jerald Tanner and Sandra Tanner, *Mormonism, Shadow or Reality*, enl. ed. (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm, 1972), 428–50. Compare LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 37–47, 195–204, 207–11.

²⁰Leland H. Gentry, "The Danite Band of 1838," *BYU Studies* 14 (Summer 1974): 421–50.

²¹Except for a footnote (*Mormon War*, 125 n. 35), LeSueur does not even hint in the text that Rockwood might be saying something different from Avard when he talks about Danites.

²²For a lengthy discussion of this whole matter, the reader is referred to David J. Whittaker, "The Book of Daniel in Early Mormon Thought" (Address at Mormon History Association, 7 May 1988, Logan, Utah).

²³See Crawley and Anderson, "The Political and Social Realities of Zion's Camp."

²⁴"Scriptory Book of Joseph Smith" kept by George W. Robinson, MS, LDS Church Archives, 27 July 1838, 61. Some of the material in this citation has been crossed out in pencil in the original by a latter hand. A number of other sources are treated in Whittaker, "The Book of Daniel in Early Mormon Thought."

²⁵See the detailed overview in Richard L. Anderson, "Atchison's Letters and the Causes of Mormon Expulsion from Missouri," *BYU Studies* 26 (Summer 1986): 3–47.

²⁶For General Clark's comments see *Documents*, 90. Compare LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 189.

²⁷Again, while we do not develop them here, two additional items are relevant. First, internal dissent in Missouri must be related to developments in Kirtland before 1838. As Marvin Hill and Ronald Esplin have shown, rejection of Joseph Smith's vision of the kingdom of God began there, and we would suggest that the treatment of dissenters in Far West was the last straw in a longer process within Mormonism (see Marvin S. Hill, "Cultural Crisis in the Mormon Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Causes of Kirtland Dissent," *Church History* 49 [September 1980]: 286–97); and chaps. 5–7 of Ronald K. Esplin, "The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1844" [Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981]). Second, a close reading of the relevant sections of the Doctrine and Covenants (52; 57–62; 65; 69; 101–5; 114–23) reveals another view of the kingdom of God in early Mormon thought. Even Sidney Rigdon's Missouri speeches can be viewed as Mormon jeremiads based on a consistent view of these revelations. For example, his "Salt Sermon" ought to be more correctly interpreted in terms of D&C 101:39–40 and 103:10, not just Matt. 5:13.

²⁸John Taylor, *The Mormon Question: Being a Speech by Vice President Schuyler Colfax at Salt Lake City and a Reply thereto by John Taylor* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1870), 8. See also the answer of Brigham Young to Horace Greeley's question regarding Danites belonging to the Church: "I know of no such band, no such organization. I hear of them only in the slanders of our enemies" (Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey . . .* [New York: Tribune Association, 1860], 182).

²⁹Journal History, 1 December 1838. In the letter Rockwood copied into his record, Pratt says, "The apostates have sworn to murder and treason and almost everything against us which never entered our hearts to say or do." For Joseph Smith's comments, contained in a letter to the Church dated 16 December 1838, see Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 380.

³⁰See Rebecca Foster Cornwall and Leonard J. Arrington, "Perpetuation of a Myth: Mormon Danites in Five Western Novels, 1840–90," *BYU Studies* 23 (Spring 1983): 147–65. Cornwall and Arrington indicate (149) that by 1900 at least fifty-six novels had been printed in English that used the Danite myth as part of their story line.

³¹Franklin Richards to Phineas Richards, 1 January 1839, Yale University. We are indebted to Richard L. Anderson for this reference.

³²Phineas Richards to Wealthy Richards, 7 January 1839, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo (hereafter cited as Lee Library).

³³Phineas Richards to Wealthy Richards, 21 January 1839, Lee Library.

³⁴In addition to the material published here, the Rockwood Papers at Yale include a copy of the long letter of 20 March 1839 sent to the Church at Quincy, Illinois, by Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Lyman Wight, Caleb Baldwin, and Alexander McRae, from Liberty Jail, where they were awaiting trial on charges growing out of the conflict of the previous year. This letter contains material currently published as sections 121, 122, and 123 of the Doctrine and Covenants. Also included is the text of a nineteen-page sermon based on Matt. 23:1–2 and a fifteen-page sermon based in part on Zech. 9:12. It is not known if the texts for the sermons were for Rockwood or his notes of someone else's discourses.

³⁵The first part of Manuscript 1, with the entries of 6–21 October 1838, represent journal entries Rockwood sent to Sister Vose. The recipient could be Ruth D. Vose (b. 26 February 1808); Polly Vose (b. 14 June 1780); or Mary Vose. Samuel Harrison Smith baptized Mary in Boston in 1832. Manuscript 3 is addressed, "Dear Sister."

³⁶Manuscript 3 adds the following sentence at this point: "I presume you have seen the letters I have written to Holiston [Massachusetts], I directed them to Father & requested him to let you have the reading of them."

³⁷Manuscript 3 reads "our people" in the place of "the armies of Israel."

³⁸Manuscript 3 substitutes "mob" for "Missourians."

³⁹This was the election at Gallatin, Daviess County, on 6 August 1838.

⁴⁰Lyman Wight (1796–1858), a native of Fairfield, Herkimer County, New York, was a veteran of the War of 1812. He joined the Latter-day Saints in 1830 and in 1841 became a member of the Quorum of Twelve. He participated in the organization and march of Zion's Camp in 1834. After the formation of Caldwell County, Missouri, Wight was elected colonel in the militia and received his commission signed by Governor Boggs (Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:93–96).

⁴¹See LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 65–69.

⁴²Manuscript 3 substitutes "smiled" for "laughed."

⁴³Lilburn W. Boggs (1792–1860), was a Missouri state senator from 1826–32 and lieutenant governor after 1832. He was elected governor in 1836. His anti-Mormon feelings are well known. For more information on him see Joseph F. Gordon, "The Political Career of Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review* 52 (January 1958): 111–22; Joseph F. Gordon, "The Life of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri, 1956); L. Dean Marriott, "Lilburn W. Boggs: Interaction with Mormons Following Their Expulsion from Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1979); and Monte B. McLaws, "The Attempted Assassination of Missouri's Ex-Governor, Lilburn W. Boggs," *Missouri Historical Review* 60 (October 1965): 50–62.

⁴⁴Manuscript 3 reads “beloved Country.”

⁴⁵See Lyndon W. Cook, *Joseph Smith and the Law of Consecration* (Provo: Grandin Books, 1985), 71–83.

⁴⁶The bishop in Missouri at this time was Edward Partridge.

⁴⁷Manuscript 3 contains “short time” in the place of “few days.”

⁴⁸This paragraph does not appear in Manuscript 3.

⁴⁹The remainder of this paragraph is not in Manuscript 3.

⁵⁰An overall study of Mormon land holding in Missouri is Wayne J. Lewis, “Mormon Land Ownership as a Factor in Evaluating the Extent of Mormon Settlements and Influence in Missouri, 1831–1841” (Master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1981).

⁵¹This paragraph does not appear in Manuscript 3.

⁵²4 October 1838.

⁵³Seymour Brunson (1799–1840), was a veteran of the War of 1812. He was converted to Mormonism in Portage County, Ohio, in 1831 (Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith: A Historical and Biographical Commentary of the Doctrine and Covenants* [Provo: Seventies Book Store, 1981], 153).

⁵⁴The siege of DeWitt began on 1 October 1838. For details see LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 101–11; and Gentry, “History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri,” 194–211.

⁵⁵Smith Humphery and other Mormons living at DeWitt petitioned Governor Boggs on 22 September 1838 to “put a stop to all lawless proceeding” after a hundred and fifty armed men on 20 September had threatened to drive them from their homes (Joseph Smith, *History of the Church* 3:82–83).

⁵⁶This sentence does not appear in Manuscript 3.

⁵⁷The previous material in this paragraph, beginning with the word “Teniment,” does not appear in Manuscript 3.

⁵⁸Boggs denied this many times, but his hatred of the Mormons was obvious in his speeches as governor. Boggs was a merchant in Jackson County when the Mormons first settled there, and it is possible his business suffered with the growing Mormon economic presence.

⁵⁹Two such officers were David R. Atchison and Alexander W. Doniphan (see Anderson, “Atchison’s Letters”; and Duchateau, “Missouri Colossus”).

⁶⁰This sentence is not in Manuscript 3.

⁶¹The remainder of this entry is not in Manuscript 3.

⁶²Orson Hyde (1805–78), was born in Oxford, New Haven County, Connecticut. He was a Campbellite pastor in Ohio in 1831 when he joined the Latter-day Saints. At the time of his defection he was a member of the Quorum of Twelve. His testimony, along with that of Thomas B. Marsh, was used against his fellow Church men at the Richmond hearing in November 1838. John Taylor later noted that Hyde had been sick with a “violent fever” and had not fully recovered at the time of his departure. In June 1839 he returned to the Church and was restored to his former position (Smith, *History of the Church* 3:167–68; Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:80–82). The 21 October entry does not appear in Manuscript 3.

⁶³This entry is dated 29 October in Manuscript 3. Rockwood addressed the journal material from this date to 19 November 1838 to his father, Luther Rockwood, in Holliston, Massachusetts. His mother, Ruth Perry, had died in 1805 shortly after his birth.

⁶⁴Manuscript 3 contains the following addition inserted into the text at this point: “I have kept a Journal of what has been in this vicinity & sent it to Sister Bose [Vose] of Boston up to this date and requested her to let you have the reading of it which you have probably had before this. I shall now continue to you the Journal & request you to let her have the reading of it.”

⁶⁵Rockwood possibly refers to D&C 105:26, 31–32.

⁶⁶“Dan” is written instead of “Danites” in Manuscript 3.

⁶⁷Dan. 7:18.

⁶⁸Sidney Rigdon (1793–1876) was born at St. Clair, Alleghany County, Pennsylvania. He had been a Baptist minister and was instrumental in the founding of the Disciples of Christ before he was converted to Mormonism in 1830. At the time of the events in Missouri, Rigdon was a member of the First Presidency of the Church (Cook, *Revelations*, 52–53).

⁶⁹This sentence is not in Manuscript 3.

⁷⁰After the word “Danites,” Manuscript 3 adds “Brethren” in parentheses.

⁷¹“Untill the judgments were upon them” is not part of Manuscript 3.

⁷²This is probably A. P. Rockwood’s twenty-four-year-old brother-in-law, Jesse Haven (1814–1905).

⁷³Probably Elizabeth Haven (1811–92), elder sister of Jesse Haven.

⁷⁴Manuscript 3 reads “camp field” instead of “corn-field.”

⁷⁵Manuscript 3 reads “war cloud” instead of “main cloud.”

⁷⁶In Manuscript 3, the remainder of this paragraph reads, “Pumpkins & Squashes are quite low.”

⁷⁷Bayberry and Pennyroyal are not included in Manuscript 3.

⁷⁸The remainder of this paragraph is omitted in Manuscript 3.

⁷⁹The remainder of this paragraph reads as follows in Manuscript 3: “& we say to all the Church make haste for Zion [must] be willing to make great sacrafises & assist each other for the perplexities of the nations has commenced[.] the quicker you can come the better[.] even now the Brethren have been threatened on their way to this place with instant death[.] some have been stopt on the road & the Mob have sunk 1 ferry boat to prevent the Saints from crossing[.] see Doc & covenants page 128 Sec 15.”

⁸⁰1835 edition, 128. Section 45 in the current (1981) edition.

⁸¹Those captured were William Seeley, Addison Green, and Nathan Pinkham, Jr. (LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 134).

⁸²This encounter took place at the ford on Crooked River, about ten miles south of Far West in Ray County, Missouri.

⁸³David Wyman Patten was born in Vermont in 1799. He joined the Latter-day Saints in Indiana in 1832. He was a member of the Quorum of Twelve at the time of his death. After being shot, he died at the home of Stephen Winchester, three miles from Far West (Cook, *Revelations*, 226).

⁸⁴The prisoner was Wyatt Cravens, who was released as the Mormon troops returned to Far West. Soon after his release he was mysteriously shot and wounded (LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 141).

⁸⁵Three Mormons were killed at Crooked River: David Patten, Gideon Carter, and Patrick O'Banion, a young man of eighteen.

⁸⁶Manuscript 3 indicates the burning took place two miles from Far West "in another direction."

⁸⁷William Seeley was the wounded man. Manuscript 3 says he was "badly wounded" in the shoulder.

⁸⁸Addison Greene (1819–92), son of John P. Greene (1793–44).

⁸⁹Patrick O'Banion.

⁹⁰Gideon Carter was born at Killingworth, Connecticut, in 1798. He was baptized by Joseph Smith at Orange, Ohio, in 1831 (Cook, *Revelations*, 154).

⁹¹Joseph Young (1797–1881) was born in Hopkinton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. A brother of Brigham Young, he was President of the Seventies. During the Missouri difficulties he was a witness of the Haun's Mill massacre on 30 October 1838 (Cook, *Revelations*, 281).

⁹²For a recent reconstructed account of the battle at Crooked River, see LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 137–42.

⁹³Samuel Bogart, a Methodist minister, was the leader of the Ray County militia company that confronted the Mormons at Crooked River.

⁹⁴At this point Manuscript 3 adds: "at the approach of the Brethren."

⁹⁵Manuscript 3 prefaces this sentence with, "after the Brethren were down the bank," and following the sentence adds the contradiction, "this was before the Brethren jumped down the bank."

⁹⁶According to LeSueur, the Missourians had only one man killed and six wounded (LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 143).

⁹⁷Between this point and the word "Laban," Manuscript 3 reads: "seen with their armour about them bold to defend their Masters cause.— You may ask if the Prophet goes out with the saints to Battle? I answer he is a Prop[h]et to go before the people as in times of old & if you wish to know what sword he carries, just turn to the book of Mormon & see the sword that Nephi took from Laban when he slew him[.] you there will see what he has got."

⁹⁸1 Ne. 4:9; 2 Ne. 5:14; Jacob 1:10; W of M 13; and Mosiah 1:16 contain references to the sword of Laban.

⁹⁹This force was led by Samuel D. Lucas, major-general in command of the fourth division of Missouri militia, with headquarters at Independence, Jackson County. An account of the confrontation at Far West and its outcome is in LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 157–94.

¹⁰⁰Manuscript 3 reads "my family" for "the family."

¹⁰¹At this point Manuscript 3 contains this addition: "We came to this determination in honor to our beloved Country, & in consideration of the Constitution of the U.S. which gives unto every man the rightful possession of his own property, which we had been deprived of 3 times previous, & now being under the extermination userpation of the Govonor, who was one of the Characters in driveing us out of Jackson Co in 1833." For the early LDS position on going "out unto battle" see D&C 98:23–48.

¹⁰²"The attack of" appears here in Manuscript 3.

¹⁰³Parley P. Pratt (1807–57) was born at Burlington, Otsego County, New York. He participated in the march of Zion's Camp in 1834 and was named to the Quorum of Twelve the following year. He had been present in the battle at Crooked River on 25 October (Cook, *Revelations*, 45–47).

¹⁰⁴George W. Robinson (1814–78) was born at Pawlet, Rutland County, Vermont. He married Athalia, the eldest daughter of Sidney Rigdon. He had been appointed general Church recorder in April 1838 (Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:252–53).

¹⁰⁵There is a discrepancy regarding the surrender of the Mormon leaders at Far West and the question of George Hinkle's treachery (see LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 168–77; Gentry, "History of the Latter-day Saints in Northern Missouri," 342–45). Five days after his surrender, Joseph Smith wrote his wife: "Colonel Hinkle proved to be a traitor to the Church. He is worse than a Hull, who betrayed the army at Detroit. He decoyed us unawares" (Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 November 1838, RLDS Church Archives, Independence, Mo.). Lyman Wight later wrote, "there were several proposit[i]ons made by the different sides" on 31 October 1838. He added, "a little before sunset Hinkle had managed for the pitiful sum of \$600 to sell the following named persons into the enemy's camp Joseph, Smith; Sidney, Rigdon; George, W, Robison; and myself" (Wight to Wilford Woodruff, 24 August 1857). In a letter to W. W. Phelps in 1844, Hinkle strongly denied that he "betrayed 'the heads of the church' into the hands of the military authorities of Missouri, and that, too, for a large sum of money" (Hinkle to Phelps, *Journal History*, 14 August 1844).

¹⁰⁶Under the date of 27 October 1838, Governor Lilburn Boggs had issued his now famous order to General John B. Clark, the commander of the state militia at Far West, which contains the statement, "The Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description" (see *Documents*, 61).

¹⁰⁷Following the surrender at Far West, Joseph Smith and other Church leaders were taken to General Lucas's Jackson County militia headquarters at Independence.

¹⁰⁸George S. Richards, born 8 January 1823 in Richmond, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

¹⁰⁹In Manuscript 3 Rockwood says Joseph Young arrived in Far West from Haun's Mill "today," that is, 2 November.

¹¹⁰John B. Clark was born in Kentucky in 1802. He moved to Howard County, Missouri, in 1818. In 1832 he fought in the Black Hawk war. In 1849 he was elected to the Missouri state legislature, and in 1854 began three terms in the U.S. Congress. He was a Confederate brigadier-general during the Civil War (National Historical Co., comp., *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri* [St. Louis: National Historical Co., 1883], 252–53).

¹¹¹Manuscript 3 inserts "the faith" at this point.

¹¹²Thomas B. Marsh (1799–1866) was born in Acton, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. After his baptism by David Whitmer in 1830, he became president of the Quorum of Twelve in 1835. He left the Church in 1838 but later returned in 1857 (Cook, *Revelations*, 42–43).

¹¹³Jared Carter (1801–50) was born in Benson, Rutland County, Vermont. He was residing in Chenango, Broome County, New York, when baptized by Hyrum Smith in 1831 (Cook, *Revelations*, 73–74).

¹¹⁴At this point, Manuscript 3 inserts "warning to come against us makeing in all 30,000 Men to come."

¹¹⁵Shortly after arriving in Independence, Joseph Smith wrote to his wife that they "arrived here in the midst of a splendid parade a little after noon. Instead of going to jail we have a good house provided for us and the kindest treatment" (Joseph Smith to Emma Smith, 4 November 1838, RLDS Church Archives).

¹¹⁶Technically they had not been charged with anything yet. The court of inquiry or preliminary hearing took place in Richmond between 12 and 29 November. At the conclusion, Joseph Smith, Lyman Wight, Hyrum Smith, Alexander McRae, Caleb Baldwin, and Sidney Rigdon were charged with "overt acts of treason" in Daviess and Caldwell counties, and Parley P. Pratt and four others with murder in Ray County. The treason charge came in consequence of the Mormon militia operating against other state militia units in upper Missouri; the murder charge grew out of the killing of Moses Rowland in the Crooked River fight (LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 196–218).

¹¹⁷This paragraph is not included in Manuscript 3.

¹¹⁸Possibly Newel Nurse, born in 1792 in Framingham, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.

¹¹⁹Rockwood's father-in-law, John Haven (1774–1853).

¹²⁰A corner at the top of page 25 in this manuscript is torn away. The bracketed words in this paragraph are a reconstruction of the missing portion using the text of Manuscript 3, where possible.

¹²¹The previous part of this paragraph is not included in Manuscript 3.

¹²²This paragraph is not included in Manuscript 3.

¹²³The remainder of this paragraph is not in Manuscript 3.

¹²⁴See the account in LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 83–89.

¹²⁵The Church at Holliston, Massachusetts.

¹²⁶This would be after 29 November 1838, the day the Richmond court of inquiry ended.

¹²⁷See D&C 112:24–26.

¹²⁸Rockwood here, and elsewhere, views the Missouri experience in millennial terms. William W. Phelps hinted strongly that the Second Coming of Christ would soon occur. See, for example, *The Evening and the Morning Star* 1 (September 1832): [6]; and 1 (January 1833): [4]. Rockwood's understanding of what his people are experiencing is colored by his own millennial expectations. Rockwood's concern for the Church at Holliston is, in part, the outgrowth of the special blessing given him by Brigham Young on 6 August 1837, at the same time he ordained him an elder (see Journal History, 6 August 1837).

¹²⁹See D&C 88:84–91.

¹³⁰The material in braces is a lengthy insertion at this point in Manuscript 3.

¹³¹3 December has been changed to 2 December, which corresponds with Sunday in December of 1838.

¹³²27 November 1838.

¹³³The parenthetical statement is not in Manuscript 3.

¹³⁴LeSueur rightly points out that the proceedings in Richmond did not constitute a trial, but rather a court of inquiry. Most writers on this subject have not made the distinction (see LeSueur, *Mormon War*, 195–218).

¹³⁵Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight, Alexander McRae, and Caleb Baldwin were imprisoned at the jail in Liberty, Clay County, Missouri, and Parley P. Pratt and others were confined at Richmond, Ray County, to await trial the following March (see Arrington, "Church Leaders in Liberty Jail"; Jessee, "Walls, Grates and Screeking Iron Doors").

¹³⁶Manuscript 3 reads "people" in the place of "wicked."

¹³⁷Manuscript 3 reads "whether" instead of "where."

¹³⁸In Manuscript 3 Rockwood adds the following at this point: "Br Wase & Wife have been some shaken in the Faith but have now an understanding of the things of the Kingdom clearly, that this has come upon us in fulfilment of Prophecy, therefore have been confirmed and begin to learn for themselves, that tribulation is the lot of the Saints & must of necessity be so, else we Shall not be made perfect through sufferings — Bro Jesse [Haven] remains firm and desirous to return East for the sole purpose of helping his Friends up to Zion, knowing the Judgements will soon be abroad in the States & it will be through great tribulation that the Saints can get up, & many will perrish by the way."

¹³⁹The letter by Parley P. Pratt fits chronologically into Rockwood's narrative. It is probable that Rockwood simply copied it and the accompanying poem from a Pratt family member. Parley's wife, Mary Ann, and their children lived in Far West at this time. The content of this letter is similar to another written on the same day to Aaron and Susan Frost, Parley's wife's parents who lived in Bethel, Maine.

¹⁴⁰Oliver Cowdery (1806–50) was born at Wells, Rutland County, Vermont. He was a witness of foundation events of Mormonism, including the Book of Mormon and priesthood restoration. Although he left the Church in 1838, he returned in 1848 (Cook, *Revelations*, 14; chaps. 3 and 4 of Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1980]).

¹⁴¹David Whitmer (1805–88) was born near Harrisburg, Dauphin County, Pennsylvania. He was one of the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon and became president of the Church in Missouri in 1834. Whitmer left the Church in 1838 and never returned (Cook, *Revelations*, 24–25; chaps. 5 and 6 of Anderson, *Investigating*).

¹⁴²John Corrill was born in Worcester County, Massachusetts, in 1794. He was a counselor to Bishop Edward Partridge from 1831–37. In 1838 he was elected to the Missouri legislature from Caldwell County and appointed to "write and keep the Church history." Corrill published an account of Church history in *A Brief History of the Church . . . ; with the reasons of the author for leaving the Church* (St. Louis: Privately printed, 1839). See Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:241–42.

¹⁴³George M. Hinkle (1802–61) was born in Kentucky. At the time of the surrender at Far West, Hinkle was the commanding officer of the Mormon forces there (S. J. Hinkle, "A Biographical Sketch of G. M. Hinkle," *Journal of History* 8 (October 1920): 444–53).

¹⁴⁴Warren A. Cowdery (1788–1851), an elder brother of Oliver Cowdery, was born in Poultney, Vermont (Cook, *Revelations*, 214–15).

¹⁴⁵Samson Avaré was born in 1800 at St. Peter's, Isle of Guernsey, England. Avaré's testimony at the November 1838 Richmond hearing played an important role in the charges that imprisoned Joseph Smith to await trial (*Documents*, 90, 97–108). Avaré was, prior to his conversion to Mormonism in 1835, a Campbellite preacher (see letter of Orson Pratt, 18 November 1835, in *LDS Messenger and Advocate* 2 (November 1835): 223–24; see also Orson Pratt, *Journal*, November 1835, MS, in LDS Church Archives).

¹⁴⁶Manuscript 3 reads "foes are" instead of "Jesus."

¹⁴⁷The remaining text (within braces) is from Manuscript 3.

¹⁴⁸A summary of the initial reception of the exiled Saints by citizens of Illinois is in Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839–1846" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967), 15–25.

¹⁴⁹The following speech was delivered by General John B. Clark to members of the Church assembled on the public square at Far West, Missouri, on 5 November 1838. The speech was copied into Eliza R. Snow's 22 February 1839 letter as published in *BYU Studies* 13 (Summer 1973): 548–49. See also Carol Y. Williams, ed., "Conditions Prior to the Missouri Exodus: A Letter by Eliza R. Snow," *The Carpenter: Reflections on Mormon Life* 1 (Spring 1970): 41–50. The speech was first published by the Mormons in John Taylor, *A Short Account of the Murders, Roberies, Burnings, Thefts, and Other Outrages Committed by the Mob and Militia of the State of Missouri, upon the Latter Day Saints* (Springfield, Ill.: N.p., 1839).

¹⁵⁰This part of the settlement was later ruled illegal.

Emmaus

Cleopas, it was he who stirred
The dying coals to flame.
Did his words not burn within you
As they always did and (now we know)
Always will? Shadows of our grief
Veiled him from our sight, but his words
Glowed in the oncoming night, and we forgot
The dark, the wild dogs barking in the sunset.
His presence was like the wind he described
To Nicodemus; it touches one as though
It were a brother. We know where
He came from, but oh, Cleopas,
Where does he wander now?
Through fields of evening light turning
Rows of grain beyond these brown hills
Dry of rain? See there, in that tree flaming
With the evening's last light, a dove cries
Softly by the road we take.

—Cara M. Bullinger

Incommunicado

Paul Alan Cox

Incommunicado. Evening time in Samoa. I lie enthralled in the hush of tropical rain on my thatched roof and consider the changing mosaic of sounds that evidence the shifting pattern of village ownership as an island day progresses. In the dawn the village belongs to the infants, whose persistent cries are soon satiated by their mothers' milk and tender attentions. The village of the morning belongs to the chiefs, whose eloquent kava speeches fill the *malae*, or village common, with majesty and beauty. The village of the afternoon is contested by the voices of women weaving mats, the laughter of children on the beach, the excitement of a returning fishing party. The village at dusk, however, belongs to God as each family gathers for hymns and prayer. As evening falls, the gentle sounds of slack-key guitar and quiet singing announce the ascendancy of village youth who huddle in small groups beneath the breadfruit trees. As their voices slowly subside, the chirping of geckos—lizard acrobats that cling with suction-cup feet to posts and ceilings—fills the air. Later, the sleeping village is commandeered by domestic dogs that delineate through both vicious threats and infrequent violence their respective battlelines. Still later, the kapok and guava trees are claimed by troops of quarrelsome flying foxes noisily jousting for roosting places. Finally, just before the dawn, the vast feudal kingdoms of the mighty roosters are noisily proclaimed even as first light steals their nocturnal splendor.

Incommunicado. Although we are surrounded by a multitude of messages, such as those I have described in Samoa, we are in effect held incommunicado because of our unwillingness or inability to interpret them. André Gide once declared that everything that needs to be said has already been said. The problem is that no one was listening. Each moment the universe whispers its secrets to us, yet we are incommunicado, unable to perceive the signals that engulf us. And so we are deprived of incalculable richness because we will not or cannot hear and understand the music of nature. I argue that our collective deafness is partly our own doing, but also partly an

inescapable limitation of these mortal cloaks we now wear. Yet I present a message of hope, an affirmation that our minds, our hearts, and our souls can provide, with due effort, means to transcend these handicaps.

As human beings we continue to suffer the aftermath of Babel. For example, where I work in the Solomon Islands more than six hundred distinct languages are spoken. Frequently, even direct translations from other languages are remarkably uninformative as to the intended message. For example, a Samoan chief may greet you by saying “ua tatou maga fetau soifua”—“We have had life in the crotch of the fetau tree.” However, the sublime expression of joy contained in this greeting might escape you, particularly if you did not know the ancient story of Leutogi Tupaitea, and how she escaped from a hostile village only to be trapped in the crotch of a fetau tree. The villagers surrounded the tree with wood and lit a fire. But just as the flames began to lick her feet, she was miraculously saved by a flock of flying foxes. Hence “ua tatou magafetau soifua” is an expression of unspeakable joy and a greeting of great respect.

Unfortunately, we can experience linguistic isolation even from those who share our own tongue. The studies my students and I have conducted on the ethnotaxonomy, or native botanical lexicon, of BYU freshmen indicate that there is not a single American ethnotaxonomy but rather a calico quilt of individual variants. That we all share a linguistic commons yet each inhabit our own parcel of this common ground is not a novel concept. That the same word can mean different things to different people is a discovery quickly made by most newlyweds. Psychologist George Kelley writes that a psychotherapist’s primary task is to learn the idiosyncratic language of her client. Our willingness to learn the usage of others can add much richness to our lives as well as assisting us to love and help those around us.

If you believe, as I do, that Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is the most exquisite document written in the English language, then you will perhaps agree that his allegory of the fall and resurrection of mankind, *Finnigan’s Wake*, is the most formidable. Yet even though *Finnigan’s Wake* looms as a literary Everest, it yields its treasure as deep insights into the human condition if the requisite tools are acquired: an understanding of Irish history and geography; a smattering of Gaelic, Latin, and Greek; and a firm knowledge of Shakespeare. In short, you must for a moment become James Joyce. Yet what richness awaits you if you make the attempt! Please visualize with me Joyce’s description of Shem the Penman, a writer who writes upon his own body a masterpiece that no one can decipher. At the beginning of this passage Joyce announces that Shem is autobiographical when he tells us that

Shem is short for Shemus as Jeb is joky for Jacob. A few toughnecks are still getatable who pretend that aboriginally he was of respectable stemming (he was an outlex between the lines of Raganor Blaubarb and Horrild Hairwire and an inlaw to Capt. the Hon. and Rev. Mr Bbyrdwood de Trop Blogg was among his most distant connections) but every honest to goodness man in the land of the space of today knows that his back life will not stand being written about in black and white. Putting truth and untruth together a shot may be made at what this hybrid actually was like to look at.

Shem's bodily getup, it seems, included an adze of a skull, an eight of a larkseye, the whoel of a nose, one numb arm up a sleeve, fortytwo hairs off his uncrown, eighteen to his mock lip, a trio of barbels from his megageg chin (sowman's son), the wrong shoulder higher than the right, all ears, an artificial tongue with a natural curl, not a foot to stand on, a handful of thumbs, a blind stomach, a deaf heart, a loose liver, two fifths of two buttocks, one gleetsteen avoirdupoider for him, a manroot of all evil, a salmonkelt's thinskin, eelsblood in his cold toes, a bladder tristended.¹

The description "a trio of barbels from his megageg chin" becomes clear when we realize that barbels are the hairs hanging from the mouths of some fishes and "megageg" is the noise that goats make, according to Joyce's novel *Ulysses*. Hence if you could imagine a face with a few catfish whiskers hanging from a goat-like chin, you would have an idea of how Joyce viewed his own chin.

I offer this as a general principle: if you wish to understand *Finnigan's Wake* you must become, albeit for a short moment, James Joyce; if you wish to understand a kava speech, you must assume the air of a Samoan chief; if you wish to understand the nocturnal chirpings of the geckos, you must see the world as they do; similarly if you wish to understand the silent message that beckons a pollinator to a flower, you must for a moment view the world as a pollinator. To emphasize this point, I have taken to wearing a bee suit to class, complete with antennas and stinger, when lecturing on pollination. Although this artifice succeeds in arousing some interest among my Bio 100 students, it has not been without personal sacrifice. Once when slipping so attired through Harvard Yard on way to lecture, I had the misfortune of running into several respected professors serving on my doctoral committee. Without breaking stride, they solemnly greeted me and continued on their way, leaving me to ponder whether their opinion of my academic promise was so low as to see nothing unusual in their prodigy having metamorphosed into a social insect.

The general principle I have elucidated can help us to transcend even formidable linguistic barriers, particularly since a large portion of human communication is nonverbal. The number of different unspoken signals in humans is greater than one hundred, and if we add various wordless noises the number rises to 150 or more. This exceeds by a factor of three the number of signals of most other mammals and birds and is

even greater than the repertoire of other primates. Human facial musculature is exquisitely adapted to expressing a variety of emotions. When we add to facial expressions various hand gestures, a wide variety of messages can be conveyed. However, as many missionaries have discovered, even some of these nonverbal signals are not common to all cultures. Enough are shared, though, that essential messages of respect, love, and peace can be communicated between most peoples regardless of linguistic and cultural barriers.

Unfortunately such implicit understandings break down when we attempt to interpret animal communications. The divine injunction to Isaiah, "Hear ye indeed, but understand not. . . . Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy" (Isa. 6:9–10), had partial fulfillment in Francis of Assisi, who interpreted bird songs as prayers to God. Modern analysis indicates such anthropomorphic, albeit inspiring, interpretations to be wrong. Most bird vocalizations appear to be strident territorial claims or bald threats of hostility mingled with infrequent lustful wooing of potential mates from nearby trees, thus differing little in content from much current political rhetoric or many popular songs.

Yet many animal vocalizations have a mournful, appealing quality that causes stirrings with us. For example, the vocalizations of whales and other marine mammals have been used to great effect in recent works by composers such as Phillip Glass and Paul Winter. Unfortunately, their songs are imperiled because of our failure to recognize whales, until relatively recently, as something more than sources of meat and oil. As a result, we have brought these marvelous, gentle creatures to the very brink of extinction. The tragedy is that we may not only lose the message of their songs, but the message of their genes as well. I suspect that our wanton extinction of species is something that future generations will be least likely to forgive us. Indiscriminate logging in Third World countries results in a permanent loss each day of an area of tropical rain forest the size of Rhode Island, together with plant and animal species of untold value. Each day we destroy massive genetic libraries, not because we disagree with the messages they contain, but because we do not even know that the messages exist at all.

The handful of us who study tropical rain forests experience much the same despair as the scholars who witnessed the burning of the half-million-volume library at Alexandria in 300 A.D. We know that at best we can save only a volume or two from the flames, so we spend most of our time racing through smoke-filled aisles reading a few pages here and there, realizing that we will soon be denied access to the library forever, permanently incommunicado. It is a very weighty responsibility we carry, for we know that all that will ever be known of this great library, all that will remain of the splendor of the numerous messages it contains,

will be our accounts of the few pages we were able to read before it perished from the earth.

For the moment, though, we can delight in music from both whales and humans, but we realize that compared to many animals the capabilities of our sensory organs are severely restricted. For example, even though light is a continuous spectrum, the interaction of our brains and retinas cause us to perceive it as discontinuous. Thus a wide variety of human languages and cultures distinguish the same pseudochunks of this continuous spectrum: red, yellow, green, and blue. Beyond this narrow range, the light is invisible to us. Glorious images in the ultraviolet and infrared are encountered daily, yet we pass by them unseeing.

This limitation is not shared by all organisms, however. Bees and some butterflies see in the ultraviolet. For example, to our eyes the male and female form of the *Colias* butterfly, a common species in Utah Valley, appear identical. If we could see, however, as they can, in the ultraviolet, we would note a distinct difference: the male absorbs ultraviolet light and appears dark, while the female has round patches on the wing that dazzlingly reflect ultraviolet light. The acuity of bee eyes to ultraviolet light is utilized by flowers that depend upon insects for pollination. For example, if we could see a common buttercup in the ultraviolet, it would appear as a luminescent halo in a black sea of vegetation. Some flowers even have ultraviolet landing strips and lines that point to the nectaries. Not all pollinators are insects, of course. Since birds cannot see in the ultraviolet, but see exceptionally well in the red, most bird flowers are red. Bats, such as the Samoan flying fox, prefer pale-colored flowers with pungent musky odors. Even flies can serve as pollinators. Some flowers such as *Aristolochia* in South America are colored and scented much like rotting meat. These signals are deceitful in more than one sense, however, as *Aristolochia* offers neither meat nor nectar to the flies. It offers instead a prison chamber, from which escape is barred by downward pointing hairs. The flies futilely clamber about, inadvertently dusting themselves with pollen, until twenty-four hours later they are released through an opening, only to become similarly duped by a neighboring flower.

The motive force behind pollination is the fact that plants are immobile and thus must enlist other forces to carry their genetic messages encapsulated in pollen grains from flower to flower. In this sense, the information contained as sequences of nucleotide base pairs of DNA is written in perhaps the most universal and essential language on this planet. It also is the most concise. Next time you pick up a clump of dirt from your garden, consider, as E. O. Wilson once pointed out to me, that you hold in your hand enough genetic information to fill all volumes of the last fifteen editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* if each

nucleotide were represented by a single letter. Messages written in this genetic script are passed from generation to generation, containing all necessary information for protein synthesis and hence the creation of life itself. The melding and mixing of different threads in this genetic tapestry through the generations determine to a large degree our own individuality and the individuality of all organisms. And so we should not be surprised by the exquisite elaboration of all forms of communication dealing with reproduction.

For example, in the bond-forming ceremony of the crested grebe, the male and female, in a beautifully symbolic gesture, solemnly exchange water weeds of the type they use to build their nest. Such beauty in courtship signals is revealed even at the cellular level, as can be seen in the search of a sphere cell of the fungal genus *Allomyces* for an egg to fertilize. The male gamete is unaware of the location of the egg. Even though its motion is limited to just two behaviors, an arcing glide and a sixty-degree turn with some variance, a highly efficient search strategy emerges. Ordinarily the glide and turn are combined to produce roughly hexagonal patterns, a very efficient way of searching a large area quickly. The egg assists the search, however, by releasing a chemical attractant. Once the male gamete crosses the threshold boundary and detects this chemoattractant, it quickly ceases the turn behavior and uses the arc glide to spiral in towards the egg. When it reaches the area of high chemoattractant concentration, the arc is turned off, and a series of jerking turns are initiated until the egg is encountered and fertilized.

Chemical communication is not limited to unicellular organisms. *Pogonomyrmex*, a genus of harvester ants common to our valley, can communicate more than nine categories of messages through the release of different chemicals from various glands. For example, after finding a new food source, a harvester ant will drag its abdomen, secreting a trail pheromone as it returns to its nest. This scent trail lasts for only about a minute, but it is quickly followed by other ants who use their antennae to weave in and out of the scent tunnel. Yet even in so pristine a system, deception can occur. The beetle *Atemeles pubicollis*, when challenged by an approaching ant, releases an appeasement pheromone that in essence says "I'm an ant. Please go to my abdomen for another message." Instantly complying, the ant proceeds to the beetle's abdomen where another chemical is released that signifies "I'm a small lost ant larva. Please carry me home to the nursery." The ant grasps the beetle with its mandibles and carries it past the sentries back to the nest and deposits it in the larval galleries. What I have neglected to tell you about this otherwise charming story of interspecies communication and cooperation is that the beetle *Atemeles pubicollis* makes its living by eating live ant larvae. It is as though you met a huge crustacean, invited it home, and showed it every courtesy while it devoured your children.

Although deceit is possible in many forms of communication, there is one sort of communication where it does not occur. We are told repeatedly throughout the scriptures that God cannot lie (Enos 1:6; Ether 3:12). I take considerable comfort in worshipping a God who cannot lie and in belonging to a church that requires me to believe only things that are true. Yet when we consider the differences between our feeble minds and that of God, we are overwhelmed by the vastness of the gulf. It is indeed a remarkable demonstration of his love when he speaks to us in a way we can understand. As he declares in his preface to the Doctrine and Covenants, “these commandments are of me, and were given unto my servants in their weakness, after the manner of their language, that they might come to understanding” (D&C 1:24). As his prayer before the Nephites demonstrates, he can use even our own languages in a manner to strain the limits of mortal comprehension (3 Ne. 19:31–32), yet consistently he chooses to speak to us in great plainness (1 Ne. 13:29; Jacob 2:11), reasoning with us “even as a man reasoneth one with another” (D&C 50:11; see also v. 12).

In fact the general principle I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, that to truly communicate we must understand each other’s point of view, is best embodied by Christ. Even though he is the greatest intelligence in the cosmos, he can still communicate with us in our lowly state because he understands our problems, our infirmities, and our miseries. This is what Nephi calls the condescension of God, for though he was a God, architect and executor of the universe, Christ took upon himself mortal form, suffering, as Alma tells us, “pains and afflictions . . . of every kind . . . that his bowels may be filled with mercy, according to the flesh, that he may know according to the flesh how to succor his people according to their infirmities” (Alma 7:11–12). The autobiographical account of Gethsemane that appears in the nineteenth section of the Doctrine and Covenants is remarkable not only in source and subject matter, but also because of the explicit attempt it represents to help us understand Christ’s point of view. Is it any wonder that the messages and symbols he gives appeal so mightily to our souls? “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends” (John 15:13) is a truism in all cultures and throughout all time. Yet frequently we willfully ignore his love. Nephi’s rebuke to his brothers applies all too frequently to us: “Ye are swift to do iniquity but slow to remember the Lord your God. Ye have . . . heard his voice from time to time; and he hath spoken unto you in a still small voice, but ye were past feeling, that ye could not feel his words” (1 Ne. 17:45). When we turn our back to the light, we should not blame God because our face is in the shadow.

Nevertheless, he loves us and attempts through nearly every noncoercive channel possible to make us aware of his love and concern

for us. Perhaps one of the most universal of all human customs is the sharing of food to indicate love and respect. Indeed one of the greatest tokens of love one can receive in any culture is to be fed, to be adopted by a family and receive that family name as one's own. Each Sabbath, I am fed from the table of Christ and am adopted as his child by taking upon myself his name. I can think of no more moving and universal symbol that Jesus could use to tell us of his love. As tossing a stone into a still pond causes waves to resonate against the shore, so that single gesture of the Man of Galilee two thousand years ago continues to resonate against our consciousness and very souls. I am grateful beyond measure each week as I partake of the sacrament because to me it is Jesus' way of telling me that he loves me. Perhaps this message of the Creator's love is the greatest message that can or ever will be expressed. To stare into the heavens and realize that the ultimate power and ultimate message of the cosmos is love is a profoundly humbling experience.

Therefore at this university, more than any other in the world, we must love each other and reach out to those within and without who are alone and devoid of hope. The form of communication to be used has been precisely specified. We are to express the message in the language of the hearer: "Every man shall hear the fullness of the gospel in his own tongue, and in his own language, through those who are ordained unto this power" (D&C 90:11). It is therefore incumbent upon each of us to use every means at our disposal to reach out and share Christ's wonderful message of love with all of the millions of people in the world, all of those who still remain . . . incommunicado.

NOTE

¹James Joyce, *Finnegan's Wake* (New York: Viking, 1939), 169.

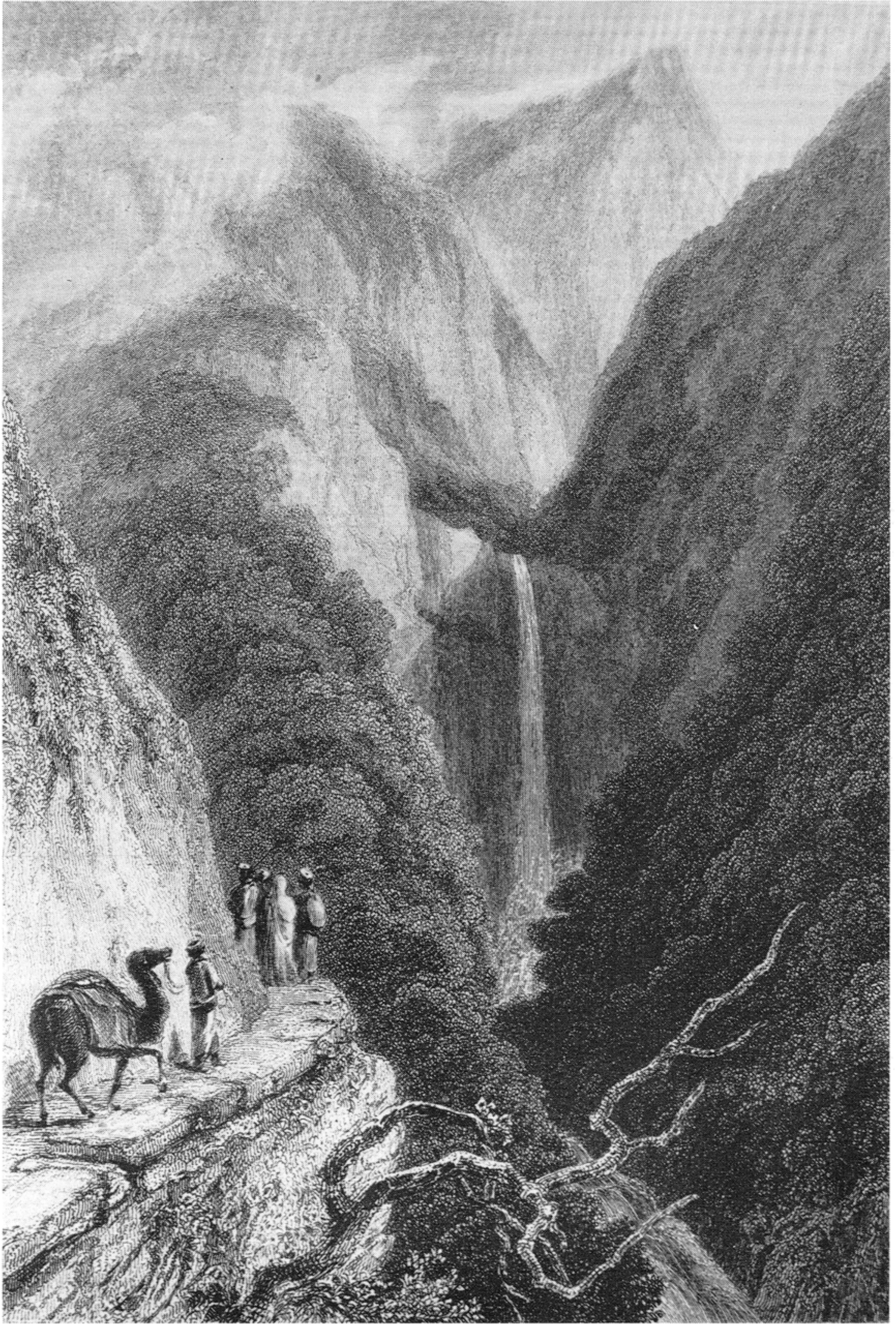
Handwork for the Lady of Tatters

Loretta M. Sharp



Hindoo Maidens Floating Lamps, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by J. Stephinson, reprinted from Linney Gilbert, *India Illustrated; an Historical and Descriptive Account of That Important and Interesting Country* (London: Privately printed, c. 1833), facing p. 20.

Loretta M. Sharp established the writing program at the Interlochen Arts Academy, Interlochen, Michigan. In 1986 her poem "The Slow Way Home" was awarded honorable mention in the Copps Poetry Competition sponsored by the *Garfield Review*, and the entire collection was selected as a finalist in the Neruda Poetry Competition.



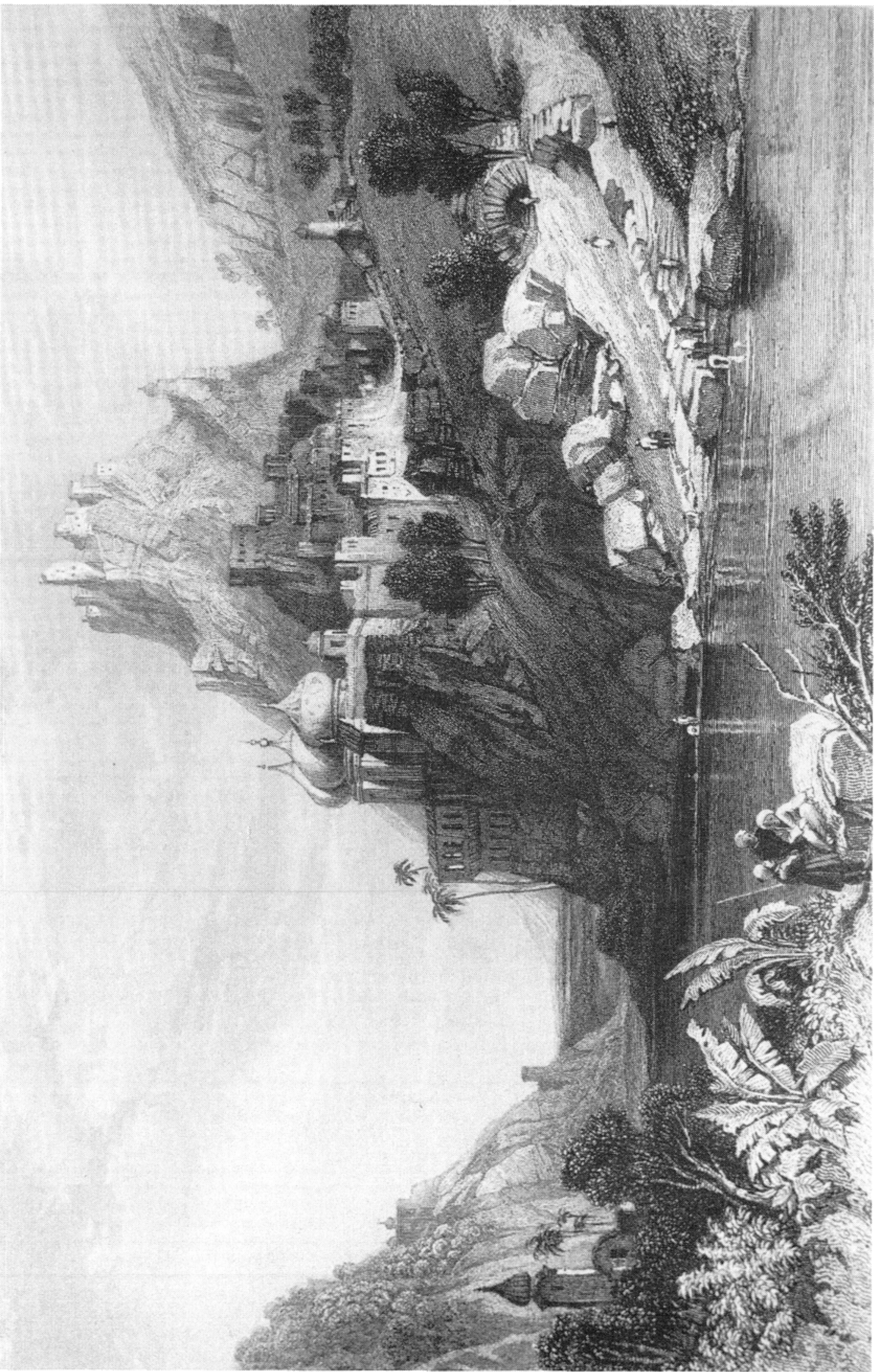
Mountain Scene in the North of India, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by J. C. Armytage, reprinted from Gilbert, *India Illustrated*, facing p. 60.

The Slow Way Home

She leaves the women in her husband's house
and makes a slow way home
to her own mother, to friends singing
as they bring sweet butter
for the first month, molasses
for the second, radish, the third.
Nine kinds of giftgiving
fill full the life cycle,
and then singing sisters
bracelet her bare arms,
 first a circle of healing nim,
 then elephant hair to match her task
 and bangles of green glass
 because she is fragile and glad.

Taking to themselves a paste
of rice and clarified butter,
the hands of women rub
in slow circles the tight flesh
rising with what will yet be.
At the midwife's nod, water
is heated, oil warmed,
and she is settled into a bed
rounded out from white sand.

But like Parvati, Devi, like all women
come home
she spreads her legs when the waters
will not be stayed, shapes sand new
each time the pains take hold.
Sinking to places she must go alone,
she rises, revived finally
by the high brine smell of blood,
by the infant held high, its cry
the cry of the mother birthing herself
 again
 and again.



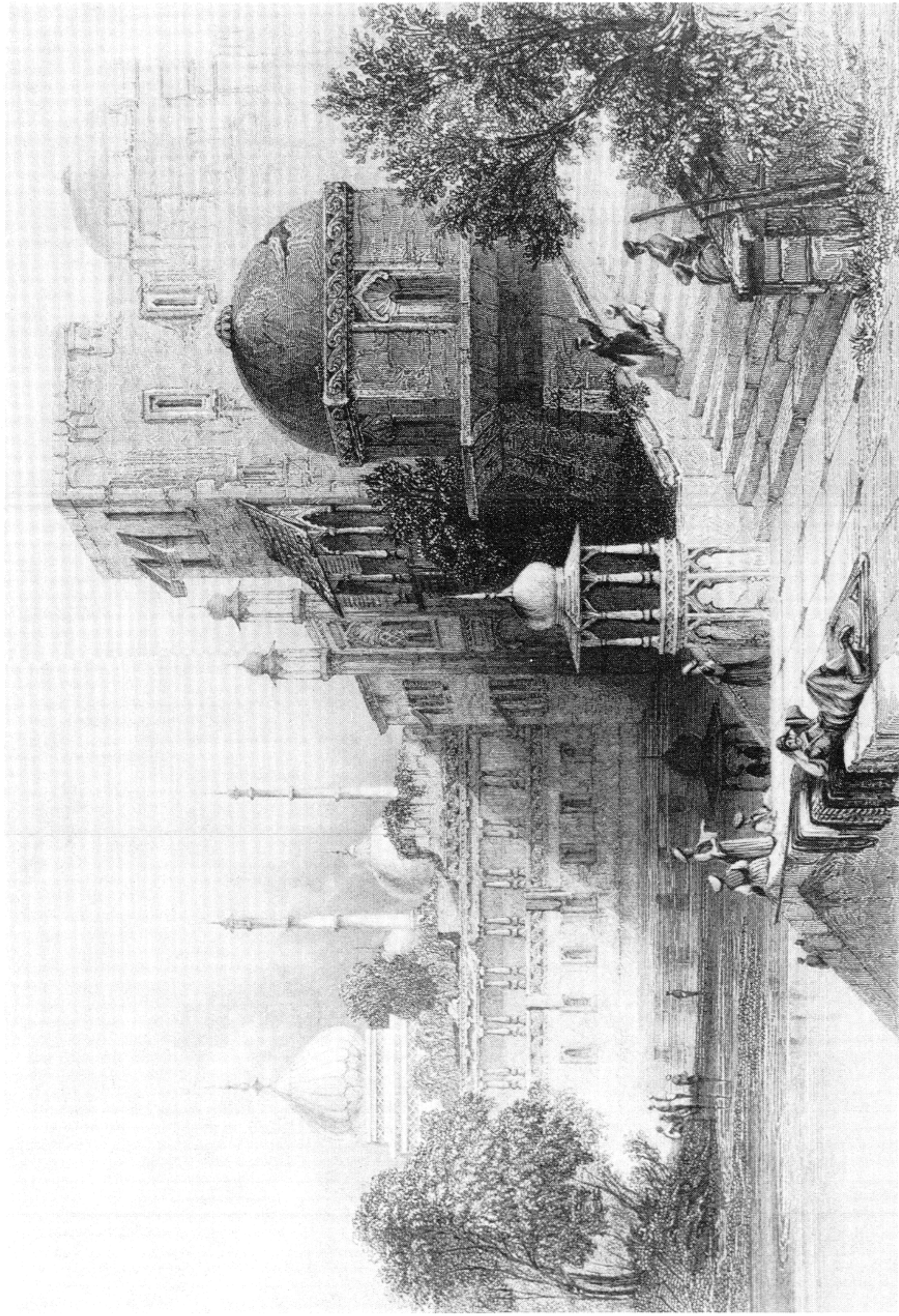
Ruins at Ettaiah, drawn by C. Stanfield from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by E. Finden, reprinted from Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual, or Scenes in India* (London: Charles Tilt, 1839), facing p. 106.

For Phulrenu Guha and All the Old Ones

It must have mattered once,
or seemed to,
the dream that fleshed itself
as family, servants enough, bougainvillea.

But time or maybe Gandhiji
unwrapped it
in layers, rice-paper thin
and dry as locust wings.
Incise. Excise. Until the center seed,
barleywhite but with a sheen
of wedding silk. One thing only then:
the need to teach young women,
to group, work within.

And if such midwifery mean
riding second class from Calcutta
to Delhi each week, then one
nods off the miles in a sleep feeding flame
brighter than those waiting
to dismiss bonebrittle dryness
in the last passage, the one that matters least.

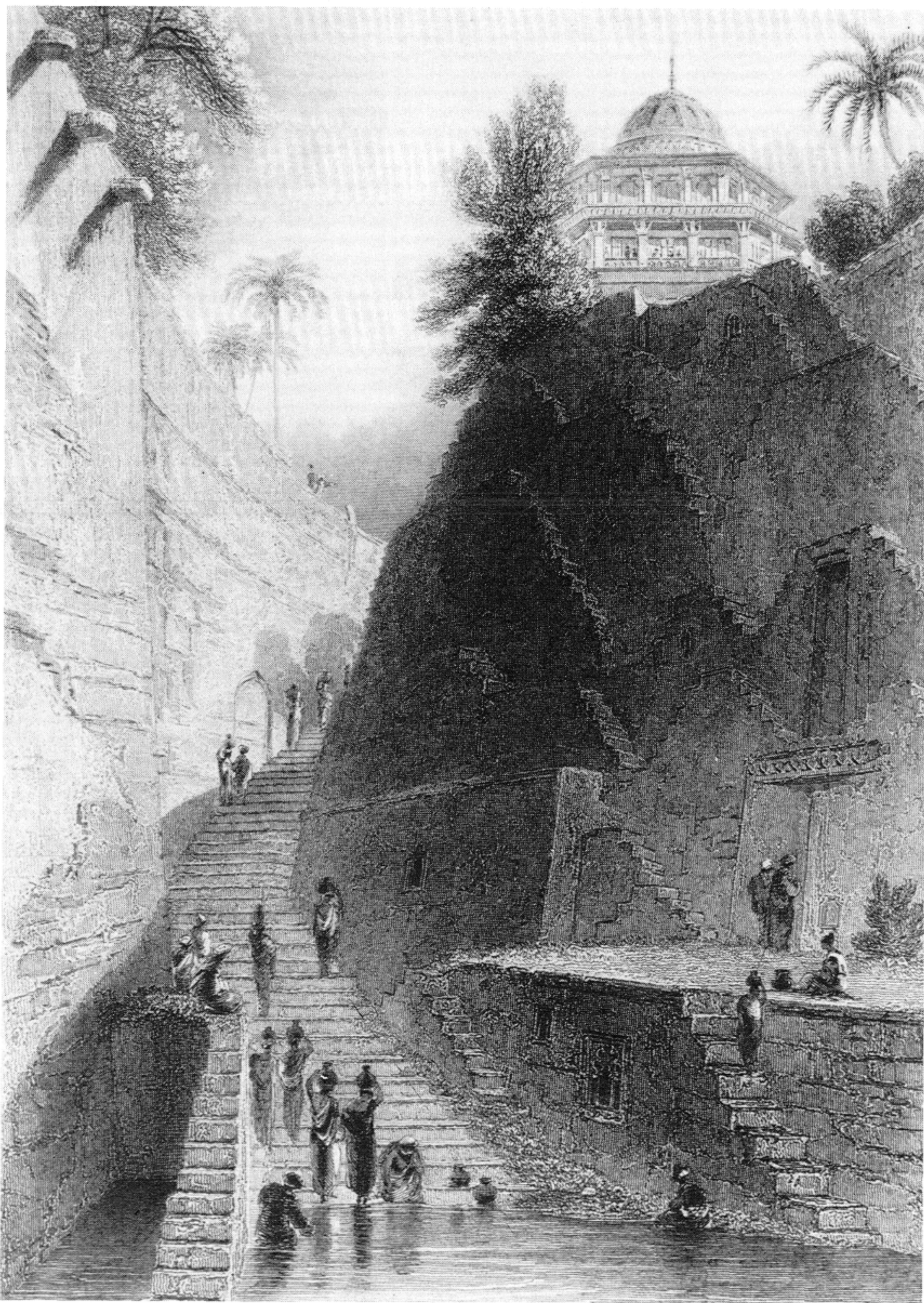


Baoli and Remains of Jehanghir's Palace, Delhi, drawn by T. C. Dibdin from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by Capone, reprinted from Thomas Bacon, *The Oriental Annual; Containing a Series of Tales, Legends, and Historical Romances* (London: Charles Tilt, 1840), facing p. 49.

The Dance

And she is always there,
more Indian than the Ganges even,
the woman bent low at the waist and thin,
sweeping sweeping.
She keeps her back to you, eyes down,
not seeing the white-haired, betel-smiled man
tying garlands of jasmine, not smelling
the anise, cumin, or clove, not smiling
at seven pigtailed schoolgirls,
blue skirts, white blouses, a donkey cart.

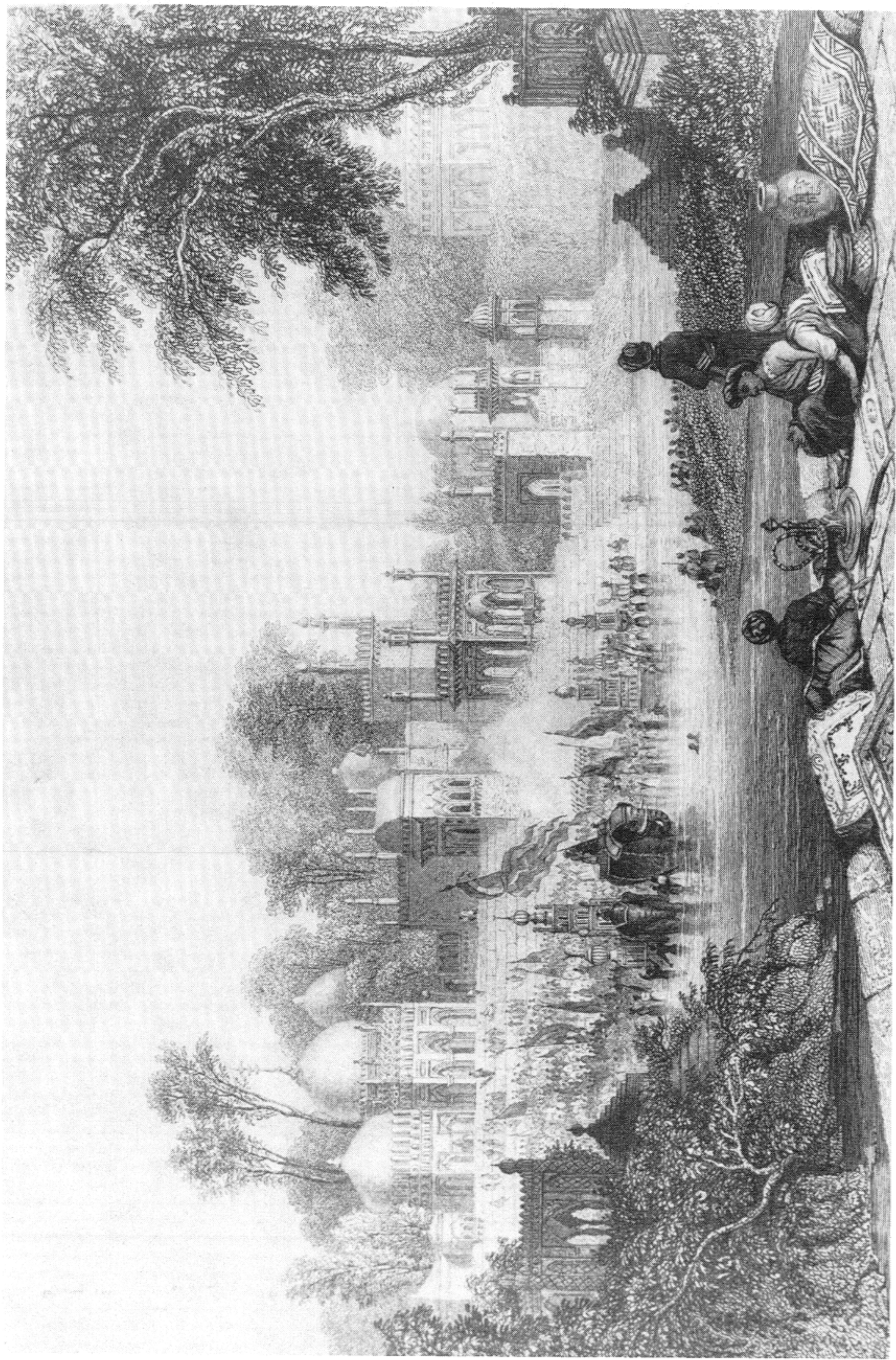
And she does not shy from the goat ambling loose
or try to move the gray cat, each inhalation
drawing its thin skin bone-tight.
Dust covers her knot of hair,
veils her sun-faded sari, but the easy
move left right left and right
is what she knows, the woman bent low
at the waist and thin, sweeping
her own slow dance.



Baolee at Allahabad, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by J. Redaway, reprinted from Hobart Caunter, *The Oriental Annual, or Scenes in India* (London: Charles Tilt, 1838), facing p. 119.

The Ghat

First light at Benares brings the brush
of feet down the stone steps,
a dozen, four times,
and then the easing in
as women yield themselves
to Ganga, the mother who wraps herself
around and around them,
each sari a veil, a scrim,
thin as the illusion
of the bloated belly
floating grey and dim to all
but the eyes of a kite that settles
and lifts out where river meets sky.
And then the slap of bare feet,
a dozen, four times,
and the waiting day, dusty and hot
and heavy again.



Shrine of Raiman Shah Doola Elichpoor, drawn by William Warren from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by S. Fisher, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. 64.

Billboard Women

Above fortunetellers,
temples, and the sellers
of crushed sugarcane,
rise billboard women,
women who join film clubs,
play country western tapes,
and extol Campa Cola,
computers, and condos.

No dowry, no dust
touches these women.
Not hunger
nor sundried dung patties.
Their mothers-in-law die young;
their husbands (who neither use
hookahs nor evetease) live forever.

And should billboard women
make puja or draw
rice powder rangoli,
should they consider
the Muslim Women's Bill
or lepers or mutilants,
they will find themselves
repainted,
almond-eyed and smiling
above fortunetellers, temples,
and the sellers of crushed sugarcane.



Ruins between Futtehpoore Sikri and Biana, drawn by T. Greswick from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by E. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1839], facing p. 168.

19 November 1917—31 October 1984

Bathed in holy water, forehead readied
with sandalwood paste. Then a first draping
of silk the color of sun, of love, of blood,
a second of saffron, green, and white.
Japa beads, rose petals, marigolds.

And the gun carriage pulls through
Teen Murti Marg, making its slow way
to Dalhousie Road, while at Shantivana
a Buddhist priest chants, Christians
read from the Psalms. Someone recites
the Lord's Prayer, the carriage at Zafar
Marg. Lok Sabha members offer verses
from the *Guru Granth*. A maulvi,
a Parsi priest, Mother Teresa, each
have a say before King Road.

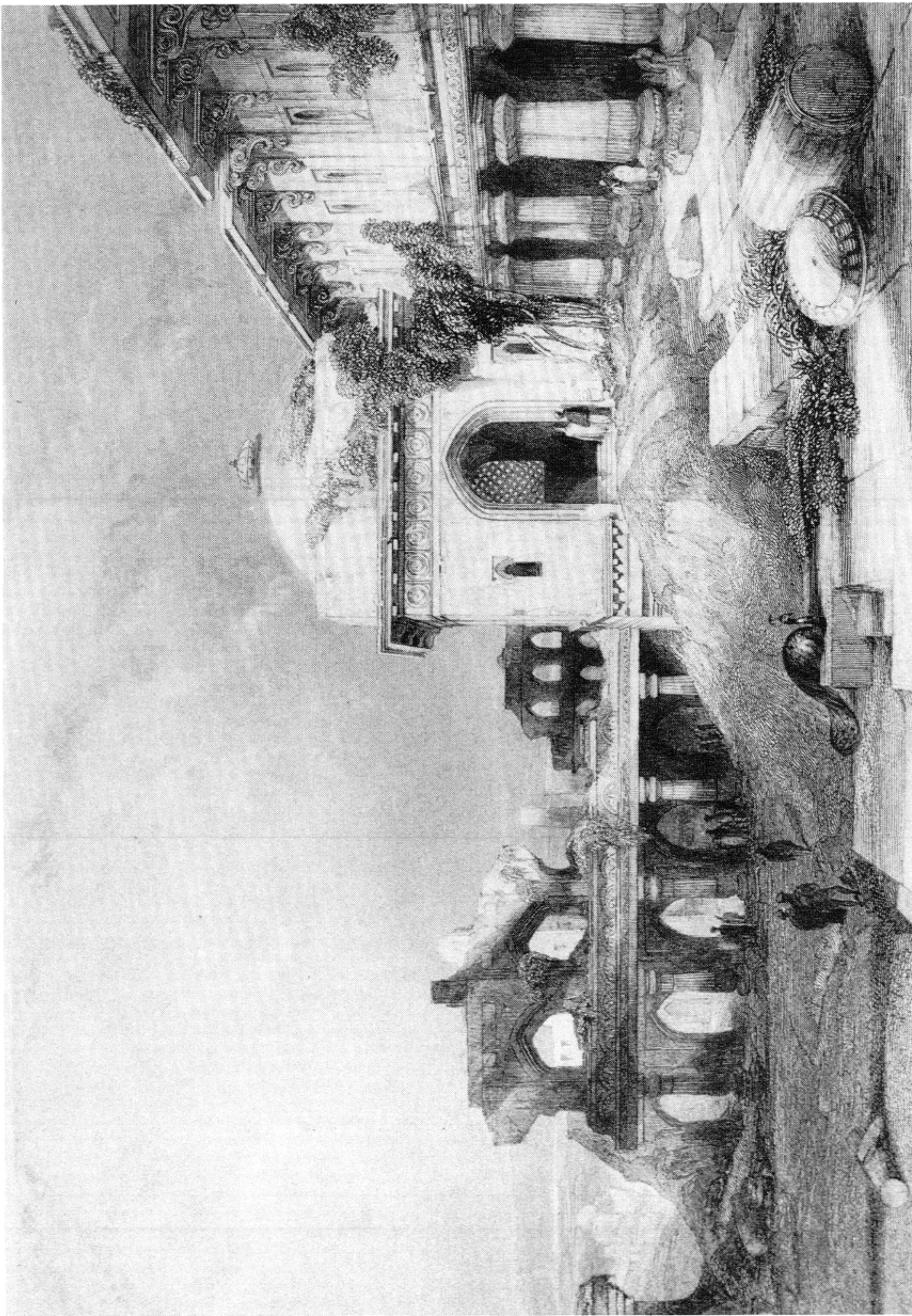
Green leaves, festoonings of white
chrysanthemum wait at the platform
new-made from brick. And sandalwood logs,
heads of state, service chiefs, three
grandchildren, two daughters-in-law.

The wreaths are gathered, the flag retrieved.
Seven times a son circles the pyre, touching
his mother with a lighted torch. The bugles,
the salute, the shouts: *Indira Gandhi Amar Hae!*
Indira Gandhi Amar Hae!

The chants, *Om Shanti, Shanti, Shanti*,
the assemblage standing, hands folded,
flames leaping to ghee, honey, incense,
freeing the child who set fire to her British
doll, the dream of being Joan of Arc.

All that remains then is the Kapal Kriya,
that skull breaking that signifies taking
leave of the world. And the tinder waiting
to ignite a country mantra-seared with:

India is Indira.
Indira is India.



Ruins at Futtehpore Sikri, drawn by D. Roberts from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by W. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1839], facing p. 164.

The Petition

Her eyes lift
no higher than the knees
of the pajama-clad men
carrying temple votives.
Nor does she elevate
her tin bowl
to shake the morning paise.
Only the dark semaphore
of her right arm
bends slightly at the elbow
in a rise and fall
that offers
repeatedly
a fingerless stump
of fresh pink pleadings.



The Sunkul Boorjh and Fort Gate, Penkonda, drawn by H. Warren from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by E. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. v.

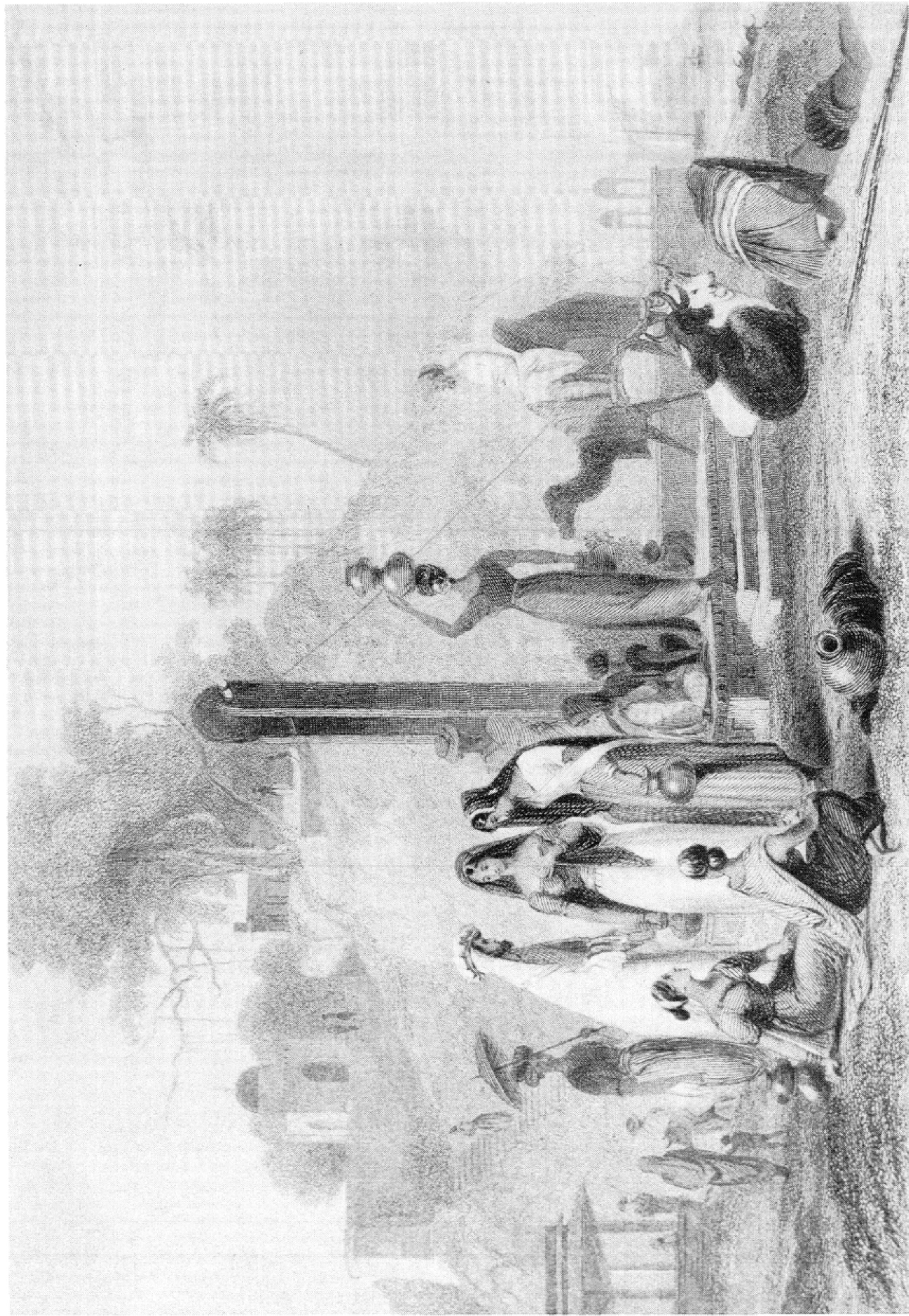
Paan

Morning sun stains
the walnut-planed cheekbones
of the girl squatting on a burlap mat.
She seems almost old enough
for the leafgreen patternings
and yellow folds that flow
into an easy oval from head
to haunches and gather up
over her knees, all cotton ellipse
and soft circles.

And when a rickshaw puller comes,
rubbing a few paise
she strips out the stem and ribs
of a heartshaped leaf
and spreads a paste of lime and catechu gum.

Her hands know so well the making of paan,
they move themselves
without rearranging
the still life on burlap.
Only the bluebeat of her thin wrist
betrays the hum of feeding
the firstbud of breasts,
the womb lining itself,
a determined bloodrush
encased in skin drawn taut,
then cotton-draped.

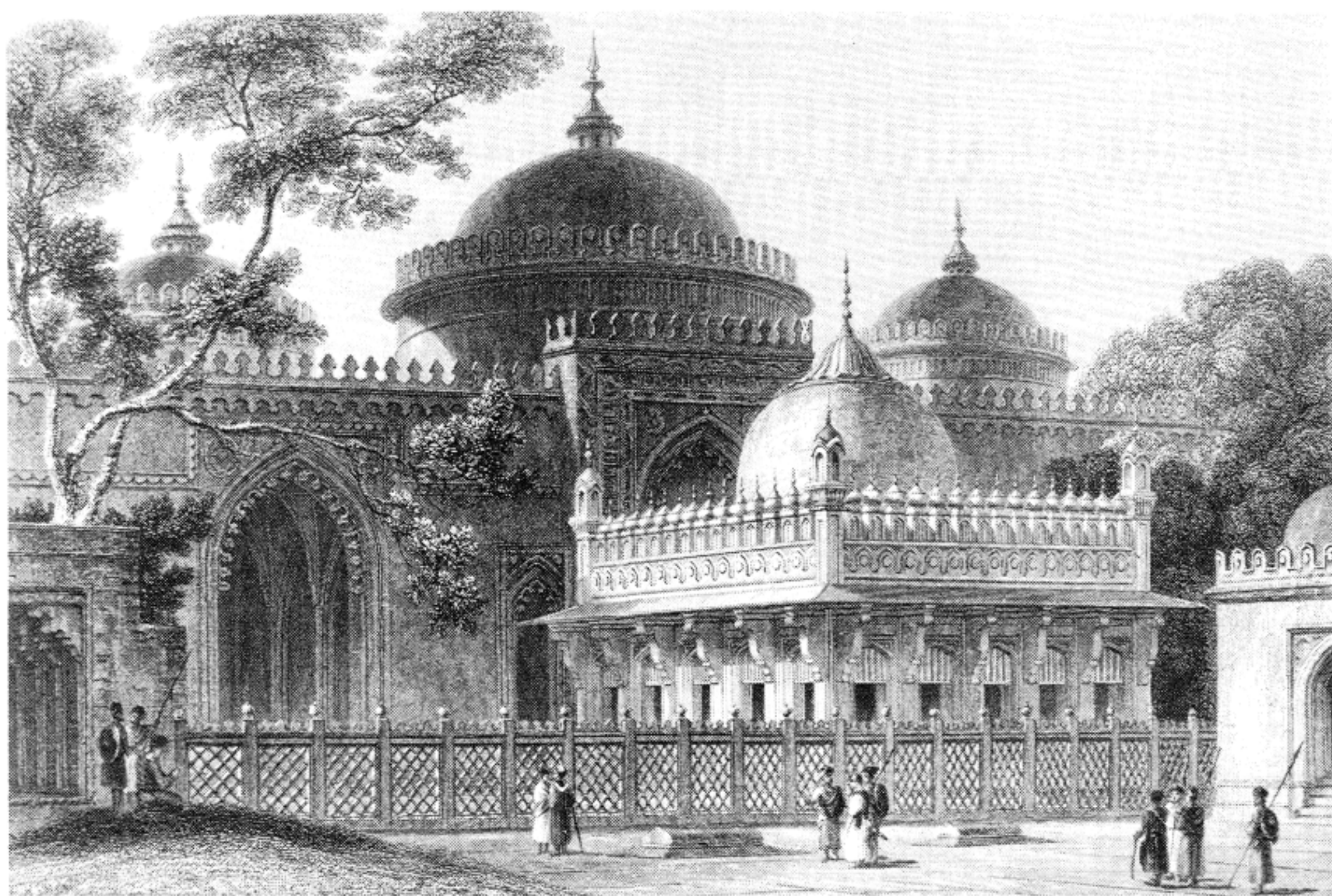
A pinch of cinnamon and betel chips
and then a whole clove
to pin the leaf into a small cone
that will be slowly chewed and slowly spat
in random red splashes which almost mask
the accord that animates a subcontinent.



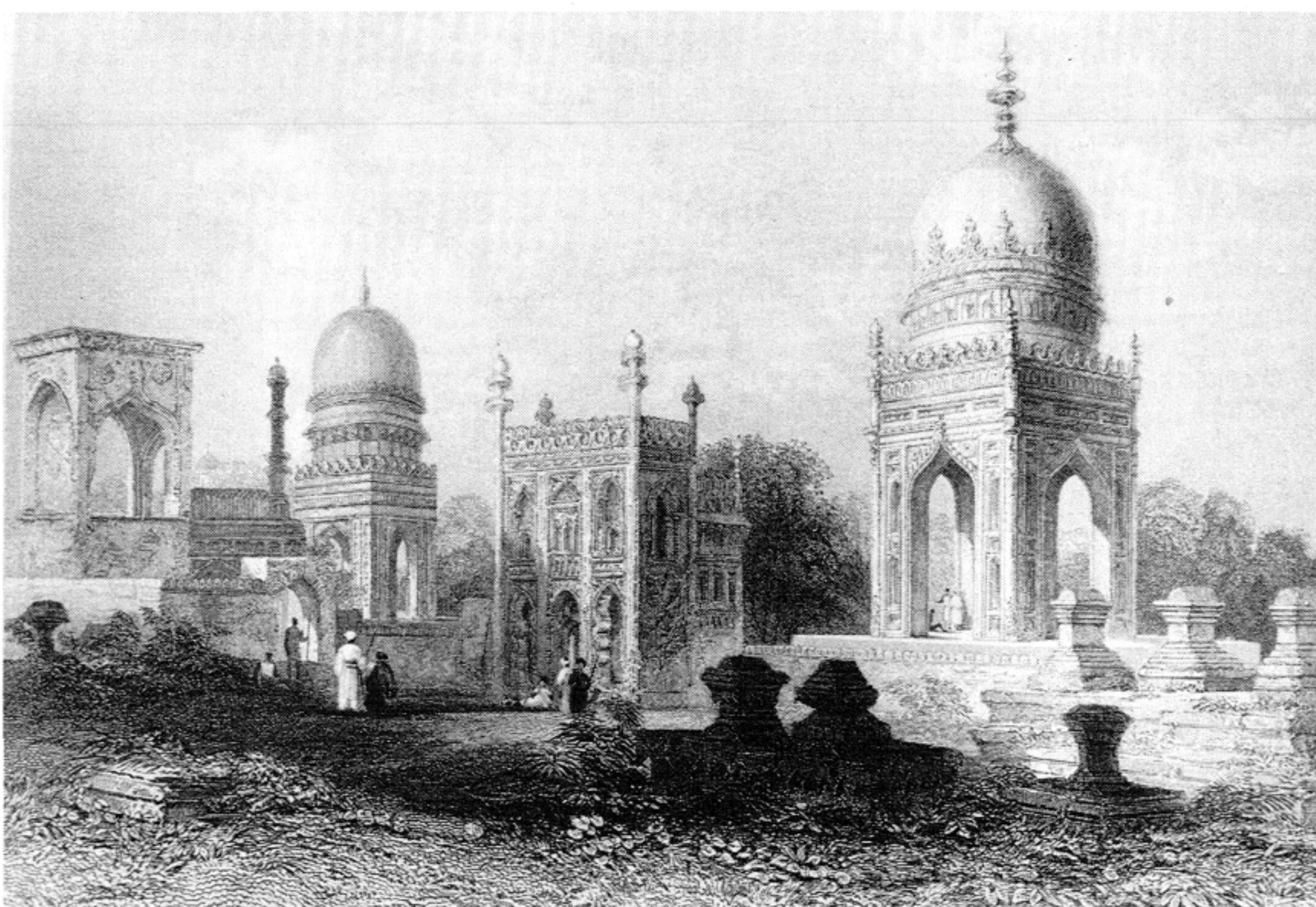
Women at the Well, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by W. Wetherhead, reprinted from Gilbert, *India Illustrated*, facing p. 140.

Pounding Gingerroot

If she sits at the doorframe,
there is room in her house
to pound the day's gingerroot.
At her back, four waterpots stack
a squat column against the sunbaked
clay wall. And a three-legged bamboo frame
bends under a box bundled with clothstuffs.
Her sari arcs a leisurely green
from head to lap as she leans
into the grindstone, smooth at the top
as an altar. Each bare foot curves round
its beveled edge, toes almost meeting.
Only her wrists move as she lifts
the round rock just enough to clear
the wrinkled root branching out
walnut brown. Fingers overlapping,
she brings down the round rock again and again
until the give of the leathery skin
and the crisp shards that pulp
a yellow smell, a wet wedding of woman
round rock
gingerroot.



The Mausoleum of Nizam-ud-Deen Oulea, Delhi, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by T. Higham, reprinted from Caunter, *Oriental Annual* [1838], facing p. 206.



Tombs of the Bereed Kings, Bidur, drawn by G. Howse from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by J. Redaway, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. 198.

Selling Pictures

She is her own stall,
the white-haired woman
sitting flat on the ground
between a chick-pea seller
and a sweetmeat booth.

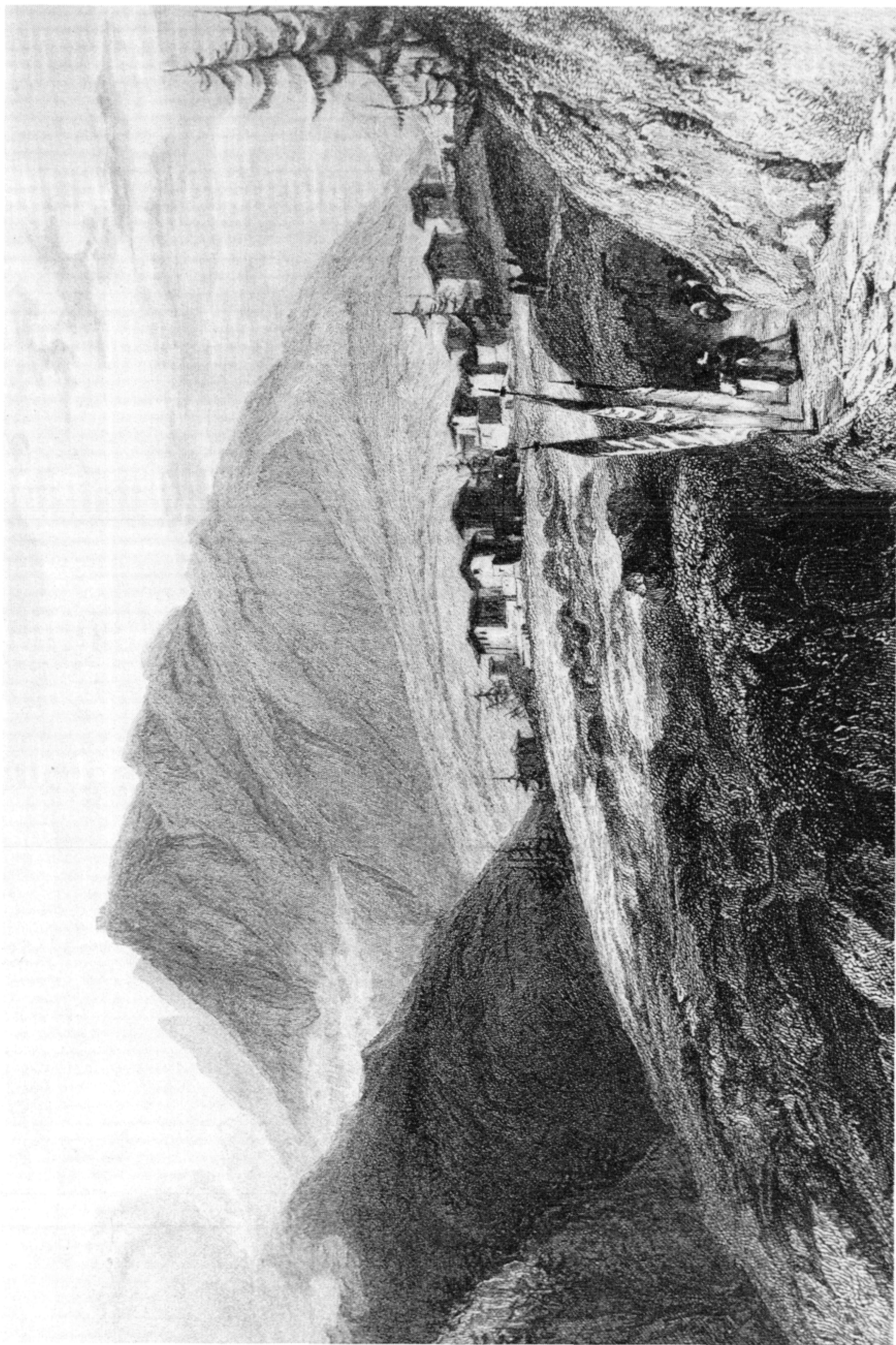
Her sari's no longer
the empyrean blue
of a peacock fan,
but her forehead
is ornamented new red.

One hand is a brace
in the sun-baked dirt,
the other's at the handle
of the open umbrella
extending her lap from ribs
to rigid instep.

She eyes each passerby,
waiting for a tourist
or schoolboy
to stop at the drawings
of gods and prophets
repeating themselves
in and out the metal stays.

Five images line up
from handle to edge,
then another five.
Foremost is Vishnu
churning the milky sea.
Krishna still dallies
with milkmaids while Gandhi walks
the salt march, Nehru broods,
and Buddha reclines.

Hoping to attract
a paisa or two,
the old woman with the umbrella lap
gives the handle a quarter-turn.
And Kali, hidden in the center
of the cloth stall, slips out
from her dark place and rearranges,
as is her wont,
the commerce of mortals and gods.



A Mountain Village, drawn by William Daniell, engraved by T. James, reprinted from Gilbert, *India Illustrated*, facing p. 81.

Two Women

The mother
and her daughter-in-law
face each other at a granite mortar,
each with a hardwood pestle, thick
as their forearms and taller
than a woman is high.
The young one pounds five times,
waits, pestle lifted, eyes down.
She sees the mother pound three,
feels her nod,
and the daughter-in-law begins again.
It would be easier with oxen
and a flat threshing floor,
but two women at a mortar
can wrestle a day's grain
if one is the mother,
the other a daughter-in-law.



Jumnoutri and the Cone, Himala Mountains, painted by T. Greswick from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by J. Appleton, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1839], facing p. 232.

Winnowing

Squatting in front of a mud hut,
the woman with the nose ring
and ochre scarf
lifts with a roll of her wrists
the tray woven from a palm leaf.
Only her wrists move and the tray of wheat.
And she lifts and lifts again,
scattering chaff at her bare feet
in a sun-baked winnowing.



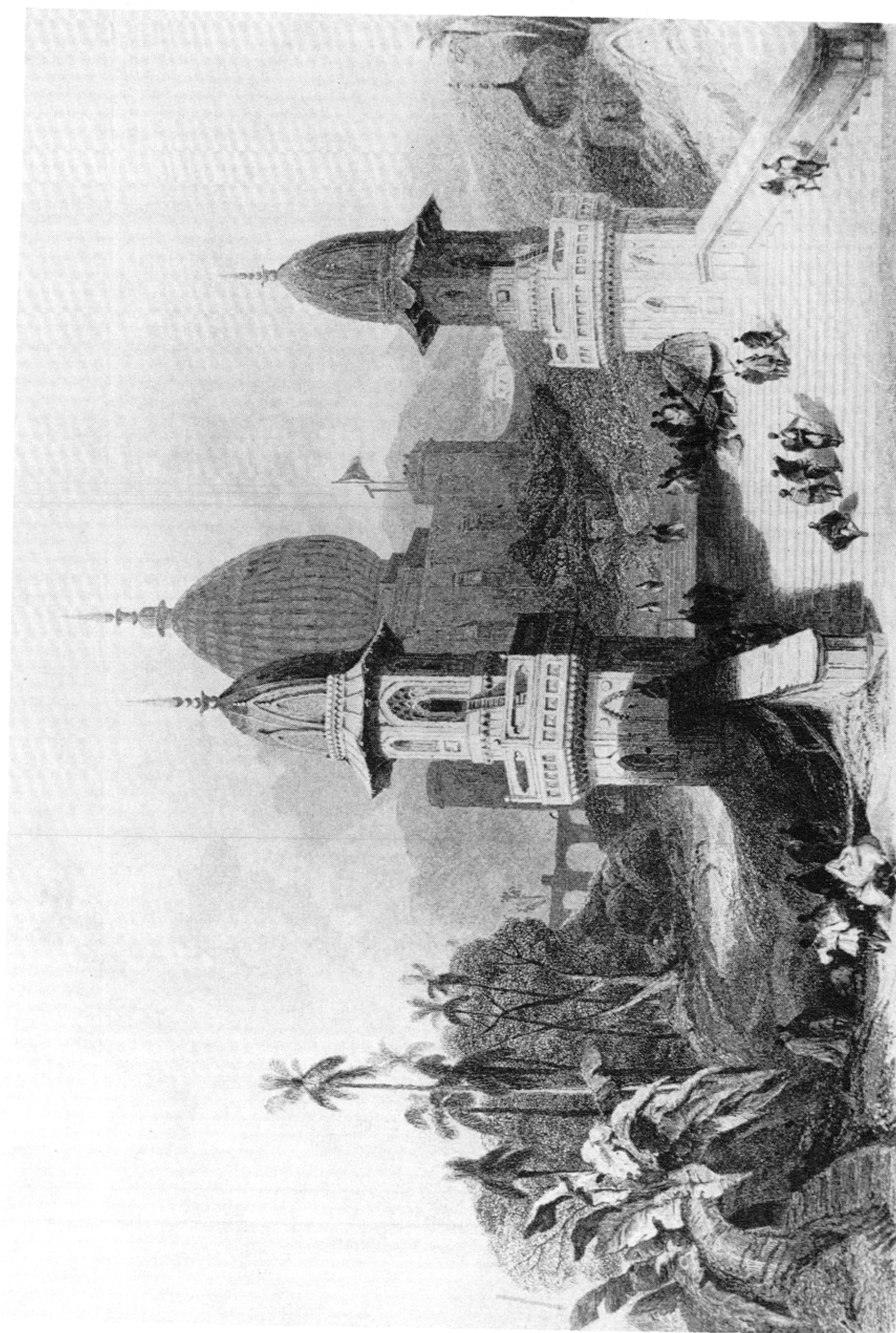
Jhain Temples, Moohktagherri, drawn by H. Warren from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by W. and E. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. 106.

Woman in Silk

Upstairs, the woman in peacock-green
opens the shutters, watches
the old man finish the last sari.
He bends and nods as the houseboy pays him,
then sets his flatiron back on the charcoal stove
and rolls his cart to the next house,
his sandals slapping the walkway,
his own dhoti in need of laundering.

The woman in green thinks
of the dinner she must give that night.
Chicken and beef for the Americans,
rice, and curries for the others.
Her husband will wear blue jeans, ask
if the cook boiled the water
before freezing the ice cubes.

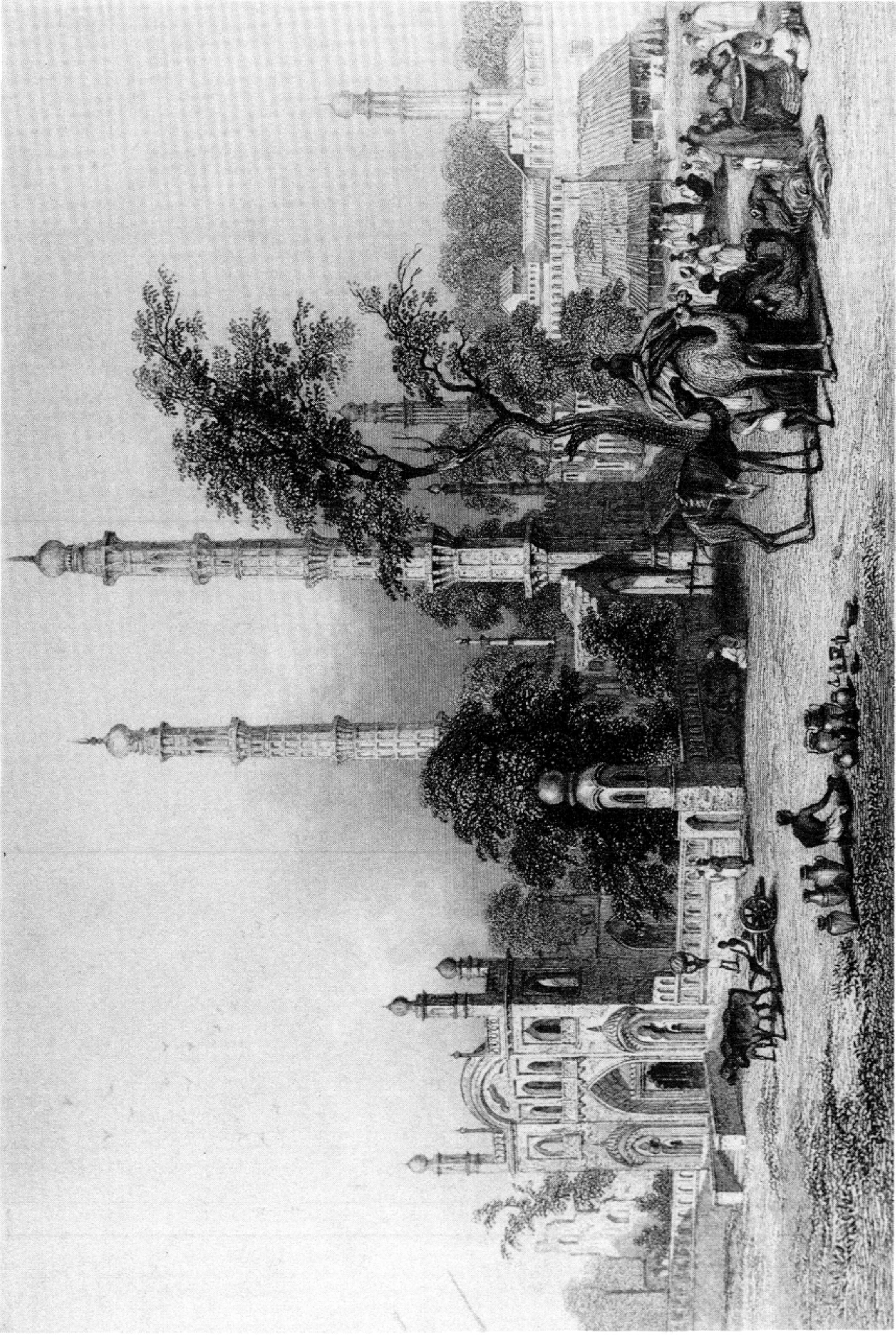
He will not smile until she bends
to each guest and nods, talking
of Ezekiel's poems, Ray's films,
her English begun with nuns
and finished at Bennington,
a modulation varied and rich
as the candlelight saying itself
again and again on the gold threads
in her sari of scarlet silk.



Ghat and Temple at Gokul, drawn by D. Roberts from a sketch by Thomas Bacon, engraved by R. Wallis, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1839], facing p. 187.

Supplication

The oldest, back from a year's premed
at Duke, tells her friend at the wheel
about a student she met. Having read
Cormack, the American asked about barren
women. Face down in the road, hands
holding plantain, coconut, and betel
leaves above their heads? Drumming,
shouts, until a priest walked on the backs
on the backs of the supplicants? And on his head
was there really a linga covered
with marigolds? Joining her friend's
merriment, the driver wonders what she'll meet
at Barnard next year. Then brakes
into silence at the unexpected bend,
the banyan, bright with morning threads,
coins at its roots and guava, three apples,
ripe pleading on a bamboo mat.

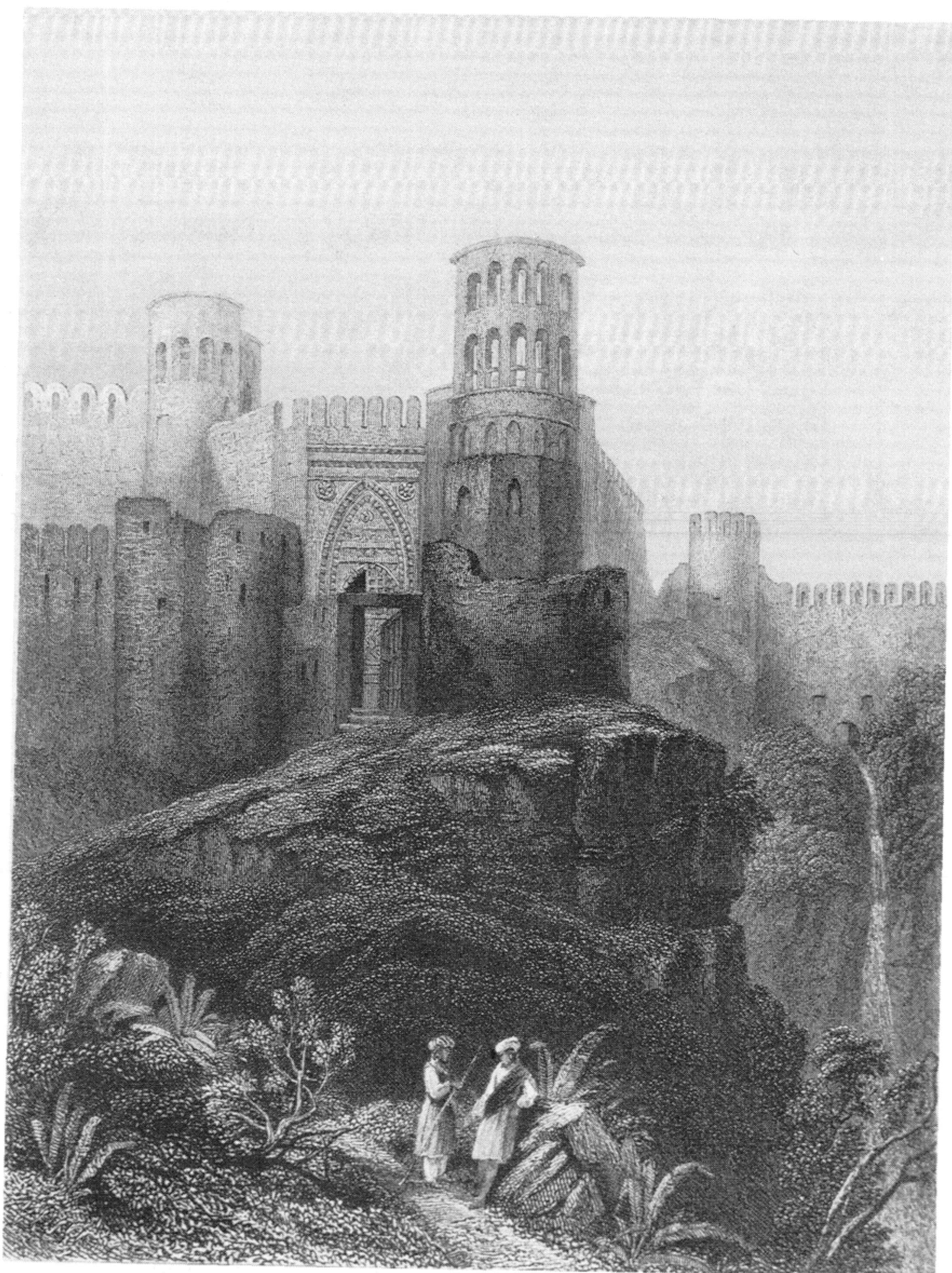


*Mosque of Abdool Raheim Kahn, Boorhanpoor, drawn by W. Warren from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by W. and E. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. 126.*

Woman Fanning Two Babies

She does not know
she's backdrop, never heard
of panoply. She could not tell
how it feels to be part of the design
winding to the Ganges as the city shakes off sleep
in the man stacking green coconuts, hoping
the leper will find another place
to display his fingerless hands
in the boy making floaters from wicks,
paraffin, and lotus leaves
in the toothless woman waiting
her chapati, the girl pleading
a one-rupee smile when her father sings
the cobra from the wicker basket
in the silksellers, sandalmakers, sunshaded
Brahmins selling blessings.

The squatting woman, thigh muscles tight
against her faded sari knows only
that heat precedes the sun in Varanasi,
that if she quits fanning, black flies
will congregate on her two babies sleeping
naked, each on a page of the *Hindustan Times*.



Peer Putteh Gate, Gawilghur, painted by T. Creswick from a sketch by Meadows Taylor, engraved by W. and E. Finden, reprinted from Bacon, *Oriental Annual* [1840], facing p. 97.

Statistical Distributions: How Deviant Can They Be?

James B. McDonald

There are many jokes told about economists and statisticians. A neighbor took great delight in telling me that he had heard that an economist is someone who wanted to be an accountant but didn't have enough personality. You may have heard about the statistician who drowned in a river that only averaged six inches deep.

In spite of the feelings these expressions reflect for these two disciplines, the use of statistics provides an important common denominator for much of the applied research being done in the natural and social sciences. This is true in the fields of physics, astronomy, biology, economics, engineering, finance, marketing, and many more. Statistics often refers to both the collection of empirical data and the use of this data to estimate relationships, determine trends, and make inferences. It is the analysis of data, however, rather than the collection of data that characterizes modern statistics.

Given the extensive data sources currently available and existing computer hardware and software, the use of statistical models to describe the extent of our uncertainty about a variable and relationships between variables is a particularly exciting and productive area of research. I will focus on one facet of my research which I hope will be of rather general interest. First, I will review some history associated with the development of statistics and probability from being purely descriptive to providing models for the analysis of data. Second, I will discuss a few of the statistical models known as distributions that have played an important role in the development of modern statistics. Major scientific problems have provided the basis for the development of several of these. Next, I will discuss some relatively new distributions that include most of the previous ones as special cases and also provide for important increased flexibility. Finally, I will consider some applications of these models in economics, engineering, and finance.

James B. McDonald is a professor of economics and managerial economics at Brigham Young University. This essay was originally presented as the twenty-fourth annual Distinguished Faculty Lecture at Brigham Young University, 28 January 1987. The author expresses appreciation to Steve White and Dave Williams for their able research assistance and to Steve for preparing many of the figures used in the presentation; to Earl Faulkner for providing references to some excellent material on the history of statistics; to Jay Irvine who provided data on starting salaries for graduates; to Richard Butler, Kaye Hanson, and Steve White for their comments on earlier versions of the paper; and to his parents, Leonard and Arola McDonald, and his wife, Kathy McDonald, for their assistance and encouragement.

THE HISTORY OF PROBABILITY AND STATISTICS

Attempts to determine the beginning of any intellectual discipline are highly speculative. Many researchers suggest that before 1650 statistics primarily involved the description of events rather than reasoning from the data in order to make inferences about cause and effect.¹ Probability theory is no different. There is evidence of games of chance being played long before the seventeenth century. Many archaeological finds contain abnormally large deposits of small ankle bones. It is thought that these bones were used in various games. These bones appear in paintings on Egyptian tombs as pieces used in games of chance and are still used in some children's games in France and Greece.² Gambling or gaming was so popular with the Romans that laws were passed which forbade it except during particular seasons. The emperor Claudius was so interested in "dicing" that he wrote a book about it and played while riding in his carriage. It is reported that he would throw dice onto a special board that had been fitted in his carriage. One source reports that he even played his left hand against his right hand.³

There appears to have been little or no formal discussion about the odds or probabilities associated with games of chance prior to the mid to late seventeenth century.⁴ The sample mean or average is very important in statistics and probability and yet isn't even mentioned before the eighteenth century.⁵

Why was the theory of probability and statistics so late in being developed? One explanation is that the dice or instruments used in gambling were so irregular in shape that it may have been difficult to recognize a consistent pattern from one set to another. The faces of the dice were often neither square nor parallel. F. N. David obtained three dice from the British Museum. One was made out of rock crystal, another from iron, and the third from marble. The three dice were each tossed 204 times, and the number of times that each of the six faces appeared was recorded.⁶ These results are shown in table 1.

TABLE 1
Dice: Result of 204 Tosses

MATERIAL	VALUE OF TOSS					
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
Rock Crystal	30	38	31	34	34	37
Iron	35	39	30	21	37	42
Marble	27	28	23	47	25	54
Expected Number	34	34	34	34	34	34

Looking at the last row in table 1, we see that the expected frequencies associated with tossing a "fair die" 204 times would be for each side to appear thirty-four times. It should be apparent from the other rows that

there are obvious discrepancies between the observed and expected frequencies. Those differences are statistically significant for the marble die.

Another explanation for the relatively late development of a theory of probability and statistics is that until relatively recent times events in the world were viewed as being random or predetermined. The Greeks and Romans viewed the world as being partly determined by chance, with the gods and goddesses having some control over the outcome of events. A contrasting view is often attributed to early Christianity before the Reformation. The notion of a deterministic world without randomness or chance appears to have been quite common.⁷ Both of these views of the occurrence of events in the world would discourage the careful analysis of random events that is at the very core of modern statistics.⁸

It is interesting to note that the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants contain references to the use of drawing lots as a method of making decisions as well as providing a way for the expression of God's will. The Jewish Talmud also includes many references to the use of lots. One of the more interesting is the description of the division of Israel among the twelve tribes. As reported by Hasofer, the procedure was as follows: Eleazar wore the Urim and Thummim, while Joshua and all of Israel stood before him. An urn containing the names of the twelve tribes, and an urn containing descriptions of the boundaries were placed before him. Animated by the Holy Spirit, he announced the name of a tribe and the name of a territory. Then he shook the urns and drew out the name of the tribe from one and the territorial description from the other. This procedure was repeated for each of the tribes. It is interesting that the results of the drawing were reported to have been announced prior to the drawing and that at least one source reports that the drawings from the two urns involved two priests. These elaborate preparations were to emphasize that the results were the outcome of divine will.⁹

Two other excellent references to the history and development of probability would be the books by Hacking and Maistrov.¹⁰

WHERE DO OUR MODERN STATISTICAL MODELS COME FROM AND HOW ARE THEY USED?

The development of formal statistical models began in the late seventeenth century. Some of the early developments were motivated by problems in astronomy and physics. The participants in this development represented many disciplines, and a list of the contributors reads like a *Who's Who in the World of Science*, including Euler, Edgeworth, Demoivre, Galton, Gauss, Laplace, Legendre, and Maxwell, among others. These contributions arose out of an attempt to build models that

would more accurately describe some phenomenon and use the available data more efficiently to make decisions in the face of uncertainty. The notion of probability or distribution functions provides the theoretical bedrock or foundation for these efforts.

The distribution or density function is used to visually depict the relative frequency, likelihood, or probability that an event will occur. Some important concepts are humorously depicted in figure 1, drawn by Ron Bell. In this figure, those above 90 percent receive A's, those between 80 and 90 percent receive B's, and so on. The corresponding areas under the curve indicate the fraction of students receiving the various grades. This particular distribution is symmetric with both tails having the same shape and thickness.

The shape and location of these distribution functions is very important in statistics. For example, in 1986 the average starting salary was almost \$28,000 for a student with a bachelor's degree in engineering and \$16,000 for those graduating with a bachelor's in social and recreation work. Figure 2 visually illustrates that not everyone received the same salary; however, there is a \$12,000 difference between the average starting salaries for the two majors. If Steve Young had majored in recreation work and graduated in a class of fifty, the average salary for that major would be approximately \$36,000, as indicated in figure 3. If the graduating class was smaller and only included eight students, then the average starting salary would be approximately \$136,000 per year. Figure 4 illustrates a distribution with a thick tail to the right and is said to be *skewed* to the right. Starting salaries for MBA's exhibit this same behavior, with a few students offered in excess of \$70,000 per year.

Figure 4 provides a different example. The grade inflation issue at BYU can be viewed as a distribution that has a thick tail to the left and is said to be skewed to the left. This can be due either to professors who are too lenient or to a relatively large group of excellent students.

The shape of the distribution, whether it is skewed or not, and the thickness of the tails have very important consequences when we attempt to model uncertainty. For example, many students seem to feel that their entire futures depend upon the shape of the curve used in determining final grades. The thickness of the tail indicates the probability of large deviations from the mean. One can imagine that this would not only be of interest to students, but to a portfolio manager who is interested in large returns (right tail) but is also concerned about the likelihood of large losses (left tail).

Important statistical distributions developed before the twentieth century include the uniform, binomial, normal, beta, double exponential or Laplace, chi-square, lognormal, Student's t, and Pearson's skew distributions. I will not be exhaustive in my coverage of these distributions. However, some fascinating stories are behind the development of

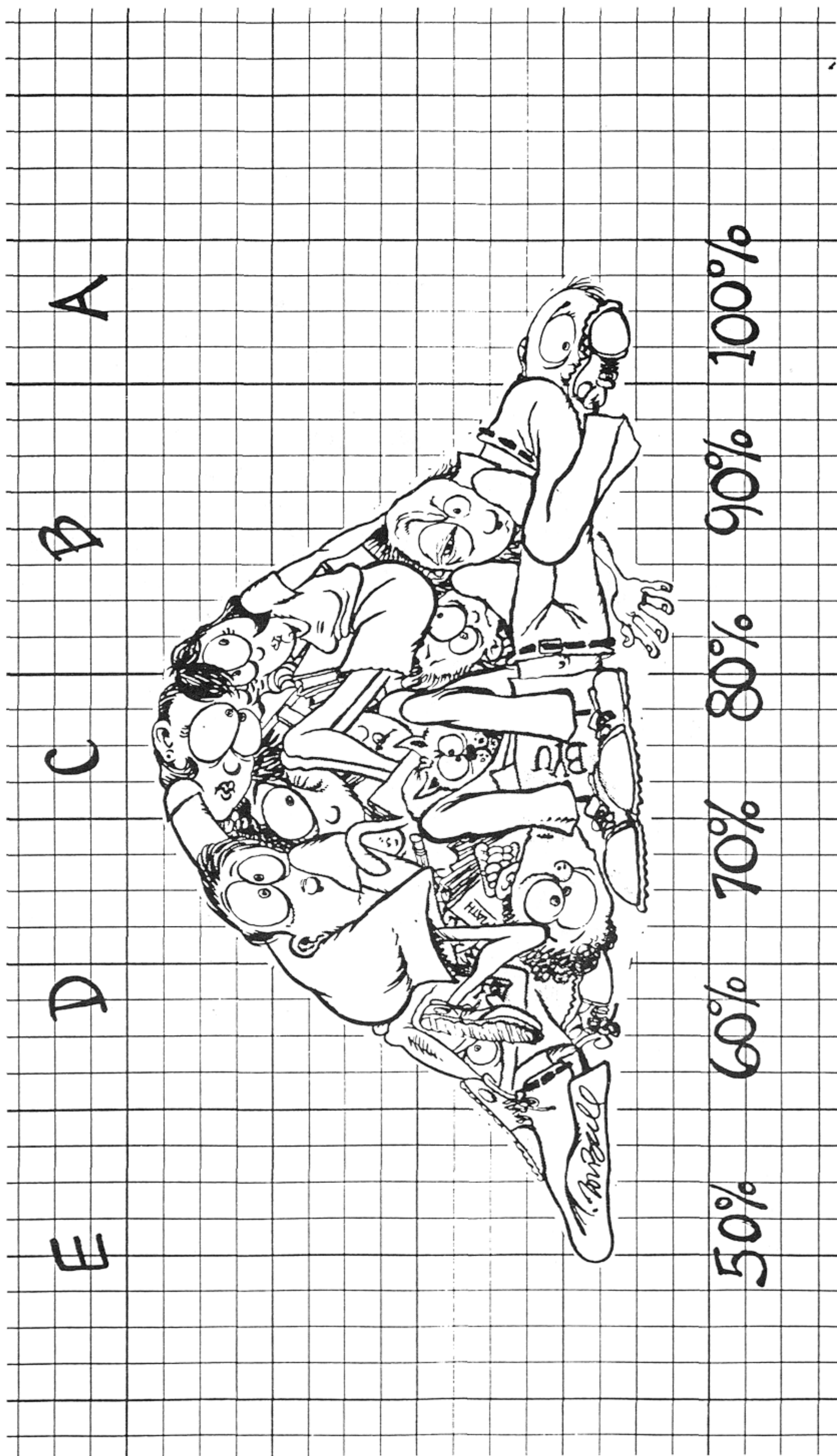


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2

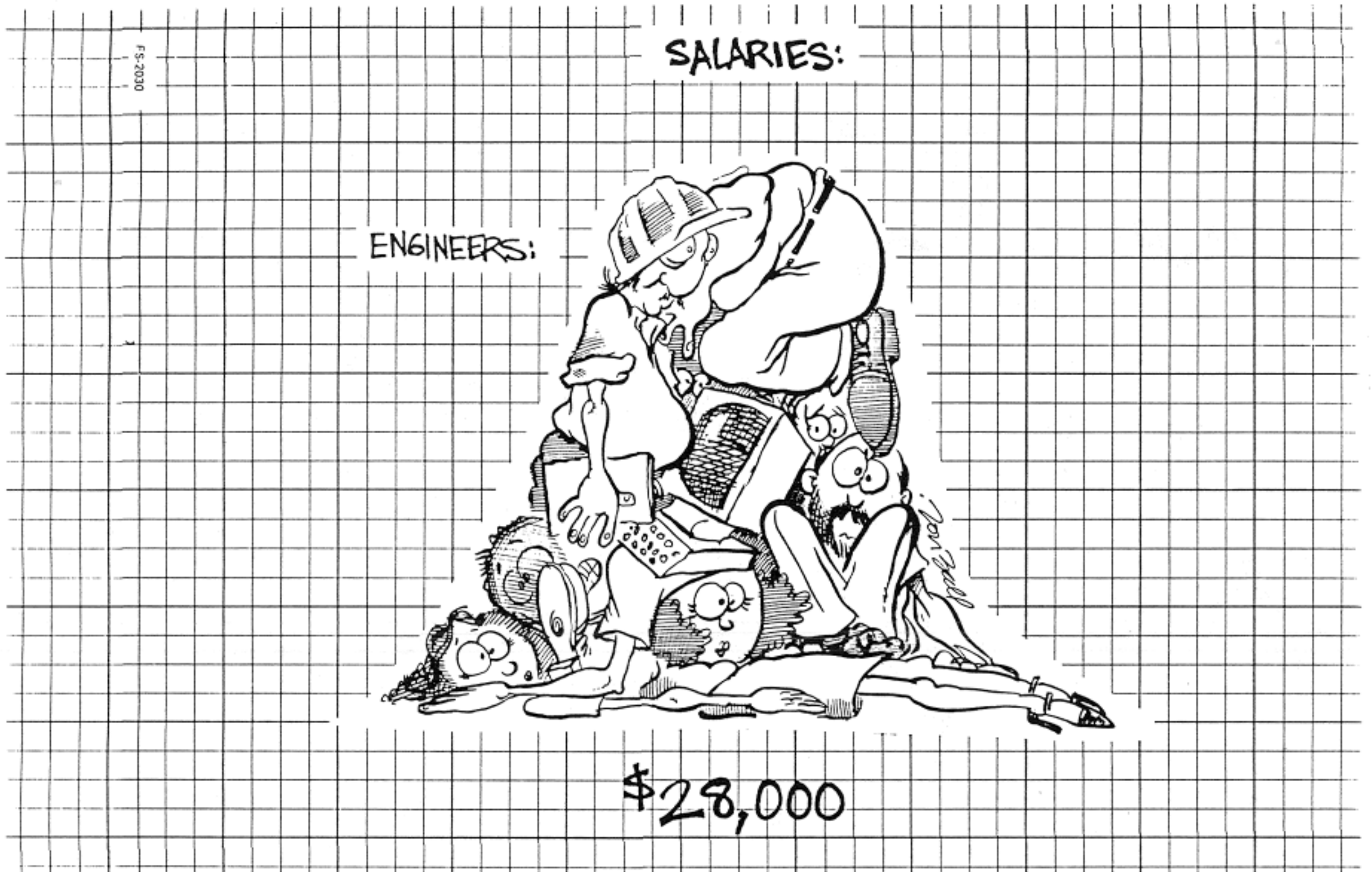
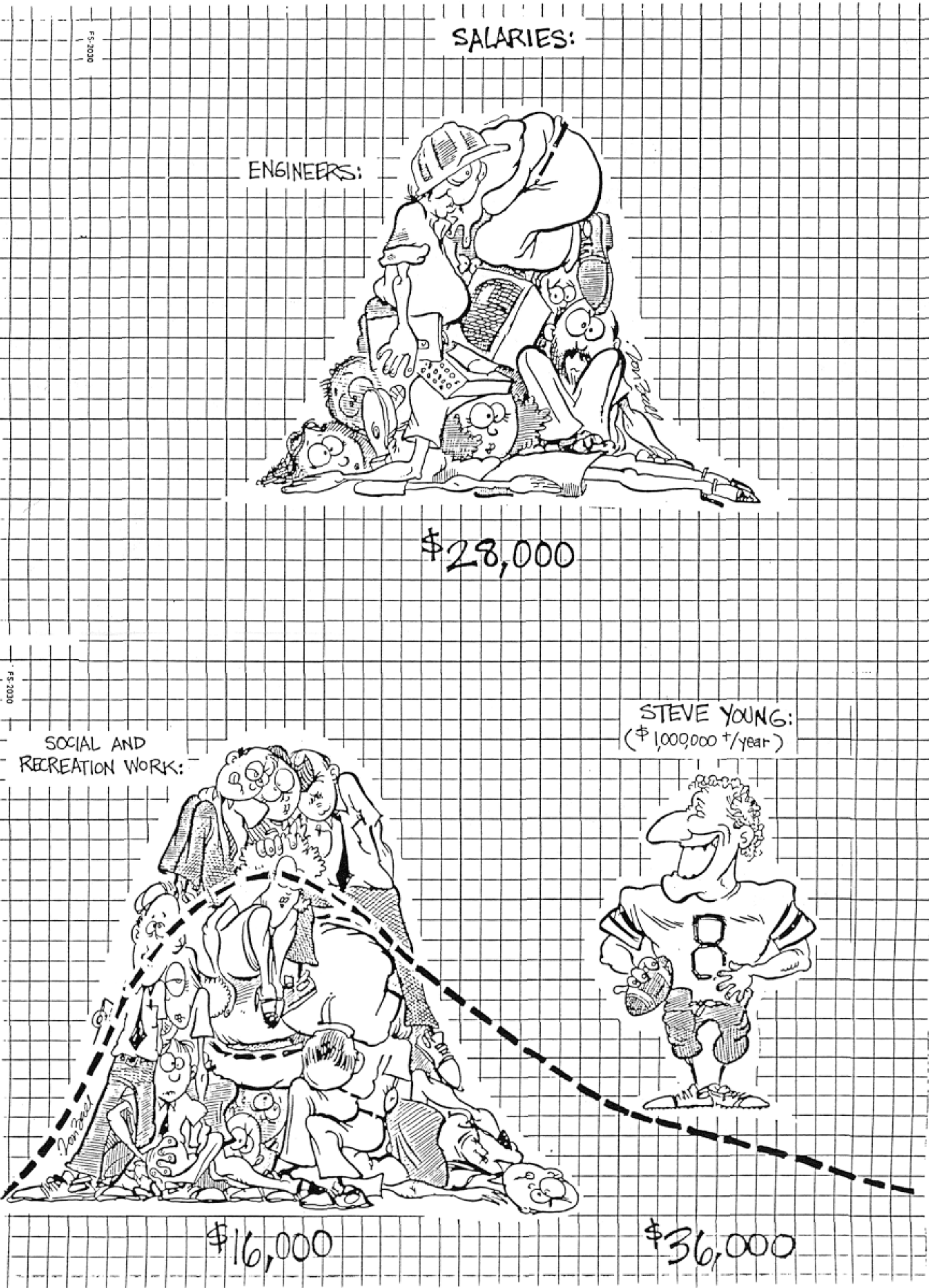


FIGURE 3



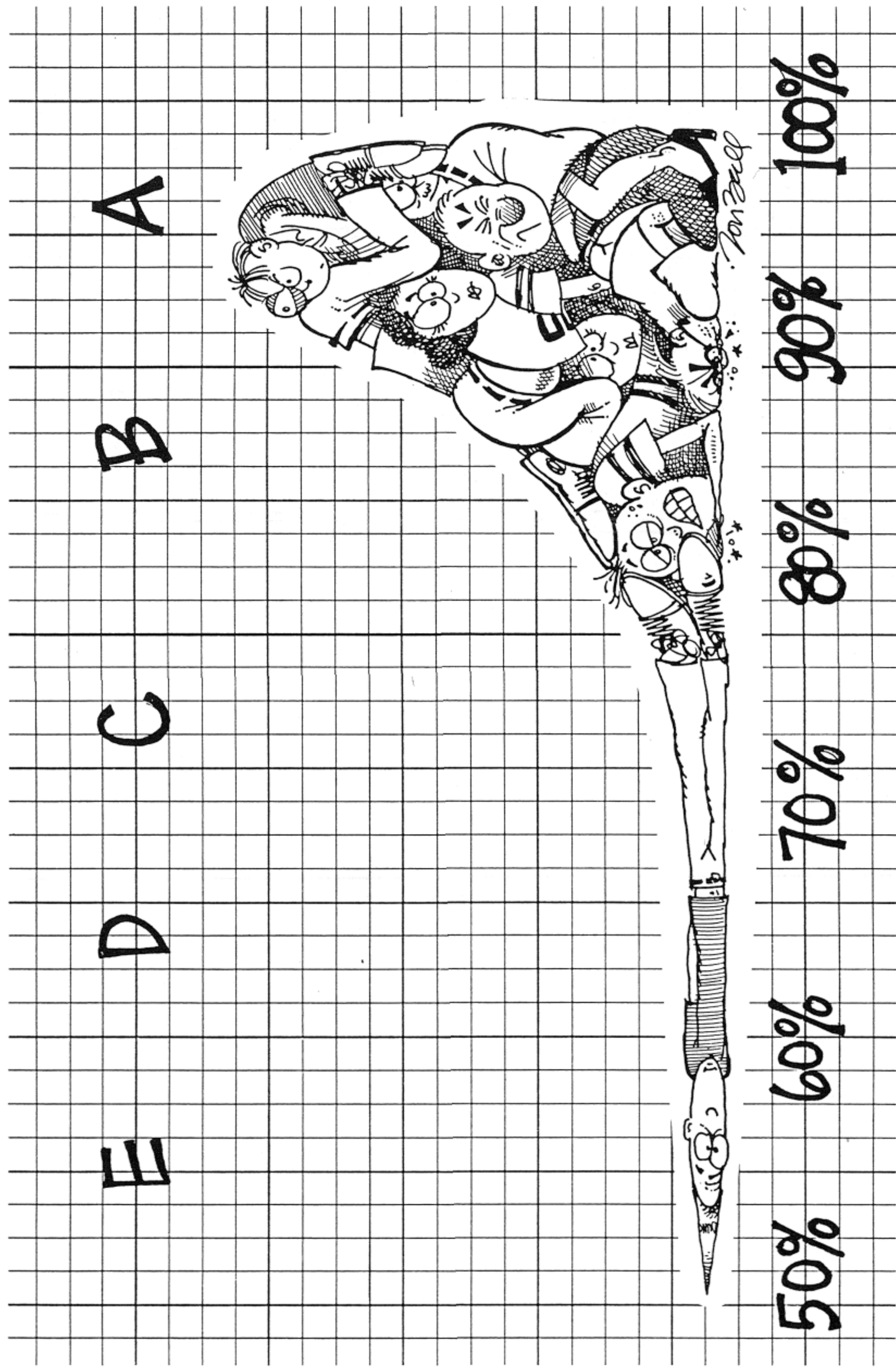
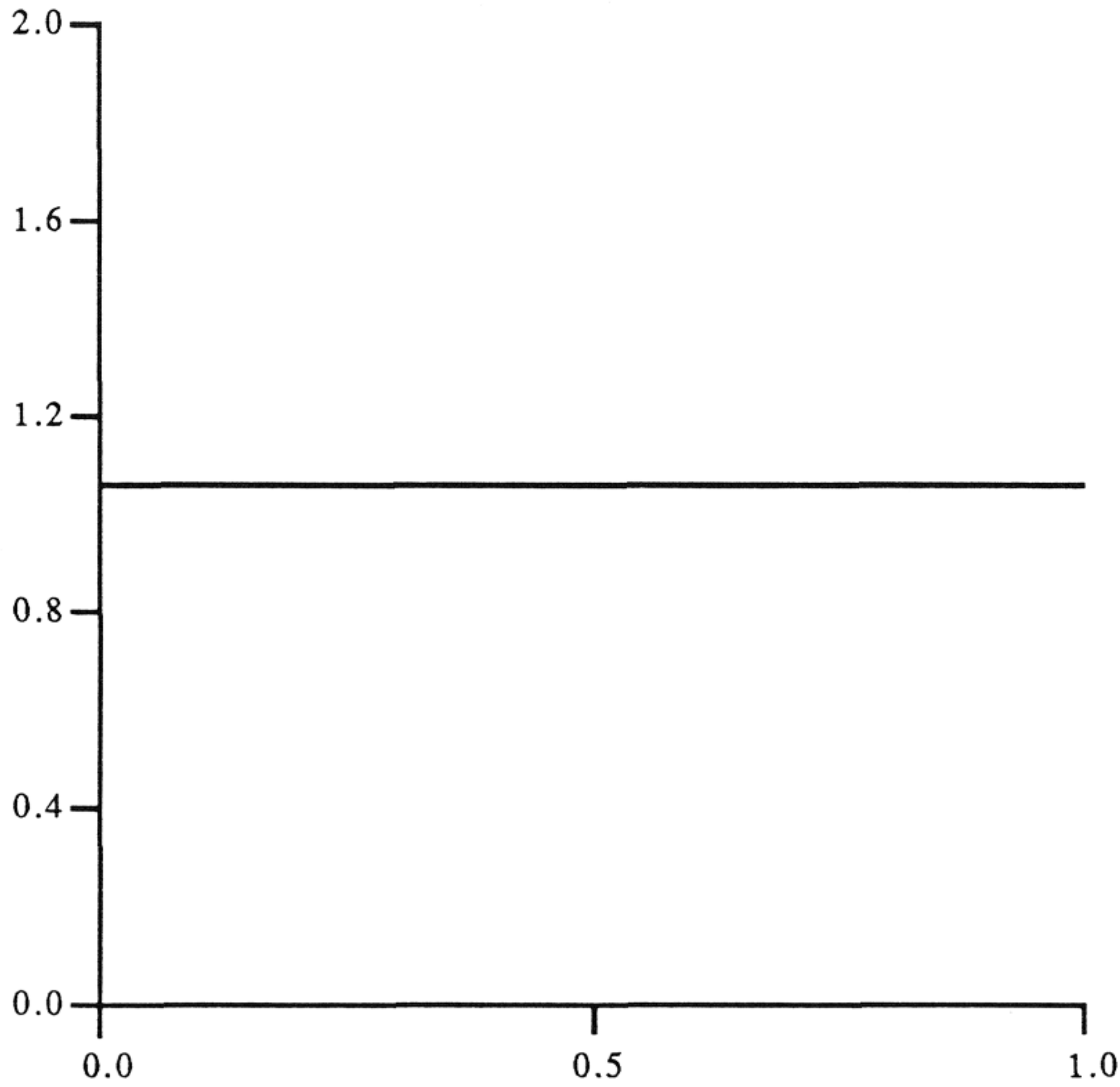


FIGURE 4

some of these models. I will briefly trace the evolution of a few statistical distributions and focus on their shapes. I will not address normative issues associated with the shapes of the distributions that arise in various applications.

FIGURE 5
Uniform

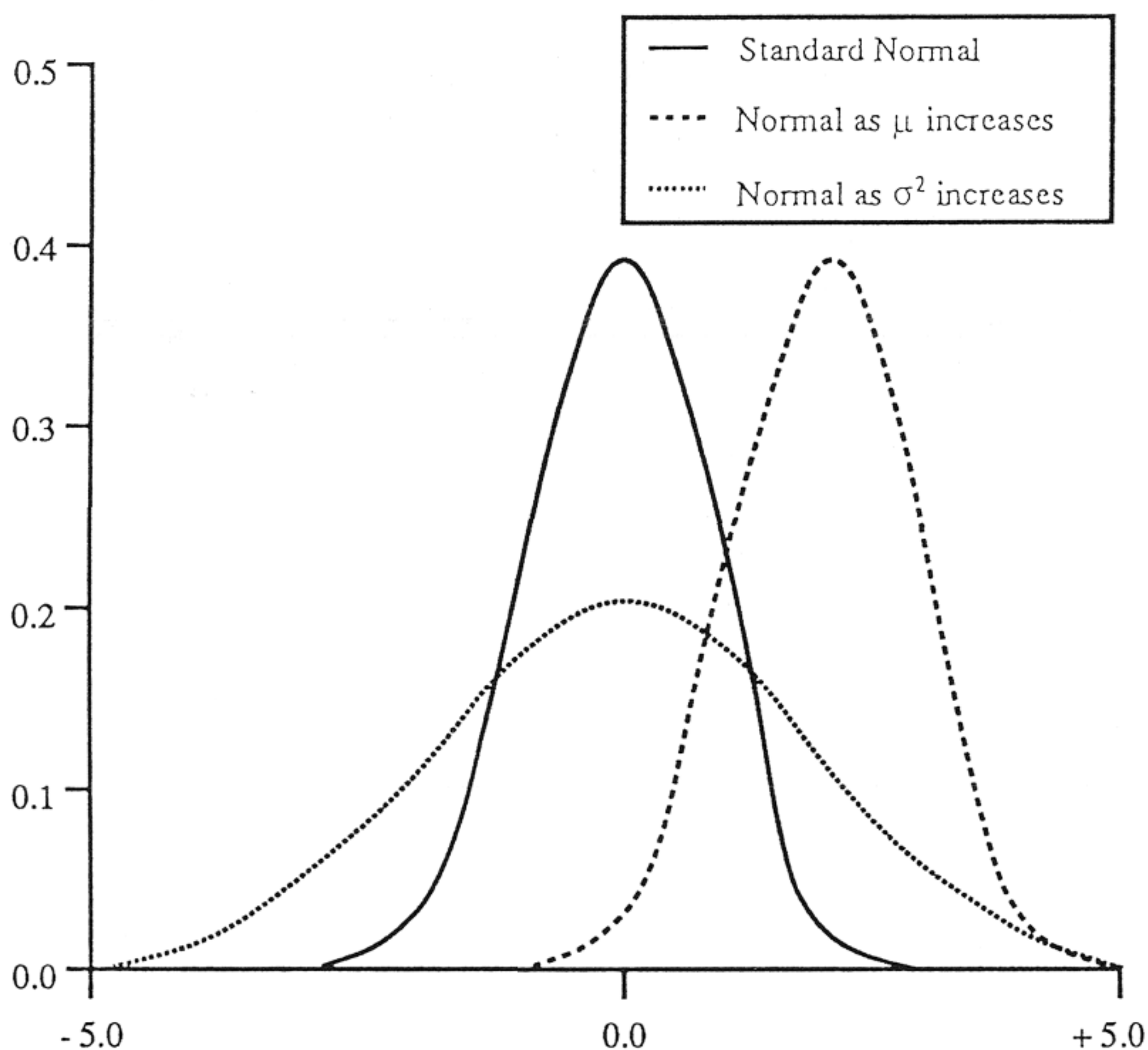


One of the first statistical distributions to be observed and mathematically modeled is the uniform distribution shown in figure 5. This distribution appeared as an estimate of an empirical law in some of Halley’s data on human mortality.¹¹ DeMoivre formalized the distribution in his treatise on life annuities.¹² The model suggests equally likely outcomes of an event over a finite interval, and the average or expected value of the event is at the midpoint of the interval.

The famous bell shaped curve, the normal probability distribution with various possible shapes, is shown in figure 6. Distributions with different means (μ) and variances (σ^2) are shown. In 1733, DeMoivre first obtained the normal distribution as an approximation to binomial

distribution.¹³ Only later was it found to provide an excellent fit to many types of data.¹⁴ This density was often called “the law of frequency of error” and is one of the most commonly used distributions in statistics—the workhorse of statistics. The mean or average value of a normally distributed variable corresponds to the highest point on the curve, and it is important to note that the distribution is symmetric about the mean.

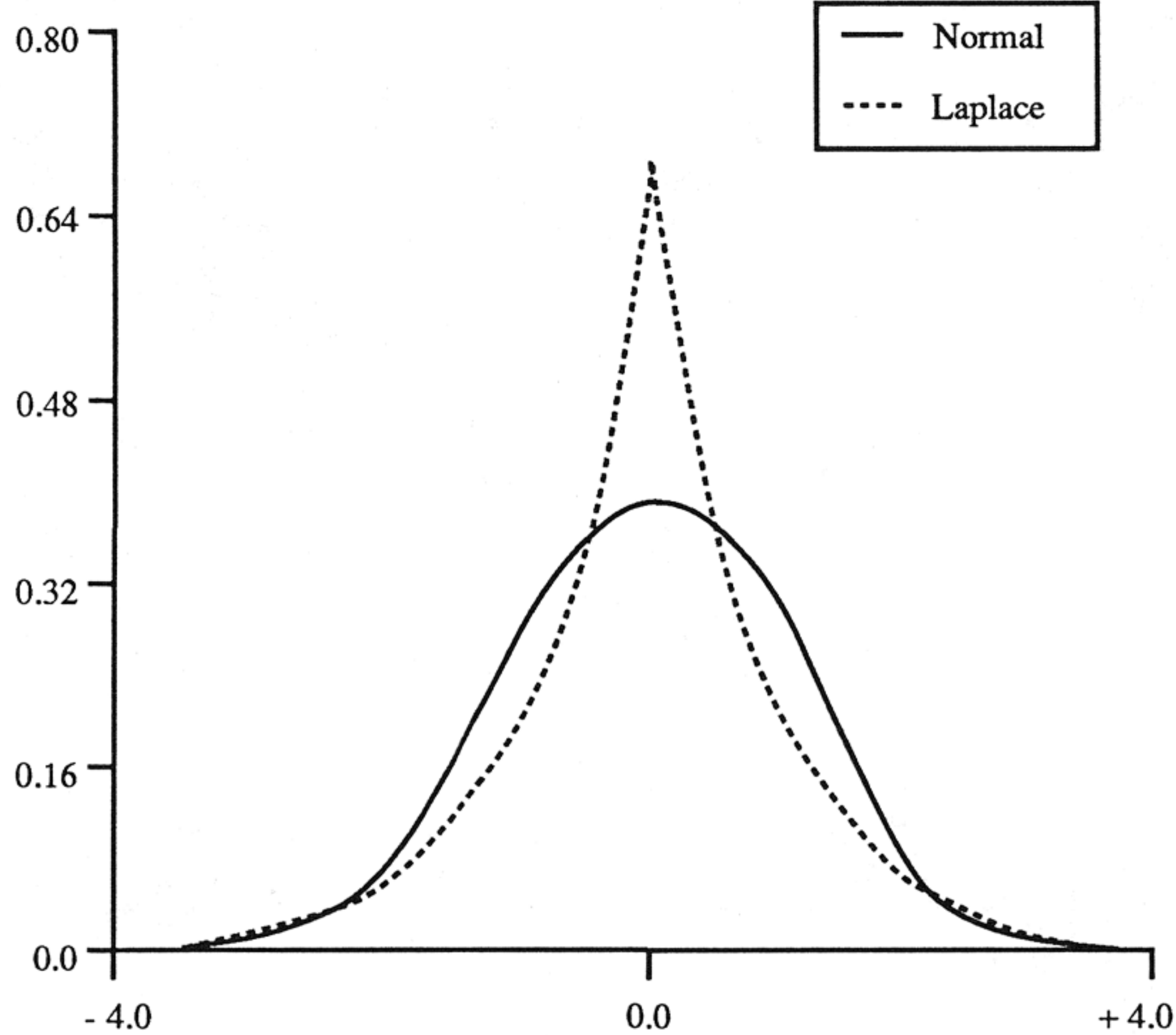
FIGURE 6
Normal



It is difficult to assess the impact the normal distribution has had on theoretical and applied statistics. However, the potential of the normal distribution was recognized early. In 1889 Francis Galton wrote in his famous book *Natural Inheritance*: “I have known of scarcely anything so apt to impress the imagination as the wonderful form of cosmic order expressed by the Law of Frequency of Error (normal). . . . The Law would have been personified by the Greeks and deified, if they had known of it.”¹⁵ Historically, the development of the normal distribution or theory of errors was particularly associated with astronomy, but it is now widely used in many disciplines.¹⁶

However, the normal has two important shortcomings: many data are not symmetrically distributed, and some distributions have a higher frequency of outliers or thicker tails than permitted by the normal. In fact it seems that skewed distributions are often the rule, rather than the exception for many economic data. Two distributions that permit thicker tails than the normal are the Laplace and Student's *t* distributions.

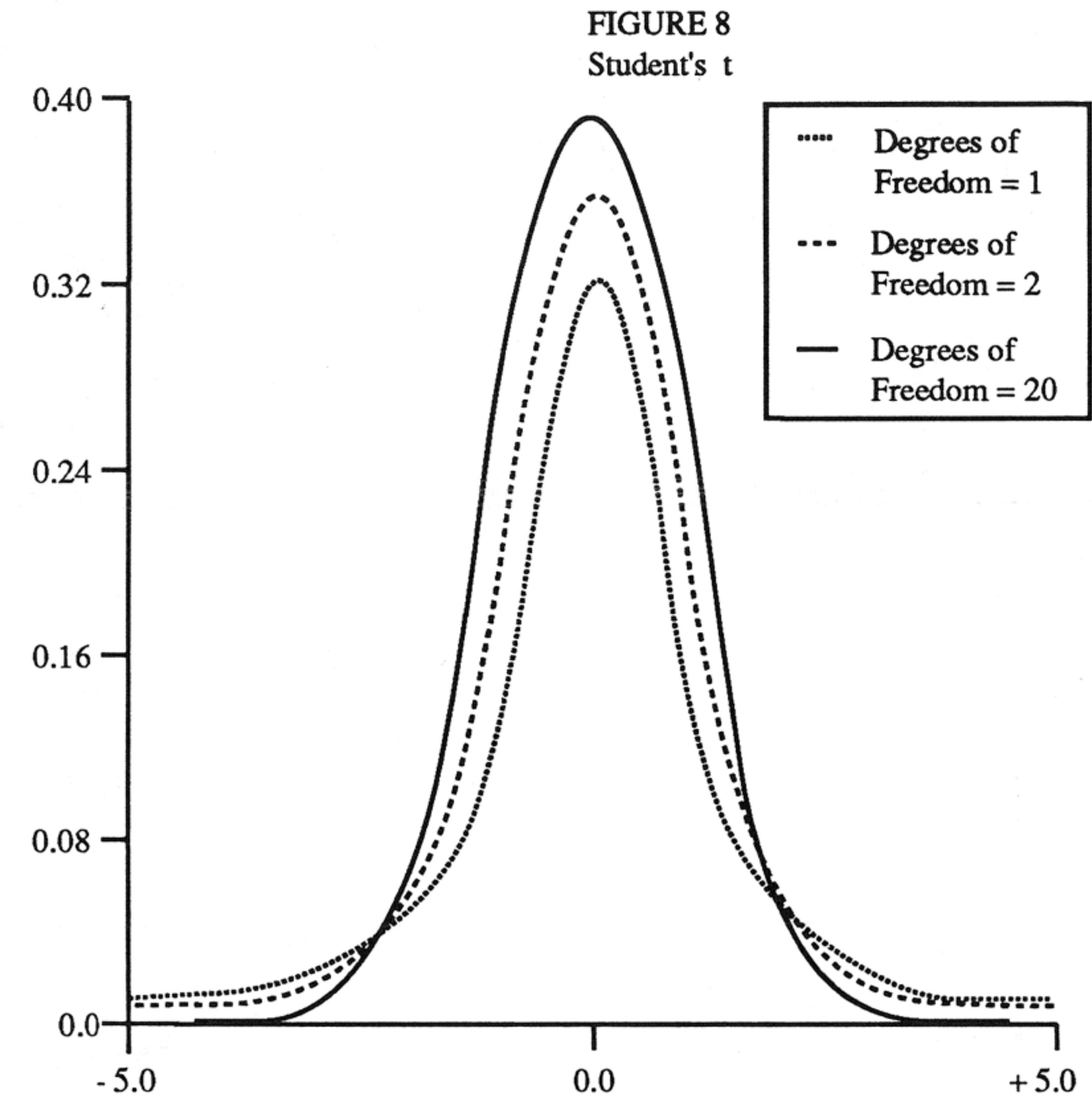
FIGURE 7
Normal and Laplace



In 1774, Laplace derived the double exponential or Laplace distribution. From figure 7 we see that the Laplace distribution, like the normal, is symmetric about the mean but is more peaked near the mean and has thicker tails. Both of the distributions in figure 7 have the same variance. An interesting personal note about Laplace is that he was one of Napoleon Bonaparte's instructors and had interesting public and scientific careers. He served as minister of the interior in 1799, and later as a member of the French Senate. Laplace was a productive scholar until his death at the age of seventy-eight and has been referred to as France's most illustrious scientist of the eighteenth century. He was eulogized by

Poisson as “the Newton of France.”¹⁷ One biography suggested that if “publish or perish” were literally true, Laplace would be alive today.

The problem of thick tailed data led to the development of another statistical model that came from the Guinness Brewery in Ireland.

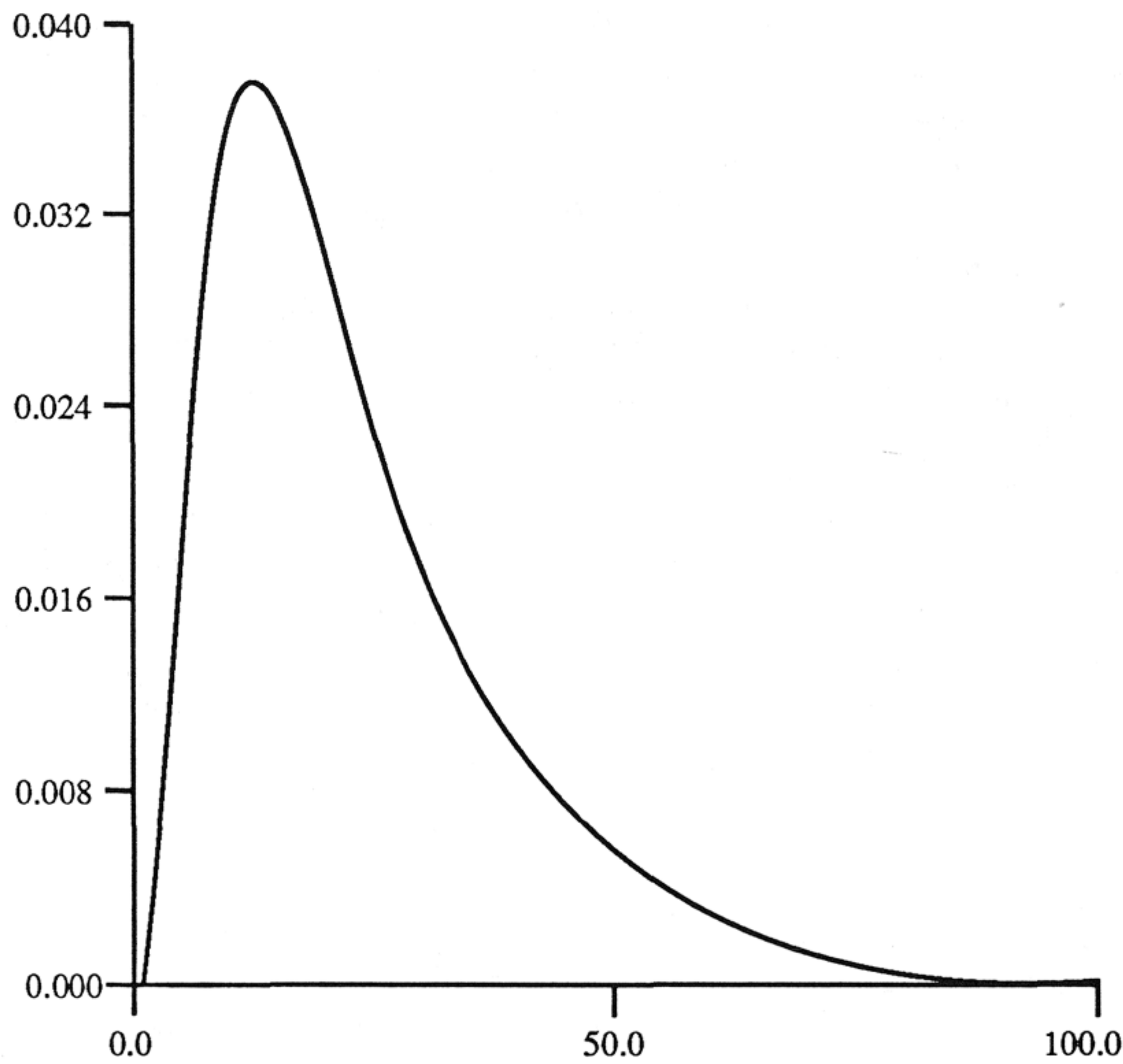


The t distribution is another distribution that is symmetric but permits thicker tails than the normal. The smaller the degrees of freedom, the thicker the tails. The normal distribution is a limiting case of the t distribution for large degrees of freedom. This distribution was derived by William Gosset. Gosset (1876–1937) graduated from Oxford in chemistry and mathematics, and was hired by the Guinness Brewery to study the production of beer and to investigate the relationship between the quality of the brew and the conditions of production. The normal distribution did not have thick enough tails to provide an accurate description. Gosset derived the famous t distribution and published his findings anonymously under the name “Student” in 1908. Since he didn’t

use his real name, he must not have been worried about tenure or promotion at the brewery. Gosset worked at the brewery until three years before his death, and his most important contributions in statistics were motivated by a desire to solve problems encountered at the brewery.

While these distributions helped with the problem of thick tails, neither provided a model for the positively skewed distributions that are so common in empirical work. The lognormal is a very important distribution for data that are skewed to the right.

FIGURE 9
Lognormal



In 1879, Francis Galton presented a paper before the Royal Statistical Society in which he stated: “My purpose is to show that an assumption which lies at the basis of the well-known law of Frequency of Error [the normal] is incorrect in many groups of vital and social phenomena.”¹⁸ He then proposed the lognormal distribution for such data. If data are distributed as the lognormal distribution, then the natural logarithms of the data will be normally distributed. This

distribution is positively skewed with a long tail to the right and has been used extensively to model the distribution of income, particle size in engineering, and also in medicine. The lognormal can approximate the normal in some instances, but it cannot model negatively skewed data and often does not have thick enough tails.

In spite of the problems of asymmetric and thick-tailed data, the normal was often used rather uncritically until the early 1900s. Karl Pearson, among others, was very concerned about the shortcomings of the normal distribution and derived a system of distribution functions that permitted much greater flexibility than the normal. Pearson recorded in 1895 that Edgeworth had come to him about two years earlier with some skew price curves and asked if he could discover any way of handling skewness. Pearson reports: "I went to him in about a fortnight and said I think I have got a solution out, here is the equation, and told him my chief discoveries. I further said I don't intend to publish till I have illustrated every point from practical statistics."¹⁹ This system of distribution functions is still important today and includes the t-distribution, gamma, beta, and others as special cases.

In summary, the question of whether the normal fits the data well is important in many applications. There have been many attempts to address questions about normality, skewness, or symmetry, and the width of tails as measured by what is referred to as "kurtosis." The Laplace and t distributions provide some additional flexibility for the problem of the tails. The lognormal and Pearson skew distributions provide an approach for the skewness problem. Issues surrounding these developments have evolved over more than two hundred years and find roots in many disciplines.

The computational aspects of statistical analysis have been a major obstacle until fairly recent times. As an example of the time-consuming nature of complex calculations, the research for Karl Pearson's book *Tables of the Incomplete Beta Function* was begun in 1922, and the book was not published until ten years later in 1932. The dramatic changes in our ability to do complicated calculations that have occurred in recent years were unanticipated by many. For example, Charles H. Duell, of the U.S. Patent Office, is reported to have suggested in 1899 that "everything that can be invented has been invented" and even discussed closing the patent office. Thomas J. Watson, chairman of the board of IBM, declared in 1943, "I think there is a world market for about five computers." Popular Mechanics reported in March 1947: "Where a calculator on the ENIAC is equipped with 18,000 vacuum tubes and weighs 30 tons, computers in the future may have only 1000 tubes and perhaps weigh only 1.5 tons."²⁰

Today, a twenty pound portable computer has greater capacity than many of the large early computers that had to be kept in air-conditioned

environments because of the heat generated by the thousands of vacuum tubes and the sensitivity of the circuits to the physical environment. These recent developments in computer hardware and software have facilitated rapid progress in disciplines that are dependent upon numerous or complicated computations. Many new statistical models have been developed. The estimation and analysis of many of these models is often very complicated or impossible without the use of the computer. We now turn to some of these new distributions.

NEW DISTRIBUTION FUNCTIONS

Some of my recent research has dealt with very flexible distribution functions. If the wrong distribution function is selected, one can obtain very peculiar results. For example, if a normal distribution is fitted to highly skewed empirical data, important results can be in error and misleading.

The new distributions will be referred to as generalized beta of the first type (GB1), generalized beta of the second type (GB2) and generalized t (GT) distributions. The formulas for the distributions are given in table 2.

TABLE 2
Generalized Distributions

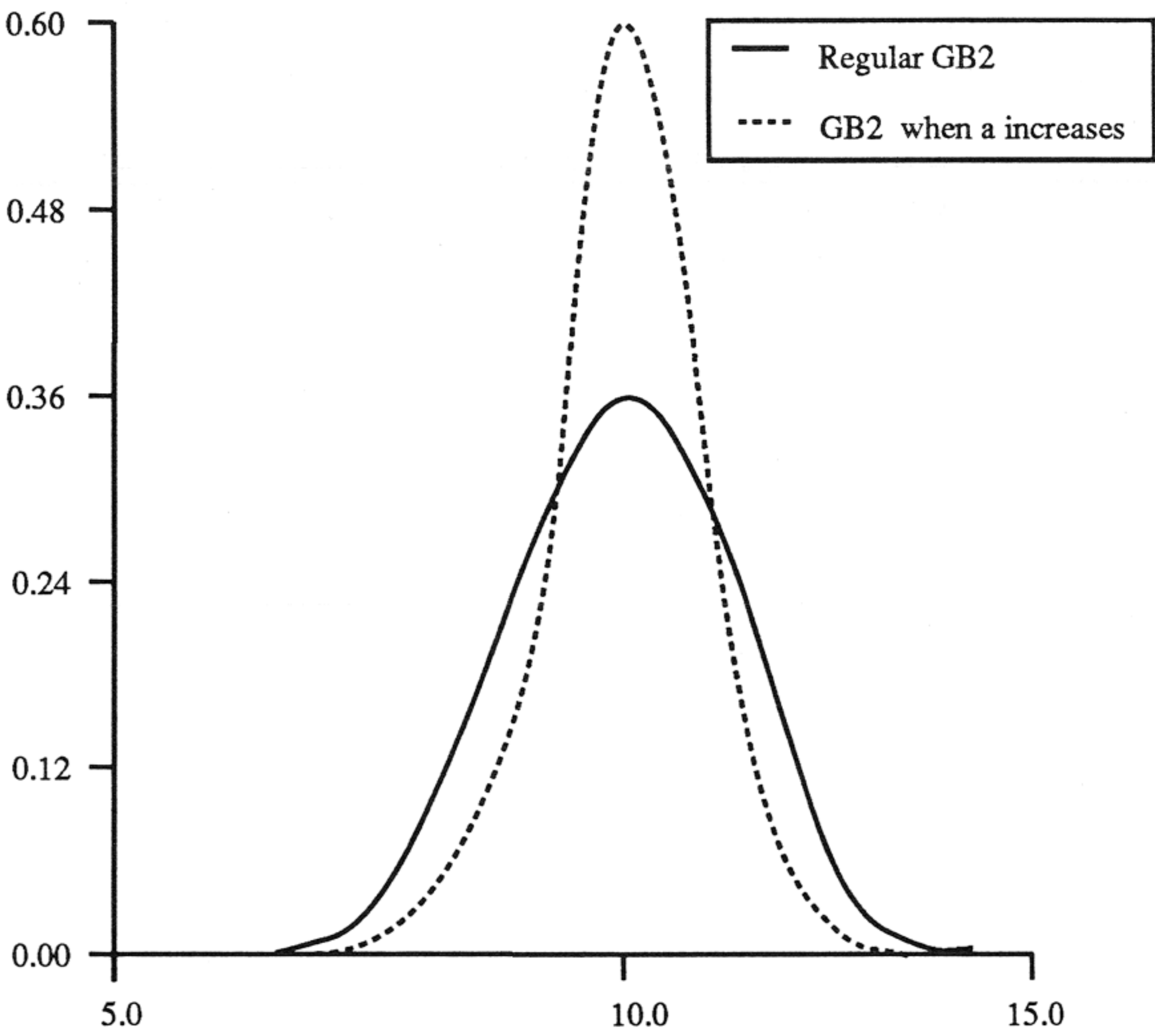
MODEL	DENSITY FUNCTION	
GB1	$\frac{ay^{ap-1}(1-(y/b)^a)^{q-1}}{b^{ap}B(p,q)}$	$0 < y < b$
GB2	$\frac{ay^{ap-1}}{b^{ap}B(p,q)(1+(y/b)^a)^{p+q}}$	$0 < y < \infty$
GT	$\frac{p}{2\beta q^{1/p}B(1/p,q)(1+(y /\beta)^p)^{q+1/p}}$	$-\infty < y < \infty$

These distributions are relatively “friendly” equations as compared to many equations in mathematics and statistics.

The GB2 or generalized beta of the second type has been considered before by Mathai and Saxena (1966) and Prentice (1975). However, this distribution was not widely known at that time, was independently obtained by several researchers in the early 1980s, and has received considerable attention during the last couple of years. The first applications of the GB2 to empirical data were done at BYU. The GB1 and GT do not appear in the literature and were developed at BYU and also have important applications in a number of different disciplines.²¹ The shapes of these distributions are extremely flexible and address many of the criticisms of the normal—in particular the issues of

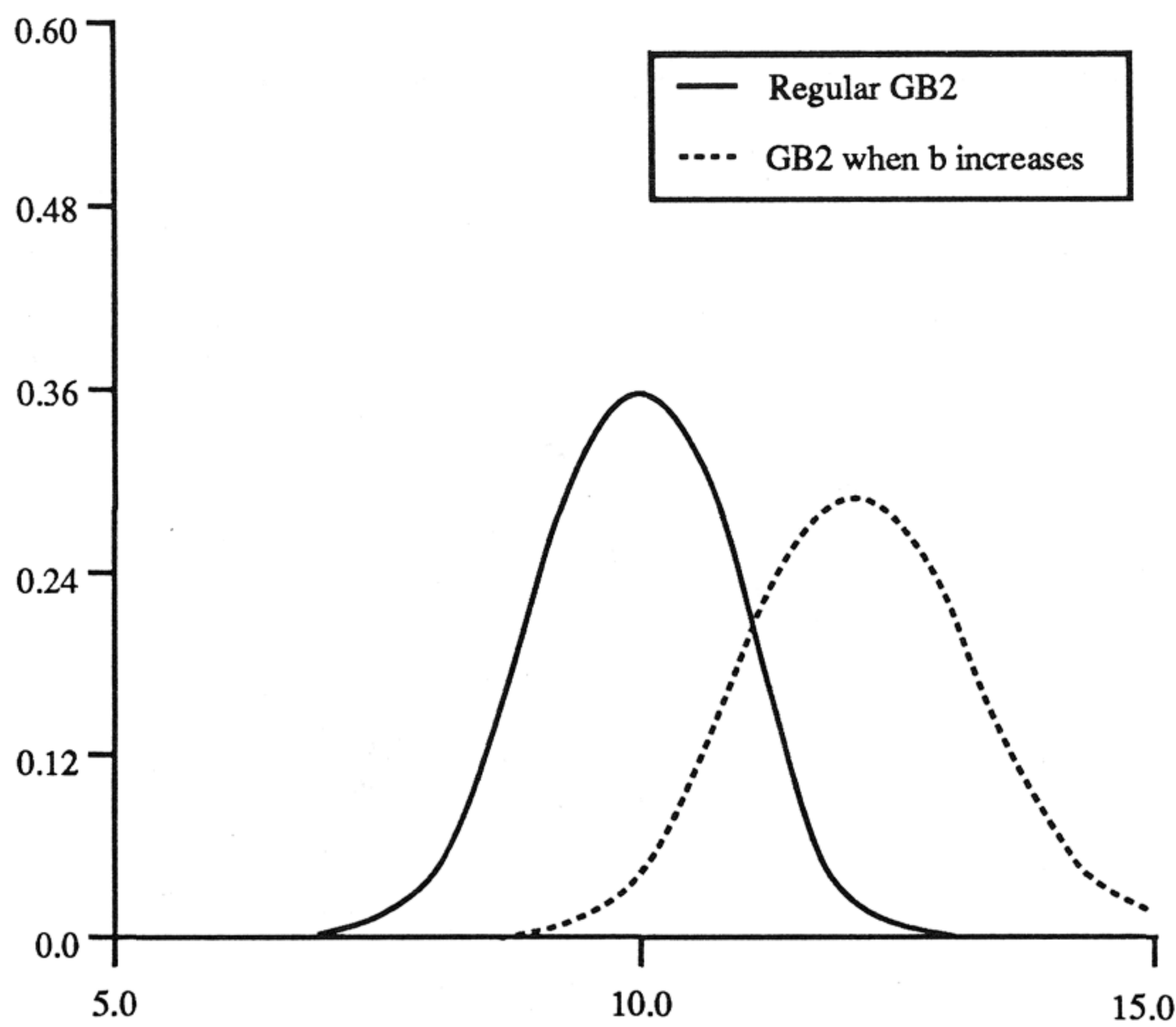
symmetry and thickness of the tails. For example, the GB2 includes four parameters (a, b, p, and q), and changes in these can accommodate four different types of movement of the distribution. These movements and flexibility are depicted in the following figures. Increasing the parameter “a” makes the distribution more peaked.

FIGURE 10
GB2 When a Increases



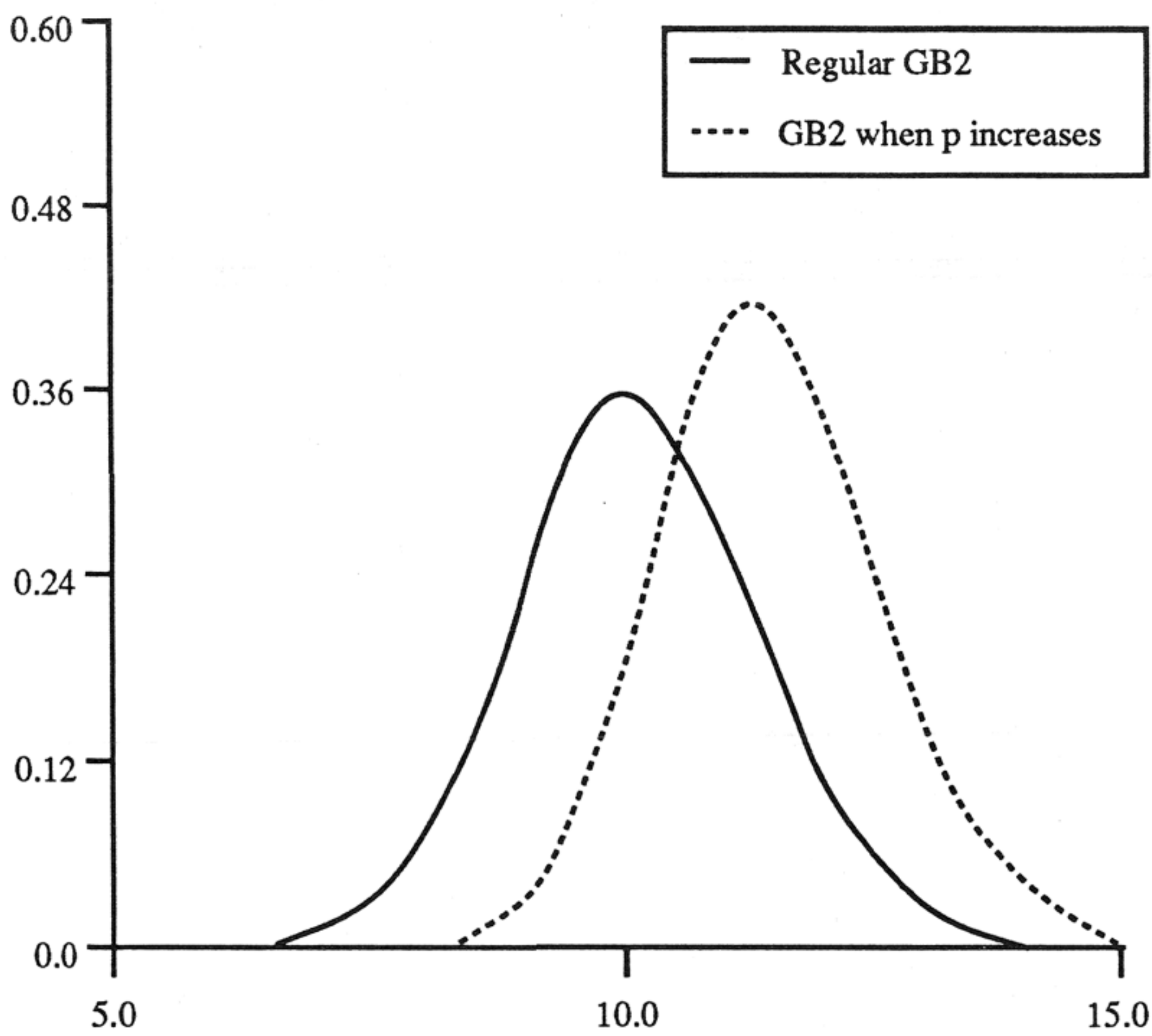
Increasing the parameter “b” shifts the distribution to the right.

FIGURE 11
GB2 When b Increases



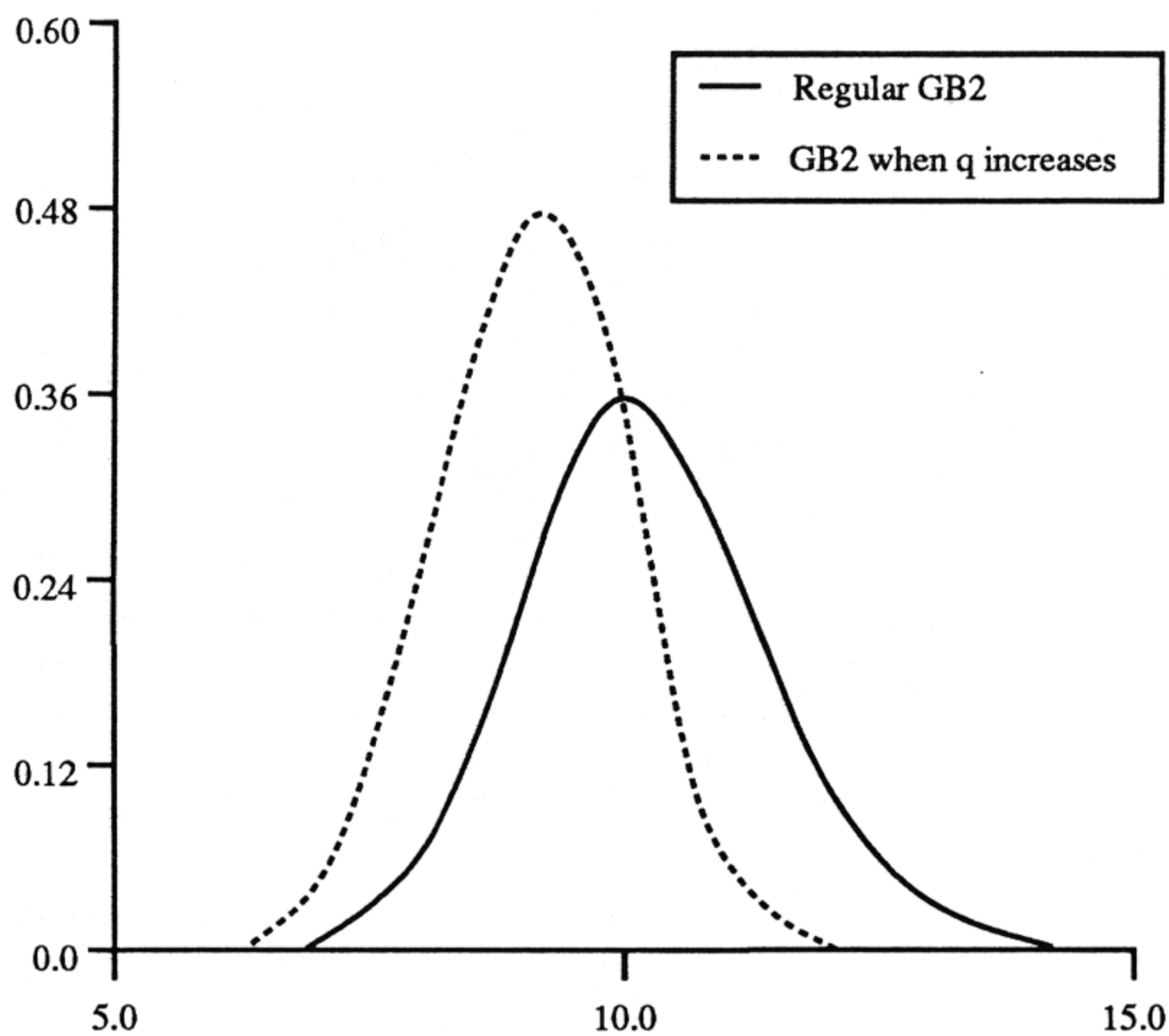
Increasing the parameter “p” tends to make the right tail thicker and the distribution more skewed to the right.

FIGURE 12
GB2 When p Increases



Increasing the value of “q” makes the left tail thicker and the distribution more skewed to the left.

FIGURE 13
GB2 When q Increases



In order to fit a distribution to a set of data, we use the computer to adjust the values of a, b, p and q and move the graph of the distribution until it fits the empirical data well. Adjustments of this kind would not have been feasible until recently, but computer programs have been developed to perform this estimation.

FIGURE 14
Distribution Trees

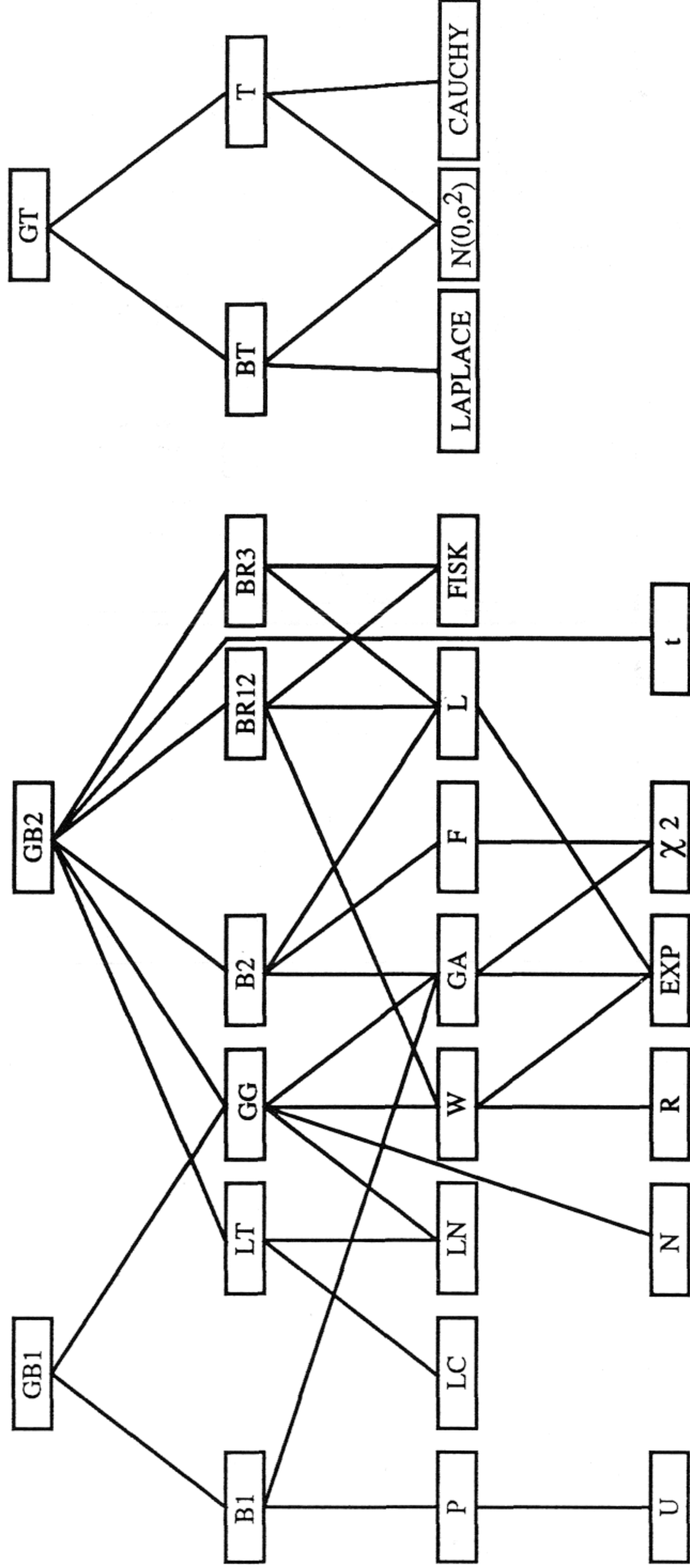
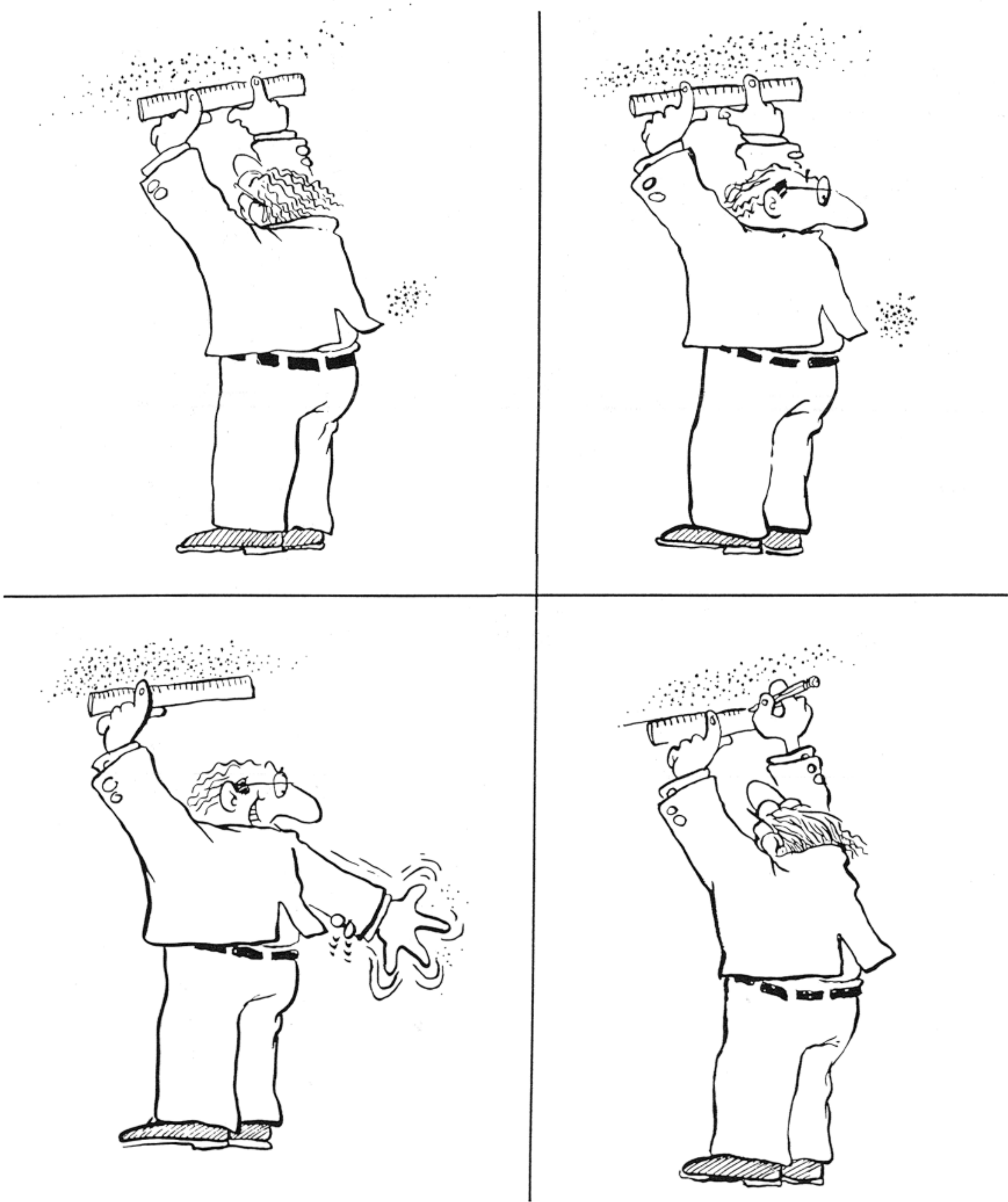


Figure 14 illustrates the flexibility of the general distributions in a different way. In this figure, each square or box corresponds to a different distribution. The connecting lines indicate special cases. The GB1, GB2, and GT can be seen to include many distributions as special cases. The GB1 and GB2 include the normal (N), lognormal (LN), gamma (GA), and Weibull (W) as special cases. The generalized t (GT) includes the Laplace, normal, t, and others as special cases. When I presented this material at a seminar at Princeton, someone asked if my Mormon background had motivated me to represent the relationships in the form of a genealogy tree.

The three general distributions include almost all of those used before as special cases and are extremely flexible in shape. By using the flexible or general distributions in empirical work, we can avoid imposing unrealistic assumptions associated with some of the special cases. The more general distributions will also fit any data set at least as well as any of the special cases. In the applications to be considered in the next section, I will focus on the GB2, but each of these three general distributions has important applications.

Before turning to the applications in the next section, I will briefly indicate how the generalized t can be used in regression analysis or curve fitting. Figure 15 depicts a common statistical problem that was involved in the solution of three important scientific problems in the eighteenth century: obtaining a mathematical model of the motion of the moon; determining the shape of the earth; and explaining the acceleration and deceleration of Saturn and Jupiter. With each of these problems, data were available that did not exactly conform to what was implied by the underlying models. The question can be visualized as trying to best fit a straight line to a set of data that do not lie on a straight line. One approach is to delete problem data points, as in figure 15, but even then the remaining data points will not lie on a straight line. Euler (1749) did not employ any statistical techniques. He simply noted that there was not an exact solution and moved on to consider different problems. Boscovich (1755, 1775) and Laplace (1785) proposed fitting a line that minimized the sum of absolute values of the vertical distances between the line and the observations. This procedure is based upon the Laplace distribution. Legendre (1805) proposed selecting the line that minimized the sum of squares of the vertical distances. This method is known today as least squares. Gauss (1809, 1823) proposed the same procedure and showed that this method is based upon the normal. The literature contains a rather lengthy and heated exchange between Gauss and Legendre as to who first discovered the method of least squares. Since the generalized t includes both the normal and Laplace distributions, it provides a generalization of both of these methods of estimation.²²

FIGURE 15
Regression Analysis



APPLICATIONS

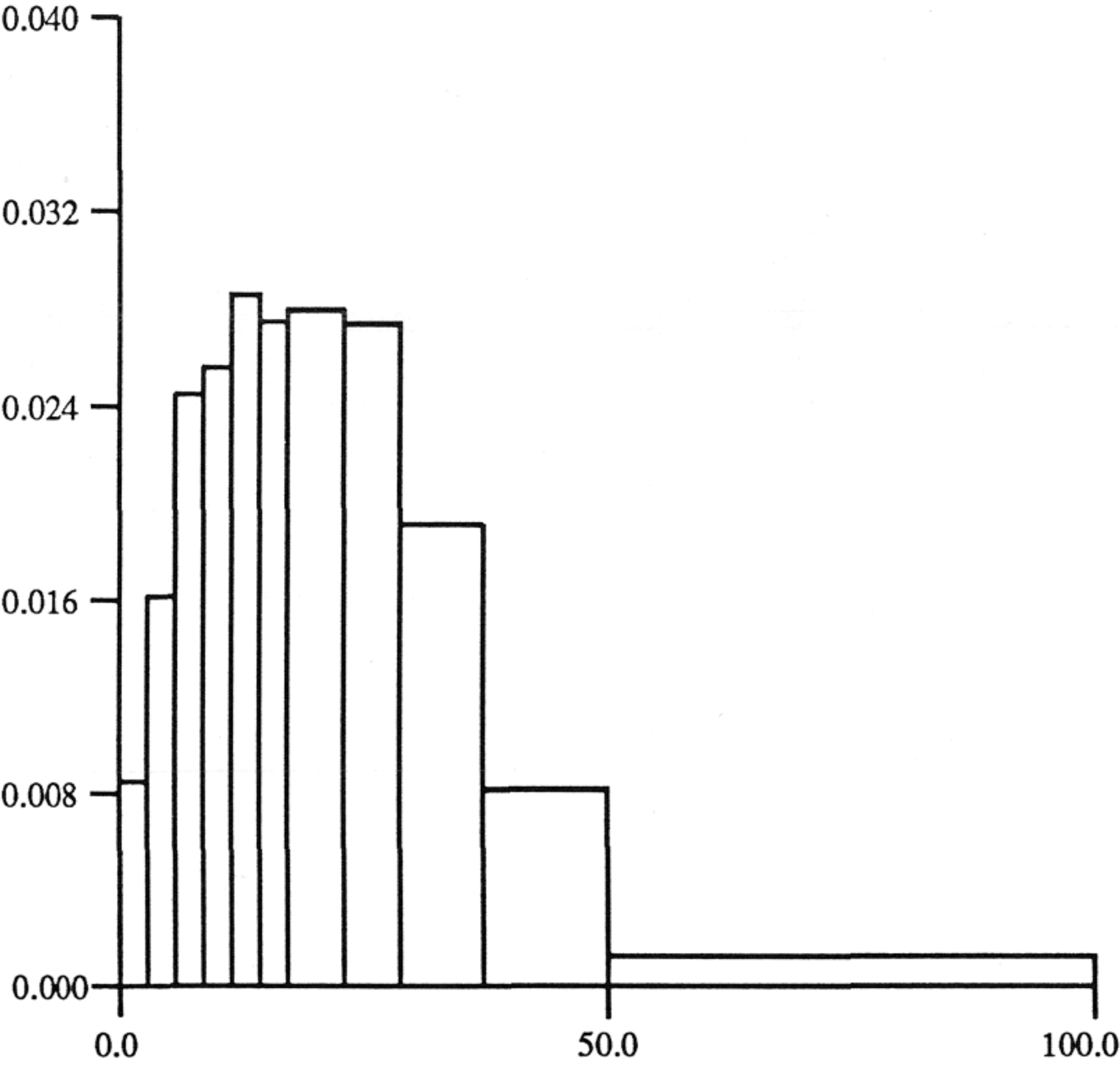
We will now consider three applications of the GB2: the distribution of family income, the distribution of coal particle size in coal combustion, and the distribution of stock prices. In each of these applications, we are not only interested in the mean or average value but also in the dispersion or variance, the skewness and thickness of the tails.

Income Distribution

Some of my early research involving statistical distributions was prompted by an interest in the distribution of income. Issues surrounding the distribution of income have attracted a great deal of attention from many economists and politicians, particularly since World War II. This is evidenced by considerable discussion of the impact of existing and potential economic policies upon various income classes. In order to provide answers to some of these questions, it is important to be able to quantify measures of income inequality in a useful manner and to investigate the relationship between these measures and important underlying macroeconomic and policy variables. It is also important to note that the distribution of income can have an impact upon the performance of the economy.

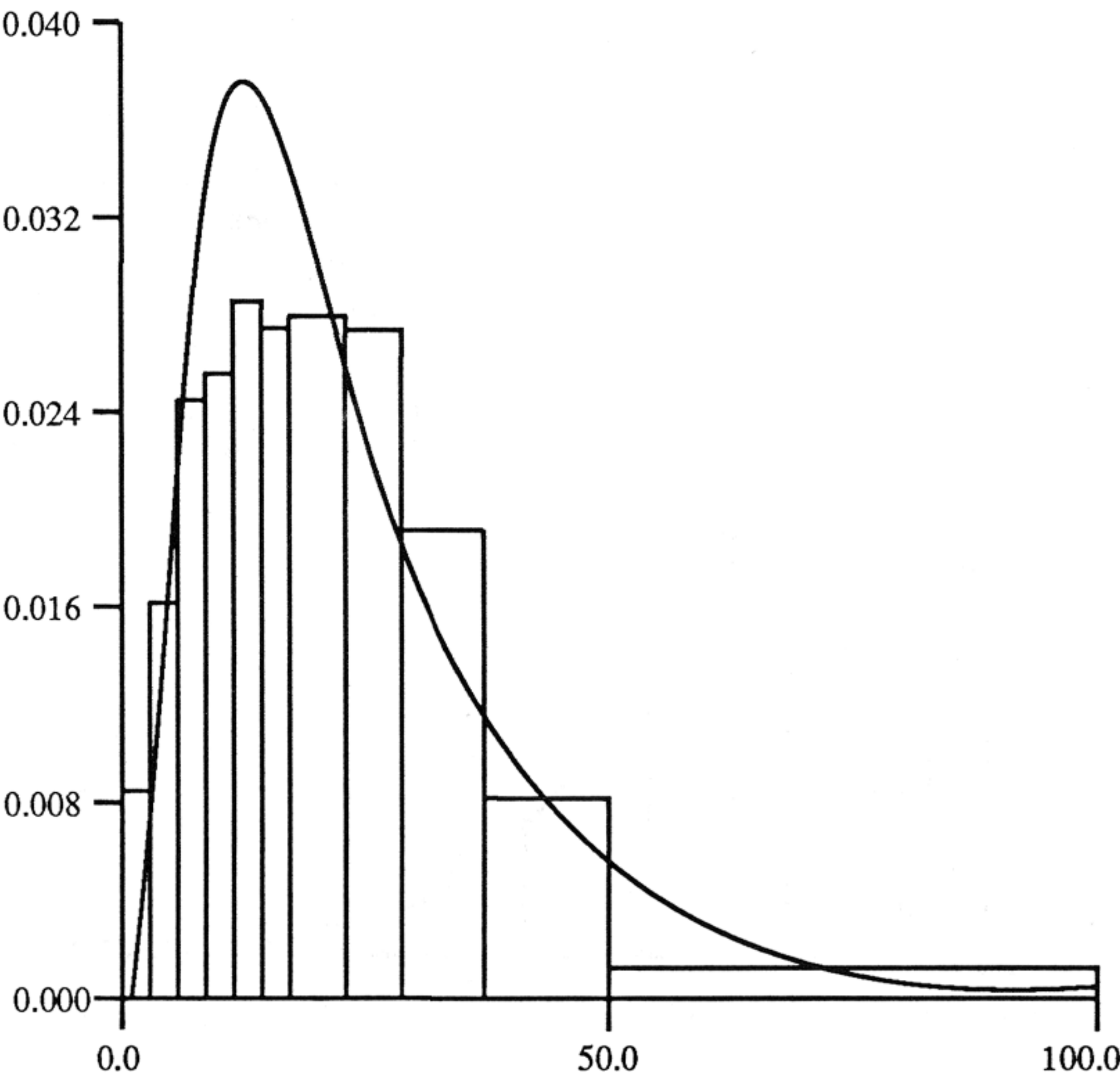
Many studies have considered these and related questions. These studies have often been based upon distributions that did not provide a good fit to the data or that used measures not sensitive to underlying changes in the distribution. For example, the data usually utilized in such studies are in a grouped format such as the distribution for family income for 1980 shown in figure 16. This is in the form of a bar graph with the areas of each "bar" representing the fraction of families in each income interval.

FIGURE 16
1980 Income



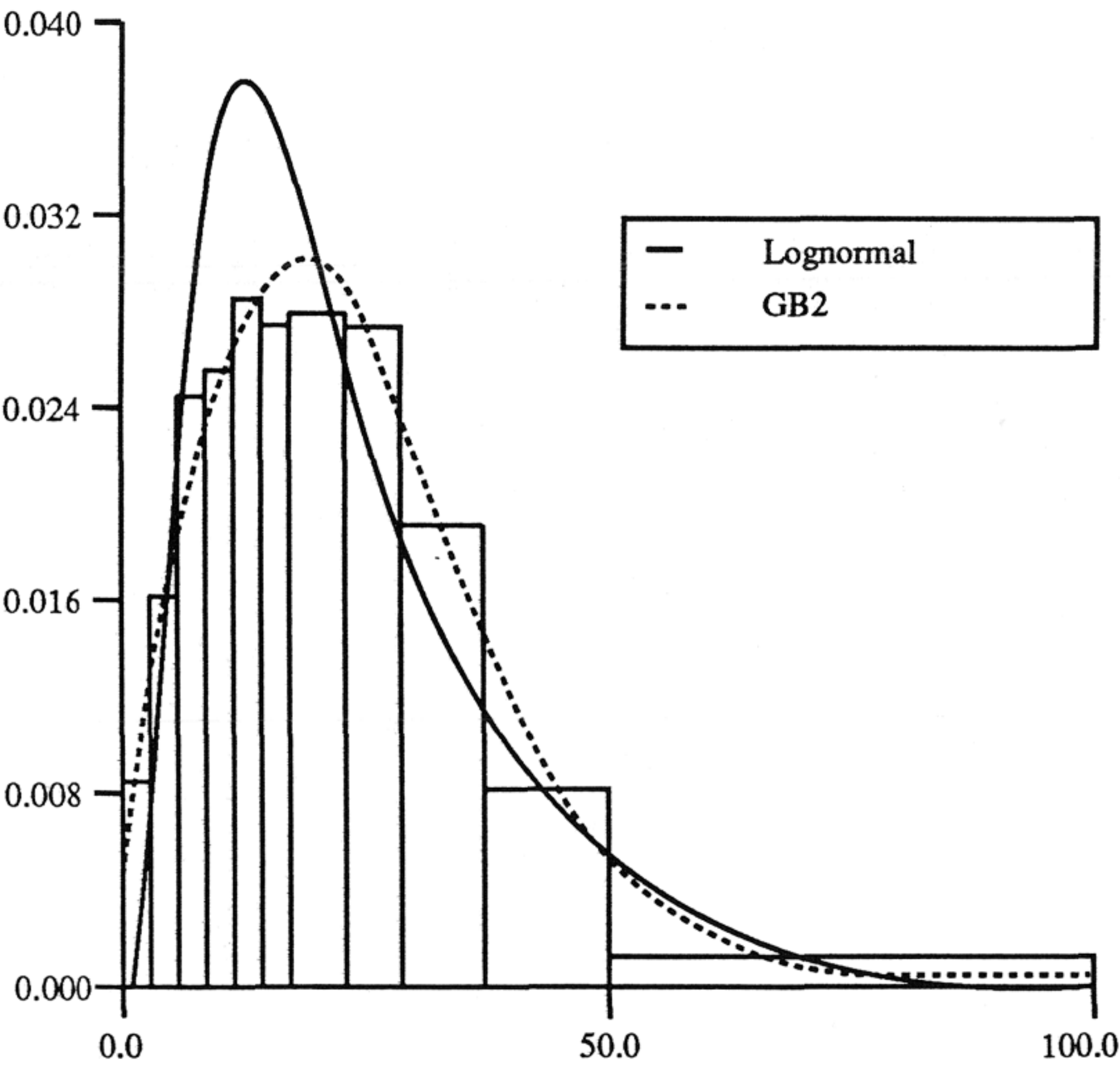
If a lognormal distribution is used, we obtain the fitted curve in figure 17. The lognormal fits some areas quite well, but not others. Note, for example, that the lognormal is too peaked near the center of the distribution.

FIGURE 17
1980 Income and Lognormal



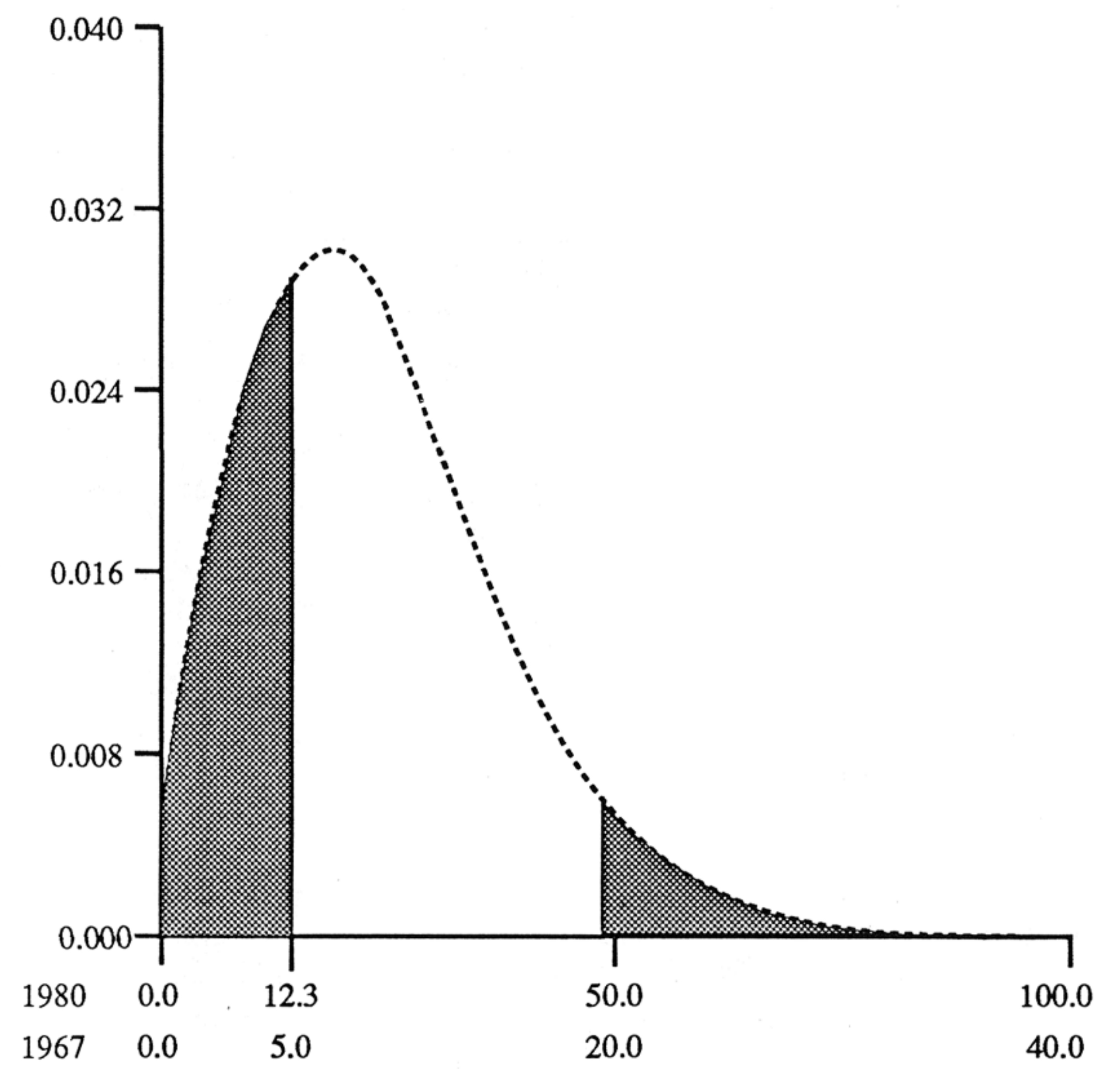
Richard Butler and I used the more general GB2 to fit family income data for the thirty-three-year period from 1948 to 1980.²³ The results in figure 18 demonstrate that the GB2 is much more flexible and provides a significantly better fit than the lognormal.

FIGURE 18
1980 Income, Lognormal, and GB2



Given these fitted distributions, measures of inequality and other characteristics can be easily investigated. In figure 19, for example, the shaded area on the left represents the fraction of families with incomes less than \$12,300 in 1980. The shaded area on the right denotes the fraction of families with incomes greater than \$50,000 in 1980.

FIGURE 19
1980 Income Distribution using GB2



Since we are looking at incomes for more than thirty years, it is important to adjust for inflation in order to represent real purchasing power. All incomes will be converted to 1967 dollars. These adjustments for 1980 are represented at the bottom of figure 20. Thus \$5000 in 1967 has approximately the same purchasing power as \$12,300 in 1980, and \$20,000 in 1967 is equivalent to approximately \$50,000 in 1980.

We now consider how these distributions have moved over the thirty-three-year period from 1948 to 1980. We consider all families, white families, and black families.

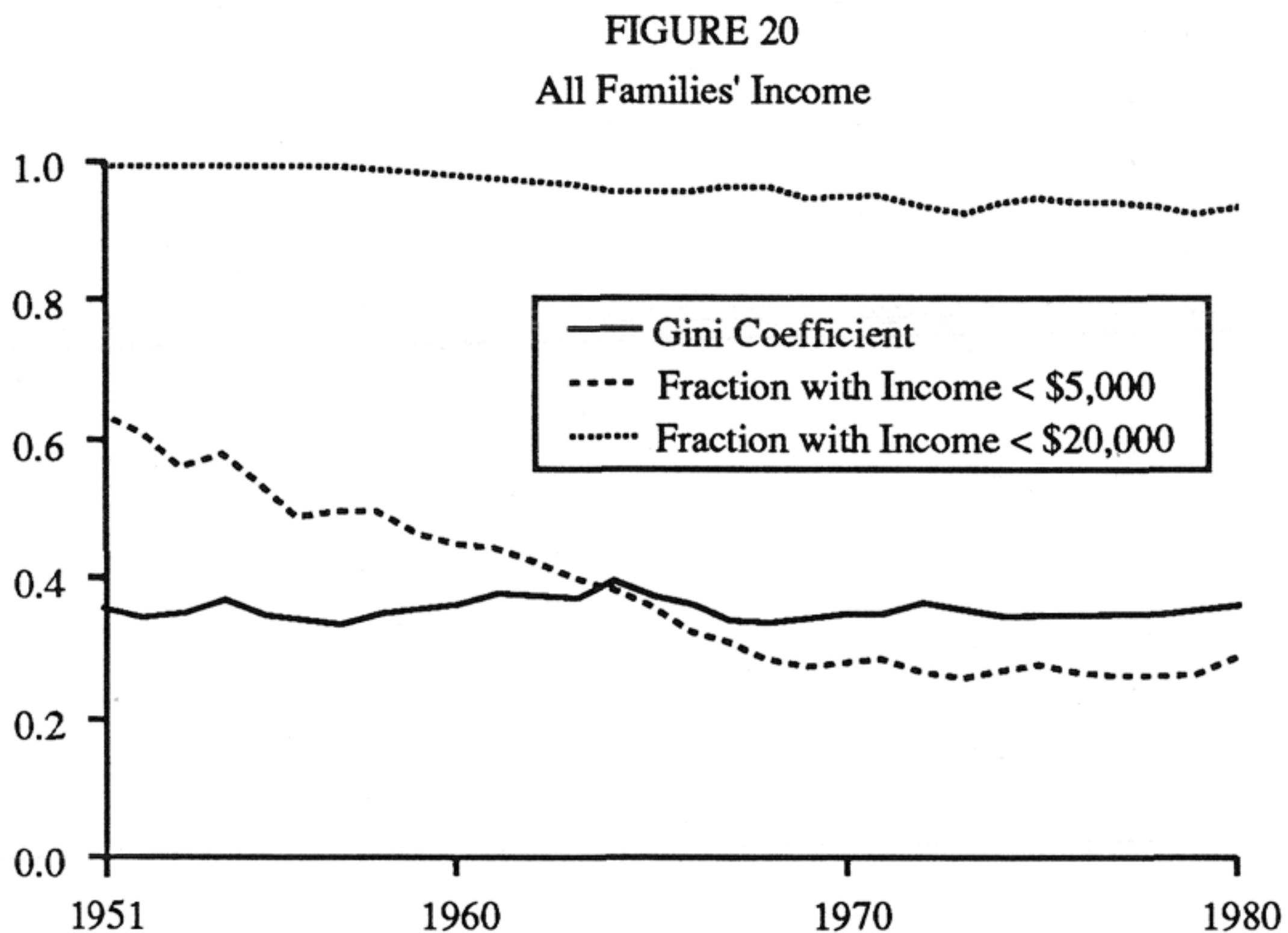


Figure 20 reports income characteristics for all families over this time period. The Gini coefficient is a measure of overall inequality. The small changes in this measure of inequality mask much larger changes in some other measures of economic well-being. For example, the fraction of the population with incomes less than \$5,000 (1967 dollars) has steadily decreased from 60 percent in 1948 to less than 30 percent in the late 1970s. Remember that these figures have been adjusted for inflation and represent real purchasing power. The fraction of the population with incomes less than \$20,000 (1967 dollars) has declined slightly from 99 percent to 95 percent in 1980. The area between the \$5,000 and \$20,000 lines represents a broad measure of the middle class. We see that the middle class with incomes between \$5,000 and \$20,000 has increased from 38 percent to 66 percent for this period.

It is interesting to compare the distribution of family incomes for blacks and whites.

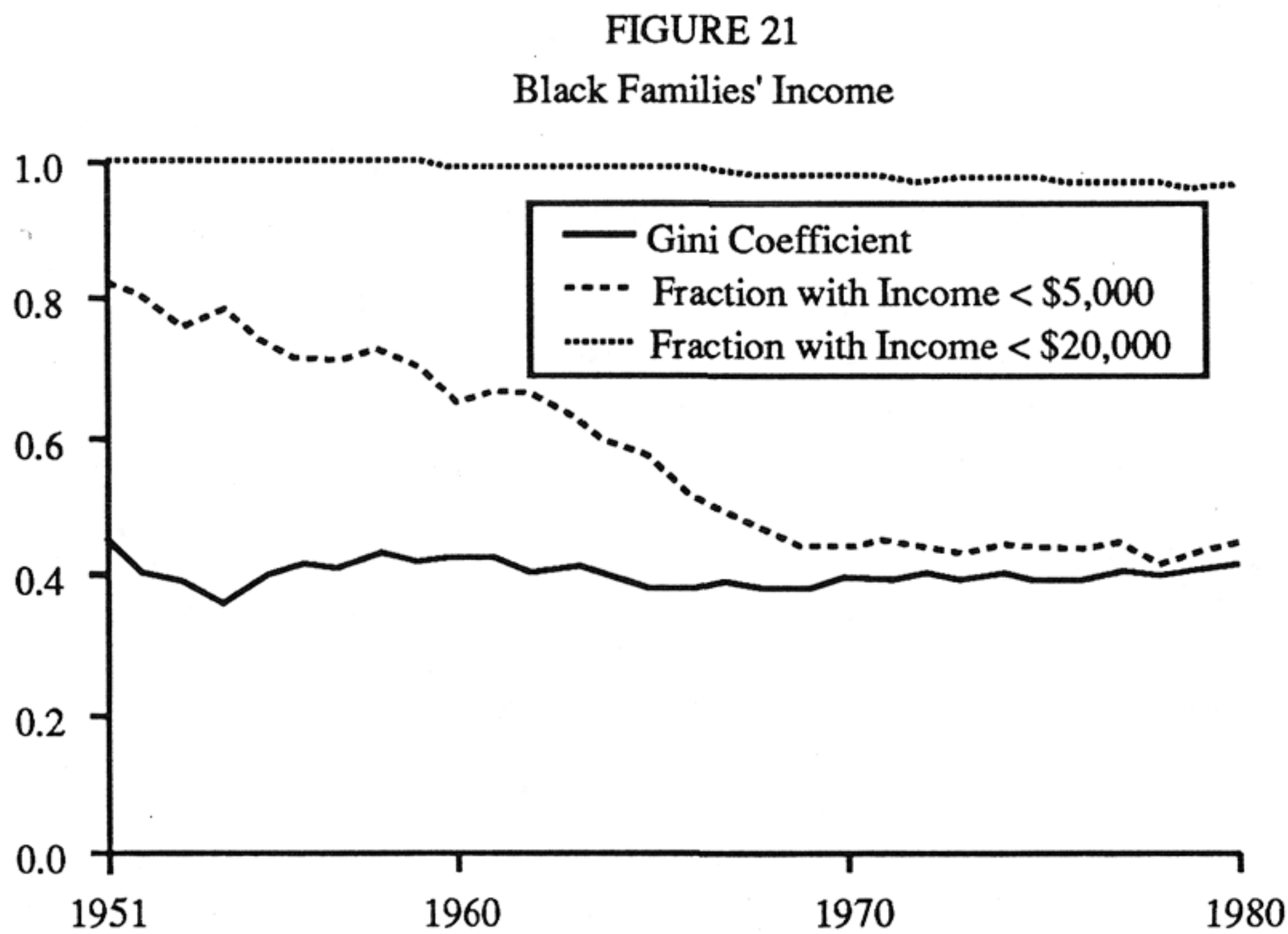
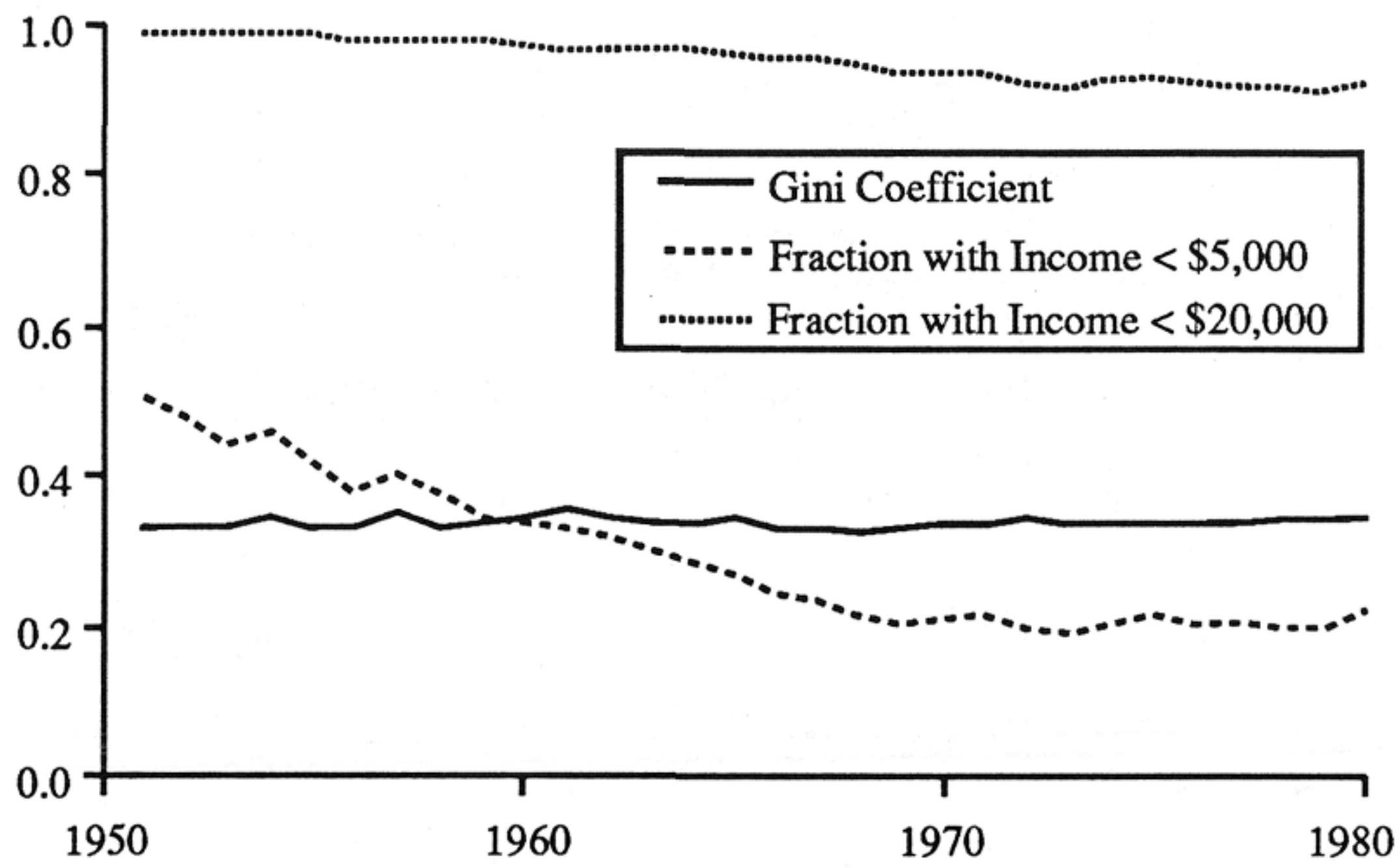


Figure 21 reports similar information for black families. We see that overall income inequality decreases slightly during the mid to late 1960s and then increases gradually. The Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action programs began in the mid 1960s. The fraction of black families with incomes less than \$5,000 (1967 dollars) has decreased dramatically over this period from 85 percent to 45 percent in 1980. Thus 55 percent of black families had incomes above the \$5,000 level by 1980.

FIGURE 22
White Families' Income



Income inequality for white families has been relatively constant over this time period. Again, there are changes in the distribution that this statistic does not reflect. White families with incomes less than \$5,000 (1967 dollars) decreased from 55 percent to 22 percent, and those with incomes greater than 20,000 (1967 dollars) increased from about 1 percent to 8 percent. Thus by 1980, 78 percent of white families had incomes greater than 5,000 (1967 dollars), compared with 55 percent of black families.

It should be apparent that there have been considerable movements of the distributions of income for blacks and whites over time, and both groups are better off. But how have these two distributions moved relative to each other?

FIGURE 23
Distance between Black and White Distributions

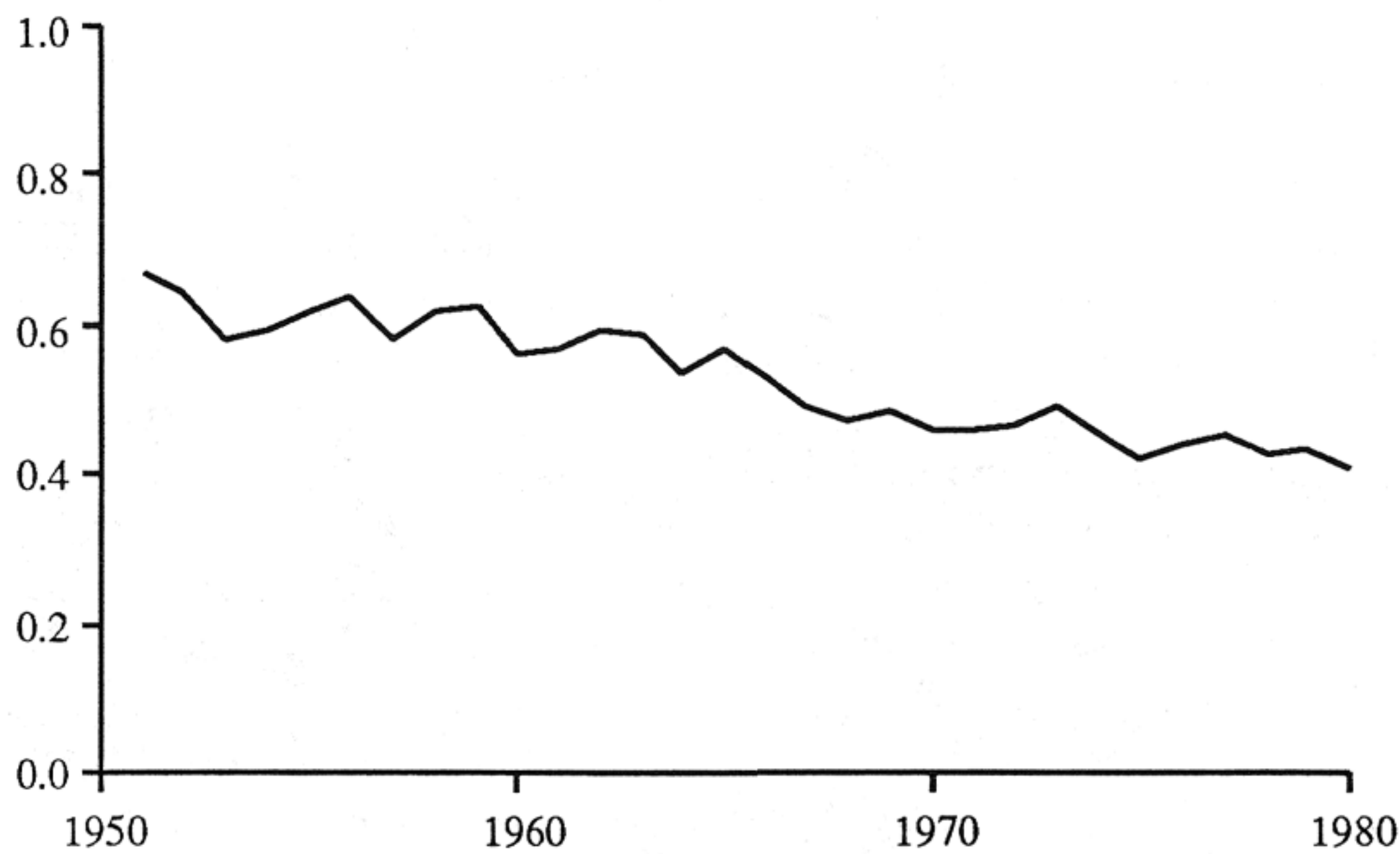


Figure 23 depicts a measure of the distance between the income distribution for white and black families. We observe that there are large reductions in the distance between the two distributions. This represents very large changes in the economic well-being of black families relative to white families over the entire time period. These changes predate the social legislation of the 1960s and continue through the 1970s. What factors seem to be associated with these movements?

- (1) Economic growth is an important factor and is associated with increased equality for blacks and whites. This appears to result from increasing the fraction of families with incomes greater than \$5,000 (1967 dollars) more than it increases the fraction of families with incomes greater than \$20,000 (1967 dollars). In other words, growth appears to be associated with everyone being better off, but relatively speaking the lower income families are helped the most.
- (2) On the other hand, Inflation tends to increase income inequality. Inflation decreases real income or purchasing power—especially for those with relatively fixed incomes. Inflation was seen to increase the fraction of families with incomes less than \$5,000 (1967 dollars).
- (3) Government expenditure, transfer payments, and equal employment opportunity legislation appeared to have little impact on the distribution of income for whites, but it did help shift blacks above the \$5,000 level.

In summary, we have found important changes in the distribution of income over time with a narrowing of the disparity between the

income distributions for black and white families. Inflation and economic growth have an impact on the distribution of income. Government programs have been helpful in improving the economic well-being of blacks.

Distribution of Coal Particle Size

Distributions of the size of coal particles are important in coal combustion. I worked with Dale Richards, Philip Smith, and Bill Sowa in analyzing the distribution of sizes of pulverized coal.²⁴ This is related to a multi-million dollar research grant received by the Advanced Combustion Research Center at BYU. This project is directed by L. Douglas Smoot, who is investigating ways to make coal burn more efficiently. Pulverized coal has been used as a fuel for commercial combustion since the late 1800s and currently accounts for a major portion of the power generated by electric utilities. Pulverized coal combustion requires grinding coal into very small sizes and then mixing it with steam or oxygen in a combustion chamber. The mixture is burned, creating steam that generates electricity. The distribution of particle size is important to the efficiency and operation of the furnace. Small particle sizes are important to insure rapid ignition, and some larger particle sizes are needed to obtain maximum combustion efficiency. The Combustion Research Center has built computer simulation models (thirty thousand lines of Fortran code, fifteen CPU hours/case) to determine the relationship between the distribution of the size of coal particles, other inputs, and the electricity generated and related pollution.

The distribution of coal particle size is used in these computer simulation models. An accurate model of the distribution of particle size is needed. The lognormal has been one of the most widely used models to date. Since coal particle size distributions can have many possible shapes, the additional flexibility of the GB2 may be very useful over a wide range of conditions. In figures 24 and 25 we see two examples. In figure 24 the LN and the GB2 both provide a good fit. In figure 25 the GB2 provides a much better fit than the lognormal. The GB2 will always do at least as well as any of its special cases.

FIGURE 24
Combustion Coal (Wyoming) - HIST - GB2 - LN

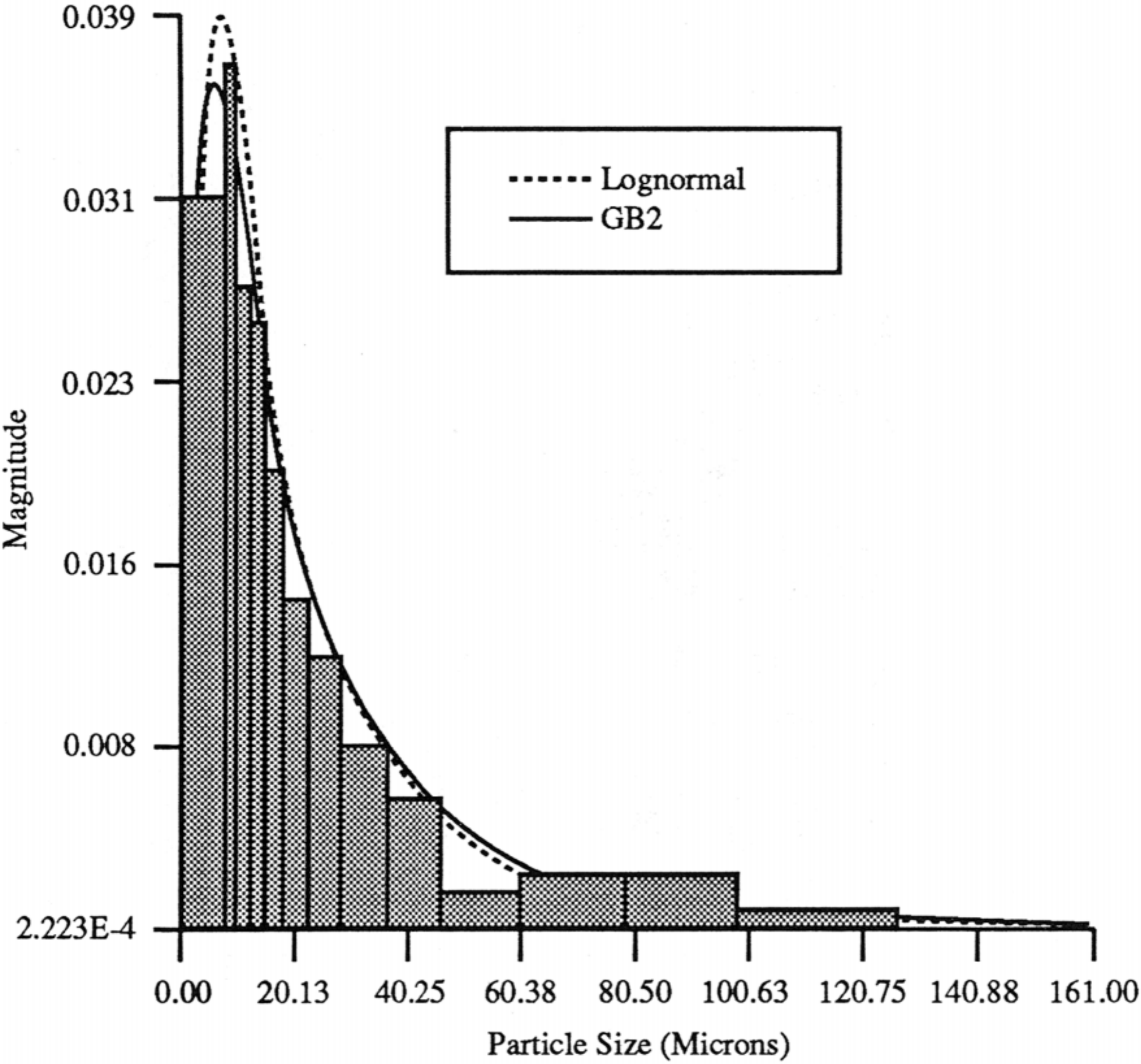
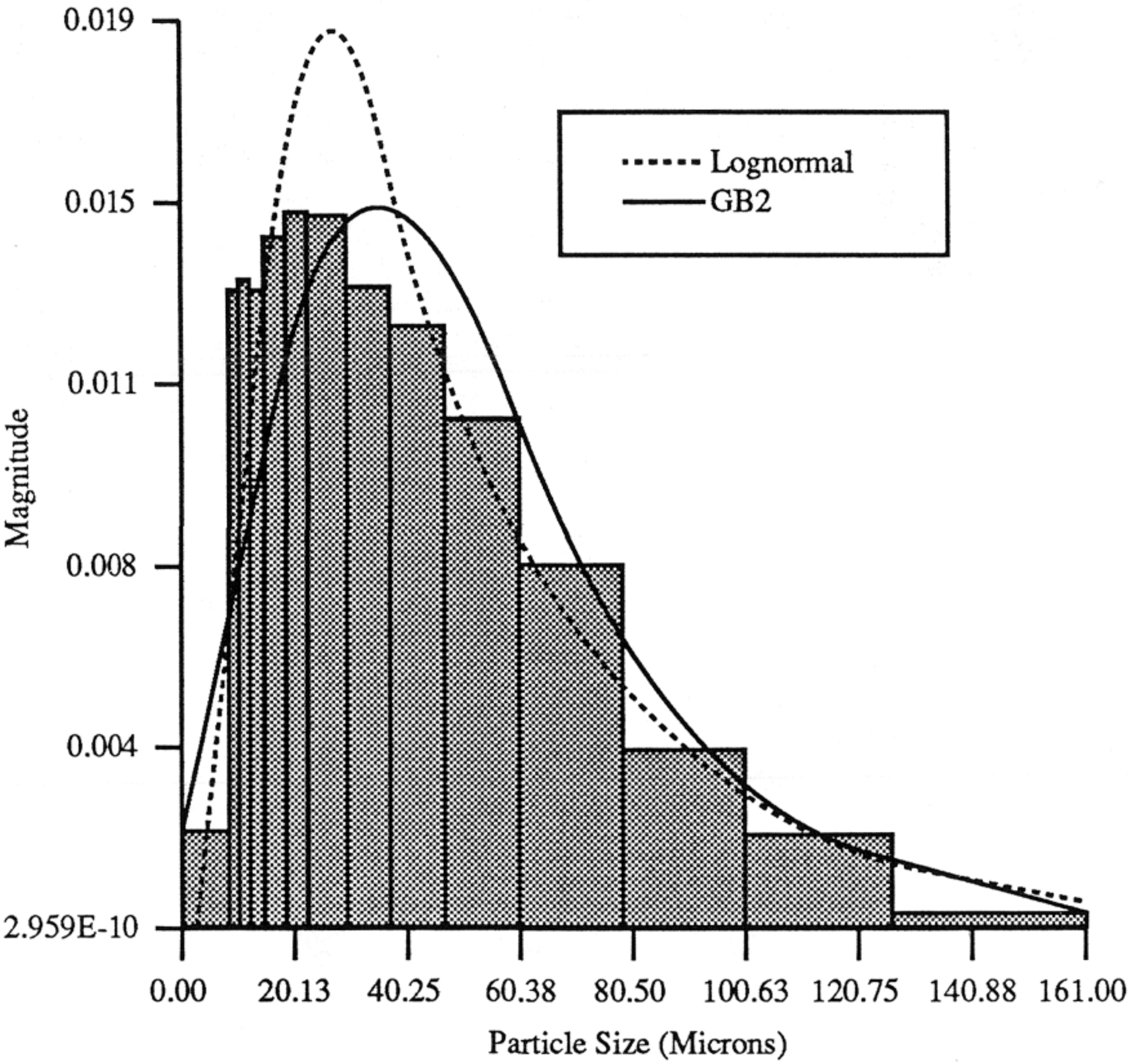


FIGURE 25
Gasification Coal (Utah) - HIST - GB2 - LN



The results of this study suggest that the distribution does matter. Furthermore, it may be possible using this methodology to help determine optimum particle distributions.

Distribution of Stock Prices and Returns

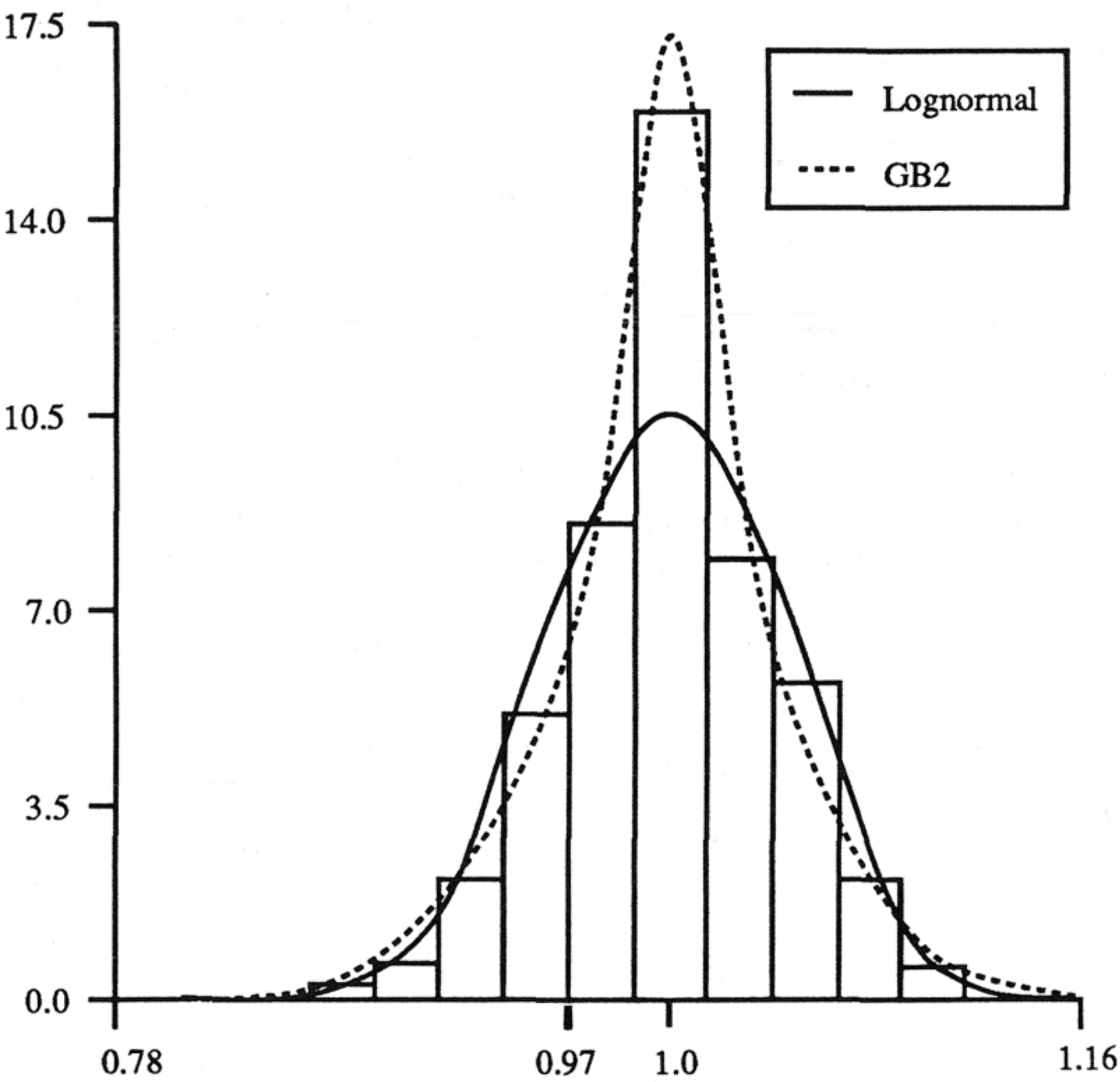
The last application deals the distribution of stock prices. The form of the distribution of returns on securities and portfolios is important for several reasons. The distribution of returns or profits or losses on a security determines the expected or average return as well as reflecting the risk in the investment. The probabilities of large deviations from the mean may be much different for one security than for another. These factors are of major interest and concern to brokerage firms and those with investment responsibilities. The world of finance has simultaneously become more complicated and exciting with the introduction of new financial instruments. Options are commonplace, as are terms such as puts and calls, hedges and stop-loss orders, and options on stock market indices. An investor in this new environment is still faced with the assessment of unknown probabilities about the likelihood of the future price of a security or other financial instrument increasing or decreasing by a certain amount. The famous Black-Scholes option pricing formula is an example of an effort to assess these probabilities. In order to do so, it is important to be able to accurately describe the shape of the distribution of prices or returns.

Price changes are often assumed to be distributed as a normal or lognormal.²⁵ A number of studies have shown that daily stock returns have distributions that are more peaked than the normal or lognormal and also assign higher probabilities of large returns or losses than the normal.²⁶ In other words, the tails of the normal or lognormal are not thick enough. Studies of monthly returns suggest distributions that are slightly skewed to the right. I am currently investigating these distributions in more detail and considering some related issues with Richard Bookstaber and Ray Nelson.

In studying the distribution of daily returns, the GB2 provides a much better fit than the lognormal in almost all of the cases considered. Figure 26 shows the distribution of daily returns for five hundred observations on the stock Compugraphic. The returns are calculated by dividing today's price by yesterday's price and will equal one if there is no change in the price. The returns are roughly centered around one, which means that on average the price changes are approximately zero. However, there are some large increases and decreases over the time period, as is reflected in the variation of the distribution, sometimes exceeding 15 percent in one day. The empirical data are seen to have a distribution that is more peaked near the mean and has thicker tails than

the lognormal. Recall that the lognormal is too peaked for the income data. The GB2 fits the data remarkably well throughout the entire range.²⁷

FIGURE 26
Stock Returns with Lognormal and GB2



We are also analyzing the distribution of seven years' of monthly data on approximately one thousand stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange (CRSP tapes). The mean, variance, skewness, and a measure of thickness of the tails have been calculated for each of the stocks. Figure 27 contains a summary of these calculations.

FIGURE 27
Stock Returns: 1,000 Stocks

TAIL THICKNESS	SKEWNESS		
	Negative	Normal	Positive
	-	0	+
Thin	0 %	0 %	0 %
Normal	0 %	60 %	10 %
Thick	1 %	9 %	20 %

The columns allow for positive or negative skewness as well as symmetric distributions. The rows correspond to different thickness of the tails with the “normal” providing the bench mark. The central block containing 60 percent corresponds to returns that are “roughly” normally distributed (+/- two standard deviations). There is a significant occurrence of distributions of returns that are thick tailed and skewed. Approximately 30 percent of the stocks have distributions that are significantly positively skewed, and about the same percentage have tails much thicker than the normal. The GB2 distribution provides a significantly better fit to the distributions of these returns than the normal or lognormal distributions.²⁸

These results provide strong evidence that there are models which provide a better fit to stock returns than the commonly used models. A number of methods of analysis used in finance are implicitly based upon assumptions of normality or lognormality of returns. These include

methods such as the Black-Scholes formula for determining the value of options as well as methods of estimating the risk of a stock or portfolio as represented by the betas. The results from both of these methods are sensitive to the underlying distribution of returns. Statistical distributions provide the basis for some exciting research in many areas in finance.

I have found statistical distributions and their various applications to be an exciting area to study. I believe this work has important applications in many areas. As I reflected on this, I came across a statement made by Francis Galton in the introduction to his book *Natural Inheritance*, which expresses my feelings about the topic and provides a fitting note to end on.

The road to be traveled over is full of interest of its own. It familiarizes us with the measurement of variability, and with the curious laws of chance that apply to a vast diversity of social subjects. This part of the inquiry may be said to run along a road on a high level, that affords wide views in unexpected directions and from which easy descents may be made to totally different goals to those we have now to reach. I have a great subject to write upon.²⁹

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¹M. G. Kendall, "Where Shall the History of Statistics Begin?" *Biometrika* 47 (1960): 447-49.

²F. N. David, "Dicing and Gaming [Note on the History of Probability]," *Biometrika* 42 (June 1955): 1-15; see also F. N. David, *Games, Gods and Gambling* (London: Charles Griffin, 1962).

³David, "Dicing and Gaming," 6.

⁴See, generally, Kendall, "Where Shall the History of Statistics Begin?"; and David, "Dicing and Gaming."

⁵Robin L. Plackett, "The Principle of the Arithmetic Mean," *Biometrika* 45 (1958): 130-35.

⁶David, "Dicing and Gaming," 7.

⁷Abraham M. Hasofer, "Random Mechanisms in Talmudic Literature," *Biometrika* 54 (June 1967): 316-21.

⁸M. G. Kendall, "The Beginnings of a Probability Calculus," *Biometrika* 43 (June 1956): 1-14.

⁹See, generally, Hasofer, "Random Mechanisms."

¹⁰See, generally, Ian Hacking, *The Emergence of Probability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975); and L. E. Maistrov, *Probability Theory: A Historical Sketch*, ed. and trans. Samuel Kotz (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

¹¹Edmund Halley, "An Estimate of the Degrees of Mortality of Mankind, Drawn from Curious Tables of the Births and Funerals at the City of Breslaw; with an Attempt to Ascertain the Price of Annuities upon Lives," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 17 (1693): 596-610.

¹²See, generally, Abraham DeMoivre, *Annuities upon Lives* (London: W. Pearson, 1725).

¹³See, generally, Abraham DeMoivre, *Annuities upon Lives*, 2d ed. (London: H. and G. Woodval, 1743).

¹⁴E. S. Pearson, "Some Incidents in the Early History of Biometry and Statistics, 1890-94," *Biometrika* 52 (1965): 6.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁶E. S. Pearson, "Some Reflexions on Continuity in the Development of Mathematical Statistics, 1885-1920," *Biometrika* 54 (1967): 343.

¹⁷Stephen M. Stigler, "Napoleonic Statistics: The Work of Laplace," *Biometrika* 62 (1975): 503.

¹⁸Quoted in J. Aitchison and J. A. C. Brown, *The Lognormal Distribution with Special References to Its Uses in Economics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).

¹⁹Pearson, "Some Incidents," 10.

²⁰Kenneth J. White and Nancy G. Horsman, *Shazam: User's Reference Manual* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1986), 5, 146, 163.

²¹For the GB2 see A. M. Mathai and R. K. Saxena, "On a Generalized Hypergeometric Distribution," *Metrika* 2 (1966): 127–32; R. L. Prentice, "Discrimination among Some Parametric Models," *Biometrika* 62 (1975): 607–14; and J. B. McDonald, "Some Generalized Functions for the Size Distribution of Income," *Econometrica* 52 (1984): 647–63. For the GB1 see McDonald, "Generalized Functions." For the generalized t (GT) see J. B. McDonald and W. Newey, "Partially Adaptive Estimation of Regression Models vis the Generalized t Distribution," forthcoming in *Econometric Theory*; and J. B. McDonald, "Partially Adaptive Estimation of ARMA Models," forthcoming in *International Journal of Forecasting*.

²²See, generally, Roger Joseph Boscovich and Christopher Maire, *De Litteraria Expeditone per Pontificiam ditionem ad dimetiendas duas Meridiani gradus* (Rome: Palladis, 1755); Roger Joseph Boscovich and Christopher Maire, *Voyage astronomique et géographique, dans l'état de l'église* (Paris: N. M. Tillard, 1770); Churchill Eisenhart, "Boscovich and the Combination of Observations," chap. 7 of R. J. Boscovich, *Studies of His Life and Work*, ed. L. L. Shyte (London: Alen, 1961); Leonhard Euler, *Recherches sur la questions des inegalites du mouvement de Saturne et de Jupiter, sujet propose pour le prix de l'annee 1748, par l'Academie royale des sciences de Paris* (Basel: Turici, 1749); Carl Friedrich Gauss, *Theoria Combinationis Observationum Erroribus Minimis Obnoxiae* (Gottingen: Dieterich, 1823); Carl Friedrich Gauss, *Theoria motus corporum celestium* (Hamburg: Perthes et Besser, 1809) [translated into English as *Theory of Motion of the Heavenly Bodies Moving about the Sun in Conic Sections*, trans. Charles Henry Davis (1857; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1963)]; Pierre Simon Laplace, "Theorie de Jupiter et de Saturne," *Memoires de l'Academie royale des sciences de Paris* (1785): 33–160; Robin L. Plackett, "A Historical Note on the Method of Least Squares," *Biometrika* 36 (December 1949): 458–60; Robin L. Plackett, "The Discovery of the Method of Least Squares," *Biometrika* 59 (July 1972): 239–51; and Hilary L. Seal, "The Historical Development of the Gauss Linear Model," *Biometrika* 54 (June 1967): 1–24.

²³Richard J. Butler and James B. McDonald, "Income Inequality in the U.S.: 1948–80," *Research in Labor Economics* 8 (1986): 85–140; see also James B. McDonald, "Some Generalized Functions for the Size Distribution of Income," *Econometrica* 52 (May 1984): 647–63.

²⁴J. B. McDonald et al., "Statistical Distributions of Coal Particle Sizes in Pulverized-Coal Combustion and Gasification," copy of manuscript in author's possession.

²⁵See, generally, Louis Bachelier, *Theory de la speculation* (Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1900); M. F. M. Osborn, "Brownian Motion in the Stock Market," *Operations Research* 7 (January–February 1959): 100–128.

²⁶Benoit Mandelbrot, "The Variation of Certain Specualtive Prices," *Journal of Business* 36 (October 1963): 394–419.

²⁷Richard Bookstaber and James McDonald, "A General Distribution for Describing Security Price Returns," *Journal of Business* 60 (July 1987): 401–24; James McDonald and D. O. Richards, "Model Selections: Some Generalized Distributions," *Communications in Statistics: Theory and Methods* 16, no. 4 (1987): 1049–74.

²⁸James McDonald and Ray Nelson, "Adaptive Beta Estimation for the Market Model" copy of manuscript in author's possession.

²⁹Thomas Galton, *Natural Inheritance* (London: Macmillan, 1890), 3.

Tracings in Blue

Above the Nevada sky—
deep wild open
bigger than earth,
more solid than sagebrush—
above that landlock flat
white streams of jet tails
stretch, squirm
as though a child with old crayons
in hand had scribbled them there—
tracings in blue.

Their directions are lost—
all headings gone with
wind, sky, and time
creaming into waxing glaze.
Their distances fade,
the proud plumages
of purpose, of deliberate
and firm direction,
merge after the hours-gone
into the cumulonimbus of December,
reach fade and are gone—
tracings blurring into blue.

—Virginia E. Baker

Book Reviews

DAVIS BITTON and MAUREEN URSENBACH BEECHER, eds.
New Views of Mormon History: Essays in Honor of Leonard J. Arrington.
Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987. 480 pp. \$19.95.

Reviewed by Stan L. Albrecht, dean of the College of Family, Home and Social Sciences,
Brigham Young University.

Writing reviews of scholarly books for professional journals is generally viewed as an important part of one's role in the academic community. As a nonhistorian, however, it was difficult to approach the invitation to prepare a review on a series of historical essays without some degree of trepidation. Fortunately, the activity of reading this book soon became such an enjoyable exercise that other tasks were set aside in order to finish, and anxieties about commenting on it became less burdensome.

New Views of Mormon History is a compilation of twenty essays (including the introduction by coeditor Davis Bitton and the bibliography at the end prepared by David Whittaker) published in honor of Leonard J. Arrington. It would be quite inappropriate to review such an effort without first saying something about the man in whose honor it is written.

Davis Bitton's introduction begins with the statement that "Leonard James Arrington is the single most important Mormon historian of this generation" (vii). I know no one who would dispute that claim. His career has been long and distinguished. As one examines the history of any scientific discipline or field of study, one can generally identify a handful of scholars (often a very small handful) whose impact has been of great magnitude and whose contribution will influence that field far into the future. Arrington is such a scholar. His work provides a model for future generations of historians and others who will continue to attempt to illuminate the Mormon past. Leonard's vigor, productivity, and single-mindedness to the accomplishment of good social science make him a standout.

Of particular interest to this reviewer is the breadth of Leonard's impact on the larger social science community. He is, of course, claimed by the historians. Nevertheless, he began as an economist and his background and training in economics has informed much of his research

and writing. But his publications also have much to say about sociology and even anthropology. For example, *Great Basin Kingdom*, considered by many to be his most important work, provides an interesting sociological and cultural case-study of the development of a highly structured community, guided, at least at the beginning, by a plan for self-sufficiency and strong centralized control. Both the biographical essay at the beginning of *New Views of Mormon History* and the bibliography at the end reflect clearly the breadth of this influence.

How about the book itself? It is always difficult to really assess a volume such as this. It obviously has many dimensions. The most important of these is that each individual essay represents a clear tribute to a highly respected colleague. Several of the contributions are original with this volume; others have been previously presented in other forums. All have been presented by their authors as something they would like to include in a volume prepared to recognize Leonard.

The book is divided into four basic sections. The first deals with aspects of history and theology in early Mormonism. It includes essays by Richard Bushman on the role of the Book of Mormon in early Mormon history, Dean Jessee on some of the prison experiences of early Mormon leaders, Tom Alexander on the importance of the concept of covenants in Joseph Smith's theology, and David Whittaker on the historical background to the development of the "Articles of Faith." This set of authors represents a group of scholars who are among the most productive of the generation that follows Leonard. Each provides new and interesting insight on a different but important aspect of the early years of Mormonism.

The second section of the book focuses on the Mormon church and its members, both in Utah and abroad. This section constitutes a real potpourri. It ranges from essays dealing with the formalization (or attempts at formalization) of policy and doctrine (William G. Hartley on localizing responsibility for tithing collection and Dean May on how the bishops of Salt Lake City effectively subverted efforts to urbanize the United Order) to case studies of life in Salt Lake City's Thirteenth Ward (Ronald W. Walker) and growing up in the farm community of Union (Gordon Irving). It includes an essay on LDS education in the Pacific Islands by R. Lanier Britsch and one on the use of non-English languages in the Church by Richard Jensen. It also includes two very fine essays reflecting the role of women in the early Utah church by Carol Madsen and Jill Derr. The first of these details the role of early Mormon sisterhood in partisan politics and the second looks at changes in the Relief Society with the establishment of the Church welfare program.

The third section includes three articles on Mormon-gentile relations. The late Eugene Campbell discusses the conflict that occurred (and to some extent is still evident) between the effort of the Mormons

to establish the kingdom of God and the needs and expectations of the larger American nation. Richard Poll details the important symbiotic relationship that exists between Utah and the Mormons, and Jan Shipps provides an insightful discussion about moving beyond the stereotypes in Mormon and non-Mormon communities.

Finally, the last section is entitled "Mormonism in the Larger Perspective" and includes essays by D. Michael Quinn on parallels between Mormons and early Anabaptists, Paul Edwards on time in Mormon history, Jim Allen on important authors of works having to do with Mormon history, and David Whittaker with a final detailed bibliography of Leonard Arrington's work.

As is always the case in an effort such as this, the essays are somewhat uneven in quality and contribution. However, since such a range of topics is covered, virtually any connoisseur of Mormon history will find something of interest here. As James B. Allen notes, some publications have the impact on the reader of a sleeping pill. Despite the unevenness of the essays, none had that effect here. Whatever else this volume might represent, it constitutes a lasting tribute to a friend, colleague, mentor, teacher, leader, and pioneer. It also contains within its pages a set of diverse, but generally important, contributions to the continuing effort of a growing number of scholars to assist us all in better understanding the Mormon past.

DEAN HUGHES. *The Mormon Church: A Basic History*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986. 219 pp. \$10.95.

Reviewed by Paul H. Peterson, an assistant professor of religion and Church history at Brigham Young University.

Can a history of the Church be written that blends faith and humanity in a package that will satisfy the diverse surveyors of LDS history? Probably not. Can a fine stylist, even though his intended audience is unsophisticated in historical matters, provide an adequate survey of LDS history in just two hundred pages? I doubt it. But Dean Hughes, author of several popular books for children and youth, has made a commendable effort and achieved a modicum of success.

Indeed, if I had stopped reading after an hour or so I would have concluded that Hughes did very well. His writing is lean and crisp. The initial chapters are cohesive and tight. For a nonspecialist he demonstrates an impressive acquaintance with the basic outlines, themes, and challenges of LDS history. Likely a good deal of his

historical maturity was supplied by his advisors, historians Larry C. Porter and David Whittaker, a fact that Hughes graciously acknowledges in the preface.

Despite expert advisement, there are a fair number of factual errors, suspect interpretations, and unfortunate omissions, and occasionally I wondered if Hughes paid sufficient attention to his mentors. By citing only Parley P. Pratt's description of Joseph's revelatory approach (45–46), Hughes left readers with the impression that all the Prophet's revelation came tightly bundled in a precise package, never to be rewrapped. The notion that Sydney never recovered from his head-thumping in 1832 (47) is speculative, and Joseph's prophetic genius in predicting the outbreak of the Civil War (54) might have been overstated. (I think there are better examples attesting to Joseph's prophetic calling.) In discussing premartyrdom conditions and tensions, Hughes could have stated that while the Saints had legal precedent to prevent the publication of the *Expositor*, it was probably a mistake to destroy the press. His discussion of the Manifesto era was shallow and lacked the verve and candor that characterized his treatment of sensitive themes in earlier chapters. In fairness to the author it should be stated that a good many errors and shortcomings were likely due to the obvious space constraints under which he had to work.

Perhaps a more serious defect is the omission of two fundamental themes central to understanding the Mormon experience and which need to be included, even in a historical primer. The first is a consideration of the impact of millennial expectations on the course of LDS history in the nineteenth century. Certainly some of what Mormons said and did is more clearly understood within a millennial framework. The second is an examination of how the different aims of Mormon society and American society led to conflict. Readers should understand that a good deal (but not all) of the animosity and misunderstanding between Mormons and non-Mormons in the nineteenth century was due to their pursuing contradictory objectives. In practicing plural marriage, theocratic government, and communitarian economics, the Saints were running against the grain of American history.

Clearly, the most glaring deficiency in the book is the superficial treatment afforded Church history after the Joseph Smith era. Again, I would emphasize that editorial restrictions probably account for this. As it is, the Nauvoo chapter is markedly weaker than the earlier ones on New York, Ohio, and Missouri, and from that point on the quality and value of the book lessons almost correspondingly with each chapter. By the time the reader reaches the twentieth century, history is going by as quickly as telephone poles do in high-speed driving. The administrations of Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith managed to swoosh by in just ten pages. C'mon now.

Fortunately, there are many strengths and while they do not completely counterbalance the shortcomings, they do make the book worth reading. I have already indicated that the first few chapters are very good. They are good, in part, because for Hughes, people are larger and more important than the events they participate in. Thus Hughes chose to go beyond a factual narrative and clothe his characters with flesh and feelings. There were poignant human interest stories interspersed throughout. I felt empathy when Agnes Smith trudged three miles through the snow with two little children (93), and sadness for Sister Downey who died and was wrapped in a quilt and buried on the plains (92). I was both amused and touched at little Mary Ann praying for Father Brigham before going to bed (128). Properly, Hughes did not feel that inspiration and humanness were mutually exclusive and for the most part, Joseph, Brigham, and the early Saints walked the same turf that we do. Thus we find Joseph Smith “becoming comfortable with the idea of being a prophet” (34), Missouri Saints causing some of their own problems (50), and Joseph making an honest, reasonable, but ultimately wrong decision in forming the Kirtland Safety Society (78). At the same time, Hughes never allowed human frailty to upstage the commitment, inspiration, and divine direction of both Church leaders and lay Saints. This is, by nearly any criterion, a faith-promoting work.

And, despite its inadequacies, *Basic History* does fill the publisher’s intent of providing a brief and inspiring introduction to the history of the Church for newcomers and young converts. It fulfills that need better than any volume thus far. It’s just unfortunate Hughes could not have stretched out a bit and given post-Joseph Smith history its just due.

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY. *They Are My Friends: A History of the Joseph Knight Family, 1825–1850*. Provo: Grandin Book Co., 1986. 232 pp. \$18.50.

Reviewed by Larry C. Porter, director, Church history, Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.

Even though I’ve read and reread *They Are My Friends*, there still remains a pair of mysteries I had hoped the text might resolve. First is the “unfindable Nahum,” son of Joseph Knight, Sr., who literally disappears from the Nauvoo scene. Knight family genealogists have agonized over his whereabouts, and historians have tried a hand—still he remains lost and elusive. Nahum drops out of sight with wife Thankful and a progeny

of seven. Did he die? Had disillusionment set in? He doesn't exist in family records after the Illinois period, and external sources yield nothing either. Nahum Knight is a nagging void that needs to be solved.

Second mystery: Whatever happened to Emily Coburn Slade Austin, sister of Sally Coburn Knight and niece of Joseph Knight, Sr.? Emily, author of the exposé *Mormonism; or, Life among the Mormons* (Madison, Wis.: Cantwell Book and Job Printer, 1882), similarly disappears in later years from the Wisconsin scene. What was her final disposition? Was "Austin" only a pseudonym? (She did disguise, partially at least, many of the true-life characters depicted in her volume.) Where did she spend her last moments? Emily's book gives invaluable information on certain events in the earliest history of Mormonism. Are additional insights to be gleaned at her trail's end?

Aside from not resolving these personal inquiries of mine, William Hartley has done a very fine job of expanding the vista of the Knight family and their indelible impression on the Church at its inception.

In assembling family histories, researchers tend naturally to accentuate the positive and deemphasize or eliminate the negative. Bill Hartley told me that he had been given personal freedom to praise the family where deserving and to identify problem areas when they arose. So I "rattled around in the closet" to see what pieces might fall out. During a period so charged with the diversity as the Knights experienced, perpetual harmony and bliss were not likely. Therefore the query, does the book realistically include the troubles as well as the successes? Hartley strikes an equitable and informative balance. He does not spare the initial skepticism of Newel and Nahum Knight of the Prophet Joseph Smith's message. He does not temper difficulties between Newel and his brother Joseph; Between Newel and his brother-in-law Freeborn DeMille; between Newel and Aunt Electa Peck; and between Newel and the Colesville Branch. Also, the momentary estrangements from the Church of Benjamin Slade and William Stringham are described (the author might also have included the episode of Aaron Slade, Jr., son of Molly Knight Slade, who got as far as Buffalo, turned back, and "lived out his life on the Chemung"). The value of investigating these family adversities may not lie so much in their enumeration per se as in the ability of the Knights to find solutions to their problems and yet continue to function in the midst of such vicissitudes. In any instance, the reader may anguish with the Knights during both the best and the worst of times.

Among the single contributions of the Knights must be the legacy of personal writings they left, descriptions of key periods in Church history: Joseph Knight, Sr.'s "Recollections"; Newel Knight's journals; Joseph Knight, Jr.'s "Incidents"; Lydia Knight's "History"; and Emily Austin's "Life among the Mormons"—all are priceless segments of information not available in any other source. The

rediscovery of Joseph Knight, Sr.'s "Recollections" by Dean Jessee has created a flurry of interested scrutiny. However, Newel Knight's journals, a particularly important resource, have remained comparatively untapped. William Hartley has generously spread the significant findings from these records throughout the volume.

Although many readers will focus on the Knights as they interact with the Prophet Joseph in the formative days of New York, a most impressive sequence is the pilgrimage of the Colesville Branch from Broome County, New York, via Thompson, Ohio, to Kaw Township, Missouri. I was especially captivated by the vividness of the Missouri persecutions as they unfold through the eyes of family members. The Knights became, in effect, a prototype of all those hundreds of Saints who were bodily thrust from Jackson to Clay County, from Clay to Caldwell County, and later from the state. The personal descriptions and notarized statements that express their sufferings and losses become an index to the difficulties that whole mass of exiled people experienced.

Newel Knight was a miller by trade. Whenever time and opportunity presented themselves, during his perpetual migration from one location to the next, he constructed a mill. His efforts supplied a basic need for the Saints and served to better his own circumstances. *They Are My Friends* documents an important aspect of social history: a Mormon businessman is continually frustrated in his designs by a succession of upheavals. This sequel is particularly well illustrated in Illinois, where Newel is again forced to endure the complexities of closing down his operation and moving once more.

From Moroni to Miller, this volume takes us through the first period of angelic visits in western New York to the vanguard camp of Bishop George Miller in "Unorganized Territory." The little understood advance company of 1846, Newel Knight's special assignment by President Young within that company, its settlement at Ponca on the Niobrara, the role of James Emmett, and the party's eventual return to Winter Quarters in 1847 are among the most illuminating features of the book. William Hartley has successfully demonstrated that being on the Ponca was not in itself an act of rebellion—despite dissident spirits in the camp.

The Knight family can rightly claim many notable contributions to the establishment of the Church. The Knights gave generously of their material holdings and, very literally, their lives for the restored gospel. The high mortality rate of the immediate and extended family was undoubtedly increased by their association with the unpopular Mormon cause. Hartley graphically portrays their losses along the way. Joseph Smith, recognizing these sacrifices, extolled their loyalty both publicly and in his personal writings. The Prophet willingly acknowledged the Knights as his "friends."

As Director of BYU Family History and Genealogy Research Services, William Hartley deals daily with the proper methods of writing family history. This volume—in research, narration, and design; source notes, end papers, and maps—reflects a specialist's training. Aided by the excellent genealogical materials compiled by Darrel V. Knight and other modern Knight descendants, and coupled with his own typically exhaustive research efforts, William Hartley has done a superb piece of work. He has culled from a multiplicity of repositories a wealth of new information. The dubbing of these combined resources into a single treatment has produced a creditable, meticulously detailed volume on the Joseph Knight, Sr., family during the years 1825 to 1850—and somewhat beyond.

The Wasatch

From northern reach to southern stretch the Wasatch
Capture cloud cargoes lifted by Pacific
Winds from spouting whales and fish in flight,
From drying bodies on beaches at Malibu
Or sweating *in labore veneris* on Mexican sands:
All vapors of the deeps and shallows congregating
Around Nebo or Twin Peaks, swirling and churning,
Metamorphose into dropping rain and snow.

The sculpture of the landscape came from winds
Bringing the rains that dredged valleys and crenelated
Crests: sharpening skylines over ages and draining
Detritus from a thousand gouged gullies
Onto Basin plains that sank in silence
As the Wasatch reared skyward on faulted scarps
Beside them: isostatic clash in contrast—
A thousand feet of uncompacted sediment
Westward and Cottonwood granite to the east—
While equalizers work away: granitic
Feldspars decaying to clay, freed quartz
Globules, and mafic minerals washing to plains,
Rains scouring the mountains' stone face.

Crystals are living things, as mountains are,
Conceived in dark recesses of the mother world
To grow in slow gestation from the central heat
And pressure of the womb, in genesis controlled
By blueprint forces sure as DNA.

The Wasatch Mountains live, and living nurture
Other lives—forests and fields—an equal
Footing afforded weeds and flowers. Each patch
Of land, aspiring to its climax, starts with weeds
And builds superior forms to ultimate goals.
Old fir trees topple or fires fell them, and life
Blossoms at bottom again in lichens—fungus
And alga bound siblings—and growing once more
Toward trees with all forms fighting to survive
By schemes devious and intricate: hybridizing,
Flying, or playing dead for generations,

Tolerating salt or tasting sweet
Or bitter—whichever advances dumb needs,
Perceived without brain but purposeful as humans
Seeking their ends: winged maple seeds in flight,
Exploding pods of spores hurled windward,
Seeds riding free in bellies of birds or in burrs
On matted hides.

From lily to columbine,
Ergot to evergreen, Wasatch is home ground:
Background too, feeding and breeding other lives—
Animal: miniature to mastodon whose bones, grounded
Now, is extinct as the lake whose shores it lumbered by.

A working arrangement, mostly good, plants
With animals—never sure though: think
Of the ergot growing by Provo River and remember
Rye fields in France and fingers of peasants
Rotting off—(a caution: slipped symbiotic disc).

The Wasatch, alive still, living and giving life,
Wind breaker and cloud catcher, predestining
Utah's scene: cities in unique configuration
On a Front, a condensation promising ballets
And symphonies, plays and players in a world
Not possible from sprawling towns scattered
At random, mass lacking and centerless. Saddle
An atlas and go see. But be back at sunset's
Red westering, valleys shadowed but Timp's
Top glowing from snow; and listen to sun-
Sizzle drift into darkness and moondrone
While star chants rise silent over the Front:
Sustaining and shielding man—the last animal.

—Edward L. Hart

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