

BYU STUDIES

BEHOLD,
there shall
be a record kept
among you...

Doctrine & Covenants 21:1

Brigham
Young
University
Studies

C O N T

Guest Editor's Introduction

David J. Whittaker, 5

The "Perfect Pattern":

The Book of Mormon as a Model for the Writing of Sacred History

Eric C. Olson, 7

Priceless Words and Fallible Memories:

Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses

Dean C. Jessee, 19

Willard Richards as Historian

Howard C. Searle, 41

British Travelers View the Saints, 1847–1877

Edwina Jo Snow, 63

Conventional Musings

A POEM

Harold K. Moon, 82

The Church's Image in Italy from the 1840s to 1946:

A Bibliographic Essay

Michael W. Homer, 83

E N T S

“Provoking the Brethren to Good Works”:
Susa Young Gates, the Relief Society, and Genealogy
James B. Allen and Jessie L. Embry, 115

Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing
of Latter-day Saint History
David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson, 139

Nauvoo
A POEM
Clinton F. Larson, 180

BOOK REVIEWS

S. George Ellsworth, ed.,
The Journals of Addison Pratt
REVIEWED BY *Bruce A. Van Orden, 181*

C. Wilfred Griggs,
Early Egyptian Christianity: From Its Origins to 451 C.E.
REVIEWED BY *Keith E. Norman, 184*

Margaret and Paul Toscano,
Strangers in Paradox: Explorations in Mormon Theology
REVIEWED BY *Richard D. Poll, 188*

Nancy Wiest Nay: Calligrapher
D. R. Dant, 192

ADVISORY COMMITTEE:	Randall L. Jones, Donovan E. Fleming, H. Reese Hansen, Grant W. Mason, James A. Mason, Robert J. Matthews
EDITORIAL BOARD:	Peter L. Crawley, James L. Farmer, Gary P. Gillum, Kent P. Jackson, Edward L. Kimball, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Robert A. Nelson, F. LaMond Tullis, Larry T. Wimmer
EDITOR:	Edward A. Geary
ASSOCIATE EDITORS:	Linda Hunter Adams, Richard L. Anderson, David J. Whittaker
HISTORIANS' CORNER:	Ronald W. Walker
BOOK REVIEW EDITOR:	Paul H. Peterson
MANAGING EDITOR:	Doris R. Dant
EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS:	Valerie Holladay, Bruce Michelsen, Henry L. Miles, Marny K. Parkin, Michael W. Smith, Kathryn Weeks

Front and back covers
by Nancy Wiest Nay

Brigham Young University Studies is a quarterly journal dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and intellectual are complementary avenues of knowledge. Contributions from all fields of learning are welcome. Articles should reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view while conforming to high scholarly standards and should be written for the informed nonspecialist. Quality fiction, poetry, drama, and personal essays are also welcome.

Contributions should not exceed five thousand words in length. Manuscripts must be typed, double-spaced, and should conform to the latest edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. They should be submitted in duplicate, with stamped and self-addressed return envelope. Each author will receive three copies of the issue in which his or her contribution appears. Send manuscripts to: Edward A. Geary, editor, *Brigham Young University Studies*, 1102 JKHB, BYU, Provo, Utah 84602.

Brigham Young University Studies is abstracted in *Current Contents: Behavioral, Social, and Management Sciences*; indexed in *Religion Index One: Periodicals* (articles) and *Index to Book Reviews in Religion*; and listed in *Historical Abstracts, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, American History and Life Annual Index*, and *MLA International Bibliography*. Member, Council of Editors of Learned Journals.

SUBSCRIBERS' NOTICE

Subscription is \$10.00 for four issues, \$19.00 for eight issues, and \$27.00 for twelve issues. Single issues are \$4.00. All subscriptions begin with the current issue unless otherwise requested. Send subscriptions to *BYU Studies*, 1102 JKHB, BYU, Provo, Utah 84602. If you move, please let us know four weeks before changing your address.

Brigham Young University Studies is published quarterly
at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah 84602.

©1991 by Brigham Young University Studies
All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America

4-90-46359-3.3M ISSN 0007-0106

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

Guest Editor's Introduction

David J. Whittaker

The records of the Church's past, the role of those individuals who gathered and preserved them, and the works of historians who used these texts are all important topics for students of Latter-day Saint history. The analysis of such topics is known as historiography. In 1938 American historian Carl Becker defined historiography as that study

which records what men have at different times known and believed about the past, the use they have made, in the service of their interests and aspirations, of their knowledge and beliefs, and the underlying presuppositions which have made their knowledge seem to them relevant and their beliefs seem to them true.¹

The study of Latter-day Saint historiography is relatively new. In 1968 Leonard J. Arrington attempted the first overview of the topic,² and other studies have followed. These studies show that people who write about the past are themselves influenced by a variety of factors; thus historiography, as a branch of intellectual history, seeks to understand historians and their histories as products of the past. Such a study can provide a valuable dimension for anyone who studies history. It can teach us the strengths as well as the weaknesses that all works of history share. It can assist us in becoming wiser consumers of works of history and biography.

This special issue of *BYU Studies* focuses on various topics related to the writing of Latter-day Saint history. Eric Olsen discusses the Book of Mormon as a model for writing Latter-day Saint history. Dean Jessee examines the formulation of the written texts which contain Joseph Smith's discourses, while Howard Searle studies the work of Willard Richards as an early Church historian. Edwina Jo Snow and Michael Homer draw our attention to outside perceptions of Latter-day Saints: Snow studies the British travel literature, while Homer looks at Italian perceptions. Both suggest important sources and additional perspectives for students

David J. Whittaker is Curator of the Archives of the Mormon Experience, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

of Latter-day Saint history. James Allen and Jessie Embry take a fresh look at the beginnings of genealogy and family history in the Church, focusing particularly on the role of Susa Young Gates in the formation of the Utah Genealogical Society. Finally David Honey and Daniel Peterson offer some fresh perspectives on the current discussions of contemporary Latter-day Saint historiography. They suggest a variety of models to assist in our understanding of Latter-day Saint historical writing.

NOTES

¹ Carl Becker, "What Is Historiography?" *American Historical Review* 44 (October 1938): 22.

² Leonard J. Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3 (Summer 1968): 56–66.



SOUTH END OF THE TABERNACLE.

The “Perfect Pattern”: The Book of Mormon as a Model for the Writing of Sacred History

Eric C. Olson

In his article “How Should Our Story Be Told?” Robert L. Millet argued that Latter-day Saint history as a “sacred saga” should be presented in a manner that expressly bears witness of God’s hand and does not dilute that witness by emphasizing mortal weaknesses.¹ While Millet’s principal support for this proposition consisted of various quotes from modern Church leaders, he did cite the Book of Mormon prophets Nephi and Jacob to the effect that their records included those things “most precious” to them — “the things that are pleasing unto God” (1 Ne. 6:5; Jacob 1:3). Without offering either support or explanation, Millet declared, “It may well be that *the perfect pattern* for the writing of our story — a sacred history — is contained in the Book of Mormon.”²

As a believer in the Book of Mormon, I was attracted by this assertion. Like so many statements born of deep belief and devotion, it sounds so good that it must be true. Yet, on examination, the assertion is more easily made than explained, defended, or applied. The purpose of this article is to consider what pattern for historical writing, if any, the Book of Mormon contains and whether it is a “perfect pattern” for recording the history of the Restoration.³

THE SMALL PLATES

A “pattern of history” in the Book of Mormon is not immediately discernable. The book is a patchwork of sources including not only Nephite records, but also the brass plates of Laban and the gold plates of Ether. The principal and best-known Book of Mormon sources are the large and small plates of Nephi. It is to the small plates that Millet turns for the two Book of Mormon

Eric C. Olsen practices with the Salt Lake City law firm of Van Cott, Bagley, Cornwall and McCarthy.

quotations in support of his thesis. However, careful consideration of the small plates — particularly what their authors said about the plates' purposes, limitations, and contents — establishes that they were not intended as either a pattern or a prescription for the writing of sacred history.

Nephi, the principal author of the small plates, repeatedly emphasized that he was *not* writing a history in the small plates; that function was reserved for the large plates. This distinction is part of nearly every Book of Mormon discussion of Nephi's records:

It mattereth not to me that I am particular to give *a full account* of all the things of my father, for they cannot be written upon these [small] plates, for I desire the room that I may write the things of God. (1 Ne. 6:3; italics added)

As I have spoken concerning these [small] plates, behold they are *not* the plates upon which I make a full account of the history of my people. (1 Ne. 9:2, 4; italics added)

These [small] plates are for the more part of the ministry. (1 Ne. 9:4)

After I had made these [small] plates by way of commandment, I, Nephi, received a commandment that the ministry and the prophecies, the more plain and precious parts of them, should be written upon these plates; and that the things which were written should be kept for the instruction of my people. (1 Ne. 19:3)

For I, Nephi, was constrained to speak unto them [Laman and Lemuel], according to [the Lord's] word; for I had spoken many things unto them, and also my father, before his death; many of which sayings are written upon mine other plates; *for a more history part are written upon mine other plates*. And upon these [small plates] I write the things of my soul. (2 Ne. 4:14–15; italics added)

Nephi gave me, Jacob, a commandment concerning the small plates, upon which these things are engraven . . . that I should write upon these plates a few of the things which I considered to be most precious; that I should not touch, save it were lightly, concerning the history of this people. . . . *For he said that the history of his people should be engraven upon his other plates*. . . . [I]f there were preaching which was sacred, or revelation which was great, or prophesying, that I should engraven the heads of them upon these [small] plates. (Jacob 1:1–4; italics added.)

Those like Millet who cite the small plates for directives on how to write sacred history must do so in the face of Nephi's repeated disclaimer that his small plates are not a history.

In reality, the small plates are a combination journal and sacred scrapbook. In these plates, Nephi recorded his visions, teachings and prophecies;⁴ his favorite scriptures from the brass plates;⁵ the teachings of his father and brother;⁶ and items of history incident to his personal spiritual development.⁷ In these plates,

Nephi expressed unerring loyalty to the Lord on whose grace and goodness he, in his feeble mortal state, had to rely: "And when I desire to rejoice, my heart groaneth because of my sins; nevertheless, I know in whom I have trusted. My God hath been my support" (2 Ne. 4:19–20). "O Lord, I have trusted in thee, and I will trust in thee forever. I will not put my trust in the arm of the flesh. . . . Yea, cursed is he that putteth his trust in man" (2 Ne. 4:34).

In contrast, the tone of Nephi's writing and his choice of content are evidence that he entertained no strong loyalty to any mortal (i.e., the "flesh"), whether mother, brother, priest, or prophet. As a consequence, Nephi frankly acknowledged human weakness wherever he observed them. He turned his critical eye first on the Jews and their elders, including Laban, and then on his brothers Laman and Lemuel. He noted, "The Jews did mock [Lehi] because of the things which he testified of them; for he truly testified of their wickedness and their abominations" (1 Ne. 1:19). Nephi recorded Laban's murderous and deceptive treatment of Lehi's sons and ironically noted Laban's drunken return from a night among the "elders of the Jews" (1 Ne. 3:13, 4:7, 4:22). Of Laman and Lemuel, Nephi observed almost at the outset: "They did murmur in many things against their father, because he was a visionary man . . . [following] the foolish imaginations of his heart" (1 Ne. 2:11).

Nephi was similarly frank about the weaknesses of those whom we might think he would avoid "criticizing." In language echoing his earlier observations concerning Laman and Lemuel, Nephi recorded his mother Sariah's words to Lehi when her sons failed to return promptly from their first errand to Jerusalem: "She . . . complained against my father, telling him that he was a *visionary man*" (1 Ne. 5:2; italics added). When Ishmael died, Nephi recorded that Ishmael's daughters, including presumably Nephi's own wife, "did murmur against [Lehi], and also against [Nephi]; and they were desirous to return again to Jerusalem" (1 Ne. 16:36). Finally, Nephi noted that his father, the prophet Lehi, "began to murmur against the Lord his God" when Nephi broke his "fine steel bow" (1 Ne. 16:18, 20). Thereafter, Lehi "was truly chastened because of his murmuring against the Lord, insomuch that he was brought down in the depths of sorrow" (1 Ne. 16:25).

Nephi did not limit his candor to his account of the deeds of others or of those who were his contemporaries. He acknowledged his own mortal limitations: "O wretched man that I am! Yea, my heart sorroweth because of my flesh; my soul grieveth because of mine iniquities. I am encompassed about, because of the temptations and the sins which do so easily beset me" (2 Ne. 4:17–18). Further, as if anticipating the modern bent towards propaganda

and advocacy that at times threatens to run roughshod over the simple human truth, Nephi warned that in our day “others will he pacify, and lull them away into carnal security that they will say: All is well in Zion; yea, Zion prospereth, all is well — and thus the devil cheateth their souls, and leadeth them away carefully down to hell” (2 Ne. 28:21). In his final benediction, Nephi acknowledged the standard by which he kept his small plates: “I glory in *plainness*; I glory in *truth*; I glory in my *Jesus*, for he hath redeemed my soul from hell” (2 Ne. 33:6; italics added).

In summary, to the extent that the compilers of the small plates “touch[ed] lightly” upon Nephite history, whether upon their own condition or upon that of future generations, they spoke frankly of human weakness. And Mormon, acting under God’s direction, included this record, warts and all, intact and without editing (W of M 1:7). The small plates are not (and do not purport to be) a pattern of history, but as a reflection of the values and priorities of their compilers and editor, they evidence the willingness of prophet scribes to recognize mortal limitations and failings.⁸

THE LARGE PLATES

Unlike the small plates, the large plates do not appear intact in our Book of Mormon; rather, we have Mormon’s abridgement of the large plates. The focus of these plates is often contrasted with that of the small plates. For instance, the headnotes and indexes in the 1920 and 1981 editions of the Book of Mormon refer to the small plates as “spiritual history” and the large plates as “secular history.”⁹ Yet, the text of the Book of Mormon no more supports the notion that the large plates are “secular” than, as has been seen, it supports the assertion that the small plates are “history.”

The large plates, kept by prophets at the command of God, were also considered sacred (1 Ne. 19:3; Alma 37:2). Nephi noted early on: “I do not write anything upon plates save it be that I think it be sacred” (1 Ne. 15:6). And Mormon described at the end of Nephite history “the records which had been handed down by our fathers, which were sacred” (Morm. 6:6). Excluding perhaps the brief time when Nephi and Jacob actively kept both sets of plates, the small plates were never maintained as history in competition with the large plates. Therefore, if there is any validity to the sacred/secular dichotomy for the small plates and large plates suggested in the last two editions of the Book of Mormon, it would have to be on the basis of subject matter and not perspective.

Mormon’s abridgement does allow us to consider whatever pattern of history the Book of Mormon may contain because, unlike

Nephi, Mormon was a historian. He took the accumulated Nephite records covering almost one thousand years and fashioned a narrative — a portion of which makes up 65 percent of our present Book of Mormon.¹⁰ In the abridgement we can read Mormon's commentary and see his editorial choices. These in turn disclose whatever "pattern" there may be to his history.

Because we do not have Mormon's complete abridgment, any generalization about a pattern in the entire narrative is tentative at best. We cannot be certain how much or what Mormon wrote about the first 476 years of Nephite history or how the lost portion of his history compares with the extant portion. (For instance, it is likely that, if the first 116 pages of the translation of Mormon's abridgment were to replace the translation of the small plates, the overall Book of Mormon would be considerably shorter, but the first half of Nephite history would be more detailed.)

With this caveat in mind, however, a few things can be observed about the pattern of Mormon's history. First, as to general content, it is no more a pure history than the small plates are purely sacred instruction. Just as the small plates are 25 percent history, the large plates' narrative is 35 percent instruction. Mormon inserted extensive quotations such as King Benjamin's address; Abinadi's preaching; Alma's sermons, preaching, and fatherly advice; Samuel's prophecies; and Jesus' words to the Nephites.¹¹ While some of these quotations bear on the historical narrative, the primary purpose for their inclusion, as is that of the major portion of the small plates, appears to be instructional.¹² Thus, Mormon intended his record to be more than a recitation of events or a witness of calamities. He also intended it to teach spiritual truths.

A second aspect of Mormon's narrative is his consistent recognition of God's hand in the mortal affairs he chronicled. Only infrequently did he note God's overt intervention in history. More commonly, Mormon noted divine influence through witnesses who were influenced by divine power, the cyclical nature of events, and the operation of opposing spiritual forces.

For example, in the entire account of Zeniff's people (Mosiah 9–24), the only overtly miraculous sign of God's involvement is the deep sleep that came upon the Lamanites and thus allowed the people of Alma to escape from the Land of Helam. In his commentary on the Zeniffite history, Mormon described this specific incident as the "immediate goodness of God" (Mosiah 25:10). Yet although the remainder of the Zeniff narrative does not dwell on God's "immediate goodness," the narrative is still a recognition of divine influence. The text describes how the human pride and ambition exemplified by Zeniff degenerated over one

generation into the materialism, profanity, and licentiousness of Noah. Once in a condition of spiritual infirmity, the Zeniffite society rejected Abinadi and acquiesced in the murder of the only person with the spiritual sanity to speak openly of the eternal consequences of the society's warped values. Abinadi's accusing words and Alma's subsequent efforts to pursue Abinadi's directives were deemed subversive by the authorities and were vigorously suppressed. War and misery ensued with the people eventually realizing by experience the decadence of their ways (what the majority would not recognize by faith on Abinadi's words). In the end, "delivered out of bondage," they were reminded that "it was the Lord that did deliver them" (Mosiah 25:16). In this narrative, God's influence is seen not in a collection of overtly miraculous or indisputably divine events, but in a string of individually mundane occurrences which cumulatively witness divine involvement in mortal affairs.

Coming as it does near the commencement of our version of Mormon's narrative, this account is a suitable example of how Mormon saw history as a witness of divine influence in mortal affairs. Mormon recognized that seeing God's influence in history is less a function of what one sees than how one sees it. To most of the people of Noah, Abinadi was a long winded-critic and a pest, not a prophet. Later figures such as the sons of Mosiah and Samuel were unwanted foreign missionaries to most of those to whom they directed their message.¹³ Those who heard Nephi's lament as he spoke from the garden tower were divided in their opinion of him notwithstanding his remarkable prediction of the chief judge's murder.¹⁴ Even the marvelous night without darkness at the Savior's birth did not convert all who witnessed it, nor did it result in the permanent conversion of those who joined the Church in its aftermath.¹⁵ Mormon's abridgement bears witness of a God whose hand in human affairs is light and, judged on purely empirical or humanistic bases, by no means temporally indisputable. Yet the narrative challenges all to develop the spiritual perspective necessary to discern God's influence.

The most compelling evidence of God's influence in Mormon's narrative is the cyclical nature of Nephite history. If there is a pattern in the Book of Mormon, this is it. The cycle runs something like this: God blesses mortals; they prosper; in their prosperity they think themselves independent and self-sufficient; they forget the source of their blessings; they become proud; they justify themselves in violating God's laws; they pursue power and wealth as ends in themselves; this misdirected pursuit results in destructive contention (since not all can be powerful and wealthy at

the same time); their contention produces misfortune and the loss of goods and power — the things they value most; without power and wealth, they realize their true spiritual condition (a reflection of their temporal condition) and the necessity of relying on God; and this recognition enables a gracious God to forgive and to bless them. This cycle is repeated numerous times in Mormon’s narrative. It is his central concern, perhaps because he lives at the fatal end of the last such cycle. In his longest and most pointed commentary on the story that he tells, Mormon summarizes the lesson of this cycle:

And thus we can behold how false, and also the unsteadiness of the hearts of the children of men; yea, we can see that the Lord in his great infinite goodness doth bless and prosper those who put their trust in him. Yea, and we may see at the very time when he doth prosper his people, . . . doing all things for the welfare and happiness of his people; yea, then is the time that they do harden their hearts, and do forget the Lord their God . . . because of their ease, and their exceedingly great prosperity. And thus we see that except the Lord doth chasten his people . . . they will not remember him. (Hel. 12:1–3)

This view of God’s hand in mortal affairs revealed by a sacred historical cycle turns as much on a candid acknowledgement of mortal weakness as on the recognition of divine influence. An infinite atonement is a compelling practical and spiritual truth only if humankind is in a fallen state. Thus Mormon, like Nephi, was free and unapologetic in noting the weaknesses of not just the “bad guys,” but of all men, as in the following examples:

1. Zeniff is described as “overzealous,” “deceived,” and “slow to remember the Lord” (Mosiah 7:21; 9:3).
2. Before his conversion, Alma the Elder is identified as one of Noah’s wicked priests (Mosiah 17:2).
3. Ammon declined to baptize king Limhi and others, “considering himself an unworthy servant” (Mosiah 21:33).
4. Alma the Younger, the pivotal Nephite prophet, and Mosiah’s sons “were the very vilest of sinners” (Mosiah 28:4), and their acts of rebellion and persecution are mentioned not once, but twice in the narrative (Mosiah 27; Alma 37).
5. Corianton’s sexual sin on his mission to the Zoramites is mentioned specifically (Alma 39:3).

A particularly interesting test of Mormon’s candor is the case of Captain Moroni’s correspondence with Chief Judge Pahoran. Mormon clearly held Moroni in great esteem. He named his son after Captain Moroni, he devoted sixty-five pages of narrative to Moroni’s military exploits, and he gave Moroni an unqualified editorial endorsement: “He was a man of a perfect understanding”

(Alma 48:11). “If all men had been, and were, and ever would be, like unto Moroni, behold, the very powers of hell would have been shaken forever” (Alma 48:11, 17).

But in the records from which he made his abridgement, Mormon found an angry, accusatory letter from Captain Moroni to Chief Judge Pahoran and Pahoran’s reply thereto. Both letters were written in the midst of the Amalickiahite wars. Moroni wrote first “by the way of condemnation,” accusing Pahoran of being in a “thoughtless state” and of “exceedingly great neglect” for failing to provide material support for Moroni’s army: “Can you think to sit upon your thrones in a state of thoughtless stupor, while your enemies are spreading the work of death around you?” (Alma 60:2, 6–7). Moroni then accused Pahoran of withholding provisions and intimated that Pahoran might well be a “traitor” to the Nephite cause (Alma 60:9, 18). Moroni concluded:

Ye know that ye do transgress the laws of God, and ye do know that ye do trample them under your feet. Behold, *the Lord saith unto me*: If those whom ye have appointed your governors do not repent of their sins and iniquities, ye shall go up to battle against them. (Alma 60:33; italics added)

At the end of a long and bloody campaign with his troops short on supplies, Moroni’s anger is understandable. But he attributed to the Lord an unqualified assessment of Pahoran’s iniquity. As we learn from Pahoran’s reply, however, the threat was misdirected, and Moroni’s accusations were simply wrong (Alma 61). Pahoran was loyal and not in transgression. The lack of attention that so angered Moroni was the result of third-party intrigue and rebellion. In the end, Moroni and Pahoran united to remedy the situation.

From our perspective, as we try to determine what the Book of Mormon tells us about writing sacred history, the question arises, Why did Mormon include the verbatim correspondence or even allude to it? It is not essential to his narrative. Moroni’s accusations were factually wrong. His impatience with the lack of support from the government led him to accuse Pahoran unjustly and to attribute his own anger to the voice of the Lord. Such a letter, written by an esteemed figure that so misses the mark, might in our day end up in some vault. At the least, it would be edited or summarized to lessen its impact. And it certainly would not be juxtaposed with a letter showing the true facts and underscoring Captain Moroni’s errors. Yet Mormon offered no apology or explanation for the letters. In the Book of Mormon historical view, none is needed. Mormon the historian and prophet could admire and hold up as an example a man who had undeniable weaknesses of the flesh.

A final characteristic of Mormon's history is his perspective. He wrote at the end of his people's thousand-year history to an audience at least fourteen hundred years in the future. For the definitive telling of a sacred story, this timing is ideal. One knows how the story ends and, with prophetic insight, one knows what part of the written record is relevant both to that ending and to the future audience. This dual perspective may explain why certain themes are emphasized and certain records were included, why the previously mentioned spiritual cycle was made so apparent, and why Mormon told his story with such confidence. Certainly, at a minimum, Mormon's perspective gave him a decided advantage over the modern historian who must record and interpret without knowing precisely either the final outcome or the needs of the reader.

MORONI'S ABRIDGEMENT

Moroni's historical work deals almost exclusively with the Jaredites. As with his father's abridgement, Moroni mixed history and admonition, pointed to divine influence in mortal affairs, underscored the blessing/misery cycle, exposed human weakness even in the highly regarded, and wrote with enhanced perspective.¹⁶ This continuity with the work of his father is not surprising, but it is important to note that both father and son have much in common with the authors of the small plates as well. Though Nephi and his direct descendants did not expressly set forth the blessing/misery cycle, they emphasized the Lord's influence in their affairs, and they dealt squarely with issues of human weakness.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper began as an inquiry into Millet's assertion that the Book of Mormon may well be a "perfect pattern" for writing sacred history. From the discussion above, it is clear that the Book of Mormon is not the pattern that Millet seemed to think it is or would like it to be. The small plates, from which Millet purported to draw his pattern, are not history at all. While Millet argued for advocacy in the presentation of sacred history, including not emphasizing the weaknesses of ecclesiastical leaders, the Book of Mormon authors candidly recognized the good and less-than-good in the lives of all no matter who they were or what positions they held. Where Millet advocated historical writing that reflects through its positive tone a loyalty to God's church, the Book of Mormon prophets criticized both the contemporary church and the church of the future. Their sole unerring loyalty in writing history was to God, the only being worthy of such uncritical loyalty.

To argue that the Book of Mormon is the “perfect pattern” for writing sacred history in the modern day, however, would not fairly account for the serious differences between the circumstances of the Book of Mormon record keepers and the circumstances of modern Latter-day Saint historians. For instance, the consequences of a freewheeling discussion of human weakness are different where the subject has been dead for two millennia rather than for only a few years or decades, especially when an author is surrounded by the person’s worshipful descendants. Similarly, delineation of spiritual cycles is necessarily more tentative when an author is in the midst of the cycle rather than at the end of the story. It probably would not do in this day and time to record: “And in the commencement of the ninth year of the tenure of the prophet Spencer W. Kimball, the people of the Church began to wax proud in their costly apparel and luxurious abodes and to disregard the words of the prophet.” In fact, the modern day, with instantaneous mass communication, with media often prone to oversimplification and sensationalism, and with a general populace often lacking the perspective that comes from a sound understanding of the past, is arguably not the time to practice the candor or the criticism of a Nephi or Mormon.

Nonetheless, by inference, one can discern a pattern in the Book of Mormon that provides some useful instruction for the writing of sacred history in our day. Some aspects of that pattern include the following:

1. *Types of History*. Because the Book of Mormon is a composite of records written for diverse purposes, its example cautions us to withhold judgment on those who may approach the history of the Restoration in a manner different from that which we would choose. In the Book of Mormon, one sees an account of the early Nephite “ministry” (small plates), an account of later Nephite “proceedings” (large plates), and an analysis of the Nephite downfall (Mormon’s abridgement). Not one of these records or approaches purports to be absolutely superior to all others or to be the right or only way to consider Nephite history. In fact, there is no sense of competition between authors or methodologies. Today, we might appropriately spend more time finding sacred meaning in so-called secular accounts (as Mormon did) than criticizing those accounts.

2. *God’s Hand*. Historians can appropriately undertake to discern God’s influence in mortal affairs. However, the Book of Mormon reminds us that God’s hand is seen most clearly and is identified with greatest confidence at the end of an era. Often we need a bit of distance to distinguish fully between the “wheat” and the “tares,” the “pearls” and the “swine.” Further, God’s direct participation in history — the overtly miraculous or “immediate

goodness” — is the exception. Divine influence is more commonly to be found in our principled and insightful interpretation of outwardly mundane events. However, if that influence is to be discovered (and not simply manufactured), it is up to the observer (the historian) to recognize the influence and to describe it fairly and accurately.

3. *Accuracy.* For the sacred story to be told adequately, not only the perspective, but also the details must be accurate. If we shade the facts or delete or embellish, we misrepresent God’s influence. Such “adjustments” are to be expected where the writer is acting as an advocate for an institution, such as a church or a university, which is run by humans. But when we are advocating God, as true sacred history must, we are constrained to be honest about mortal failings so that God’s grace and goodness is seen as independent of human limitations. Nephi stated clearly that in the latter days those inclined to proclaim uncritically “all is well in Zion” (2 Ne. 28:21) are not disseminating spiritually accurate information.

4. *Instruction.* The Book of Mormon emphasizes that sacred history is to have a central, instructional purpose. Picking through the good and not-so-good of the past is not solely an academic exercise; study of the past should teach us how to understand and live in the present. Writers of sacred history must do more than simply report events; they must articulate the sacred meaning of those events. The Book of Mormon consistently reminds the reader that mortal events have sacred meaning and eternal consequences.

Nowhere does the Book of Mormon suggest that it was written to be a pattern of historical writing. The limited lessons set forth above are generally incidental to the sacred text. Yet, they point to a measure of moderation coupled with tolerance and insight that too often is absent in modern efforts at sacred history. We would be wise, in approaching the daunting challenge of setting down the past with spiritual accuracy, to “behold our weakness” (Ether 12:25) and then to write with integrity to ourselves and to God. By thus proceeding, we will indeed be following the “perfect pattern” of the Book of Mormon.

NOTES

¹ Robert L. Millet, ed., *To Be Learned Is Good If . . .* (Bookcraft: Salt Lake City, 1987).

² Millet, 2; italics added.

³ For purposes of this discussion, I have adopted Millet’s apparent definition of history as a “recitation of . . . events,” “an account of those things which have brought [about] the . . . present” (Millet, 2).

⁴ 1 Ne. 11–15, 23; and 2 Ne. 25–33.

⁵ 1 Ne. 19–21; and 2 Ne. 12–24.

⁶ 1 Ne. 5, 8, 10; and 2 Ne. 1–4, 6–11.

⁷ 1 Ne. 1–5, 8, 16–18; and 2 Ne. 5.

⁸ Later contributors to the small plates — Jacob, Enos, and Omni — followed Nephi’s lead in speaking plainly of their own weaknesses. Omni freely acknowledged that he was a “wicked man” (Omni 1:2). Enos implied a disregard for spiritual things prior to his “wrestle . . . before God” (Enos 1:1–4). Most poignant of all is Jacob, who wrote of his “anxiety” and “grief” before God as a prophet and teacher to his people (Jacob 1:5, 2:6–7). His trust was in God’s grace and the redeeming change that it could work in willing mortals: “We labored diligently among our people, that we might persuade them to come unto Christ and partake of the goodness of God, that they might enter into his rest” (Jacob 1:7).

⁹ Book of Mormon (1926), 561; Book of Mormon (1981), 162, and Index, 266–67.

¹⁰ The first part of Mormon’s abridgement was lost as a result of Martin Harris’s mishandling of the first 116 manuscript pages.

¹¹ Mosiah 2–5, 12–15; Alma 5–7, 9–13, 29, 32–33, 36–42; Helaman 13–15; and 3 Nephi 11–27.

¹² This analysis applies even to Samuel’s prophecy, which is the most closely tied to the historical narrative. The various signs enumerated by Samuel are included as witnesses of Christ’s literal coming in the flesh and of the Nephites’ appalling lack of preparation for that event.

¹³ Alma 21:13; and Helaman 16:2.

¹⁴ Helaman 9:39–41, 10:1.

¹⁵ 3 Nephi 1:22.

¹⁶ For respective examples, see Mormon 8; Moroni 10:24–25; Ether 7, 2:14, 12:23–25; and Mormon 8:25.

Priceless Words and Fallible Memories: Joseph Smith as Seen in the Effort to Preserve His Discourses

Dean C. Jessee

Speaking of Joseph Smith, the Lord told an ancient prophet, “I will not loose his tongue, that he shall speak much, for I will not make him mighty in speaking.”¹ As if in fulfillment, some who heard Joseph noted that he was “not unusually talented for a Speaker,”² nor did he appear to be “an educated man.”³ “His conversational powers were but ordinary,” wrote Peter Burnett, a non-Mormon Missouri lawyer. “You could see at a glance that his education was very limited. He was an awkward but vehement speaker. In conversation he was slow, and used too many words to express his ideas, and would not generally go directly to a point.”⁴ A convert’s impression on first hearing Joseph Smith speak was that the Prophet “looked green and not verry intelligent.”⁵ A reporter for an eastern newspaper described Joseph as “a bad speaker” who appeared to be “very imperfectly educated.”⁶ After visiting Nauvoo during a summer break, a student recalled that “the Prophet spoke very fluently, but ungrammatically, like an uneducated man; but he possessed the gift of a rough eloquence, and could be most persuasive when he tried.”⁷ Lorenzo Snow, who joined the Latter-day Saints in 1836 but who first saw the Prophet in Hiram, Ohio, in 1831, said that the Prophet would not be called “a fluent speaker.”⁸

The Smith family’s economic situation helps explain Joseph Smith’s lack of polish when speaking. He wrote that indigent circumstances had deprived him of a formal education’s advantages except for the basics of “reading, writing and the ground <rules> [*sic*] of Arithmetic, which constuted my whole literary acquirements.” This lack of formal education meant that his speaking and writing skills developed from his environment and his study of the Bible — so much

Dean C. Jessee is research professor of Church history and senior research historian of the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History.

so that his prose reflects the Bible's imagery and rhythms. His speech also reveals his strong sense of mission. Joseph noted that he had searched the scriptures in his youth and had been "seriously imprest" with concern for the welfare of his "immortal Soul." As he searched for understanding and salvation, he pondered in his heart "the situation of the world of mankind" and the physical world around him. His search led him into the "wilderness" near his father's home, where the Lord "opened the heavens" and taught him many things pertaining to the purposes of God.⁹

Consequently, whatever Joseph Smith's forensic weaknesses, there was still much in his manner and especially in his message that attracted people. A recurring theme among those who heard him was the inspired nature and power of his message. Jared Carter observed that although Joseph's delivery was disappointing "the Holy Ghost Spoke in him and marvelous was the displays of the power of the Spirit."¹⁰ Another observer said Joseph's language was meek, instructive, and edifying: "There is a power and magesty that atends his words and Preaching that we never beheld in any man before."¹¹ Others mentioned the energetic style of his speaking and the "powerful manner" and "impressive terms" in which he exhorted people.¹² "Truly when he spoke light wisdom and intelligence flowed from his mouth in a way not to be heard from an uninspired man," recalled one convert. "Sabbath after Sabbath I heard Set forth the order of the Kingdom of God in a way well calculated to gladden the hearts of those who were seeking truth for their guide."¹³ And Parley P. Pratt, a dedicated disciple, said the Prophet's speech

abounded in original eloquence peculiar to himself — not polished — not studied — not smoothed and softened by education and refined by art; but flowing forth in its own native simplicity, and profusely abounding in variety of subject and manner. He interested and edified, while, at the same time, he amused and entertained his audience; and none listened to him that were ever weary with his discourse. I have even known him to retain a congregation of willing and anxious listeners for many hours together, in the midst of cold or sunshine, rain or wind, while they were laughing at one moment and weeping the next.¹⁴

Many others who heard Joseph Smith after his early religious experiences were awed by the "light and wisdom" of his speech. "We soon felt and knew we were listening to one that had not been taught of men — so different were all his thoughts and language," wrote one observer.¹⁵ It was said that when Joseph spoke "all ears were opened and the most profound silence was observed." He could teach God's law so plainly "that on reflection one would think [he had] always new it, [and] he . . . had the apearance of one . . . sent

from the heavenly worlds on some divine mission.”¹⁶ For many of his contemporaries, the Prophet’s teachings were a refreshing departure from common pulpit fare. “His words were meat & Drink for us for with wisdom & edification Did he Speak to us & made plain the way of life & Salvation & made the glories of the kingdom Shine with a more brilliant lusture than before,” noted one of the earliest Church converts.¹⁷

Brigham Young said that prior to meeting Joseph Smith “all the priests of the day could not tell me anything correct about heaven, hell, God, angels, or devils: they were as blind as Egyptian darkness.” In contrast, Joseph “took heaven, figuratively speaking, and brought it down to earth; and he took the earth, brought it up, and opened up, in plainness and simplicity, the things of God; and that is the beauty of his mission.”¹⁸

After listening to Joseph Smith for the first time, Wilford Woodruff wrote, “There was more light made manifest at that meeting respecting the gospel and Kingdom of God than I had ever received from the whole Sectarian world.”¹⁹ On 6 April 1837, Wilford heard the Prophet speak for three hours “clothed with the power, spirit, & image of God. . . . He presented many things of vast importance to the minds of the Elders of Israel. O that they might be written upon our hearts with an iron pen to remain forever.”²⁰ Three days later he saw Joseph stand before an audience “like a lion of the tribe of Judah. . . . His mind like Enochs swells wide as eternity. Nothing short of a God can comprehend his soul.”²¹ Years later, Wilford noted, “My Soul has been much edified . . . from time to time in hearing Joseph the Seer. . . . Truly God is with him & is making him mighty in wisdom & knowledge.”²²

An English convert said Joseph Smith spoke “with great power and much assurance” and expounded the scripture in a way that “it could not be misunderstood for plainness. . . . My Soul found food, as a hungary mans body that Sits to the luxuries of the Earth.”²³ The non-Mormon, Peter Burnett, found “Joseph’s views were so strange and striking, and his manner was so earnest, and apparently so candid, that you could not [help] but be interested” in what he said.²⁴ One Kirtland, Ohio, resident noted both the eagerness with which people gathered to hear the Prophet and the “glorious preaching that cheered and animated” them: “How often while listening to the voice of the prophet have I wished, Oh that my friends, parents, brothers, and sisters, could hear the things that I heard, and their hearts be made to rejoice in them, as mine did.”²⁵ An English convert confided that one lecture from the Prophet’s mouth well repaid him for all the troubles and privations of his journey to America, which were not a few.²⁶

As Joseph Smith's influence has spread during the century and a half since his death, interest in him has increased. His teachings, eagerly sought, are often read with scriptural reverence. Yet too often their sources are taken at face value without determining how clearly those sources represent his mind and personality. These windows to his life and thought reflect varying levels of proximity to him, a factor that must be dealt with in any serious study of him. Indeed, one of the main historiographic problems confronting students of the Prophet is understanding how to sift the source material to reach the real Joseph. As noted by E. H. Carr, "History cannot be written unless the historian can achieve some kind of contact with the mind of those about whom he is writing."²⁷

Fawn Brodie's biography of Joseph Smith suffers directly because she failed to understand the nature of the sources behind his published history. "There are few men . . . who have written so much and told so little about themselves," she wrote. "To search in [Joseph Smith's] six-volume autobiography for the inner springs of his character is to come away baffled."²⁸ One reason for Mrs. Brodie's confusion was her failure to evaluate the documents underlying Joseph Smith's history.²⁹ To use letters, reports of speeches, and other sources to reconstruct a man's life is impossible unless, as Ernest May has written, his own contributions can be winnowed from what ghostwriters produced for him.³⁰ Indeed, all who would seriously study the Latter-day Saint leader must come to grips with the complexity of the source materials. In the case of his published discourses, this task requires a look at the process by which they were originally recorded and eventually became part of the official history of his life.

Several factors have impinged on the clarity with which Joseph Smith's thought has filtered through written history. One factor was the difficulty of preserving everything he said. Because of his prominence in introducing a new dispensation of the gospel, the esteem with which he was regarded by his people, a revelation given on the day of the Church's inception commanding record keeping, and the Latter-day Saints' reputation for diligent record keeping, we might assume that clerks followed the Prophet and recorded everything he said. In reality, due largely to the problem of implementing the record-keeping enterprise, the records do not measure up to the stature of the life they chronicle, and only a fraction of the Prophet's discourses was preserved. This partial success occurred even though a major concern of the Prophet after the Church's organization was setting up a history-keeping procedure that would preserve a full account of the rise of the Church and of his own experiences. His struggle to meet this

challenge is outlined by Church historiography during his lifetime. Nonetheless, by the time Joseph Smith and his clerks settled on a reasonably satisfactory solution, much valuable information had been lost.³¹

Among the items lost is information about most of Joseph Smith's discourses. During the last eighteen months of his life, the Prophet is known to have given 78 public addresses, or an average of a little more than one a week. Assuming conservatively that he averaged 30 speeches a year during earlier years, the total discourses of his public ministry (1830–44) would number about 450. Available sources, however, identify only about 250 discourses, and his published history gives reasonably adequate summaries of only about one-fifth of these. Not until the last eighteen months of his life were the Prophet's speeches reported with reasonable consistency. Of the 52 addresses reported in some detail in his history, 35 date from that time period. The remaining 17 average about two a year between 1834 and 1842. These figures suggest that probably not more than one in ten of Joseph Smith's discourses were recorded, and most of these come from the last three years of his life.³²

During its first decade, the Church attended to the preservation and publication primarily of the Prophet's revelations. A substantial number of these revelations and some of his correspondence and other records from the early years outline the doctrinal foundation of the work he established. Missing from the early years, however, are reports of discourses that would no doubt give added insights not only to the doctrines set forth in the revelations, but also to his views on a wide range of subjects, including his own experiences.

The lack of reported speeches by Joseph Smith prior to 1842 illustrates the dictum "No records, no history." Without question, this lack limits our understanding of the development of his thought. For example, only three accounts of Joseph's first vision are reported in any detail prior to 1840. And yet, among references to unreported discourses are several dealing with the Prophet's early visions. For example, Lorenzo Snow, who first heard Joseph speak in 1831, wrote:

His remarks were confined principally to his own experiences, especially the visitation of the angel, giving a strong and powerful testimony in regard to these marvelous manifestations. He simply bore his testimony to what the Lord had manifested to him, to the dispensation of the Gospel which had been committed to him, and to the authority that he possessed. . . . As I looked upon him and listened, I thought to myself that a man bearing such a wonderful

testimony . . . could not have been deceived, it seemed to me, and if he was a deceiver he was deceiving the people knowingly; for when he testified that he had had a conversation with Jesus, the Son of God, and had talked with Him personally, as Moses talked with God upon Mount Sinai, and that he had also heard the voice of the Father, he was telling something that he either knew to be false or to be positively true.³³

In October 1834 Edward Stevenson heard Joseph speak in the old log schoolhouse in Pontiac, Michigan: “The Prophet stood at a table for the pulpit where he began relating his vision and before he got through he was in the midst of the congregation with uplifted hand. I do believe that there was not one person present who did [not believe] at the time being or who was not convicted [*sic*] of the truth of his vision, of an angel to him.”³⁴

William W. Phelps heard Joseph give an address in 1835 titled “This is My Beloved Son: Hear Ye Him.” Phelps describes it as one of the greatest sermons he ever heard, lasting about three and one-half hours.³⁵ Later that year the Prophet gave an account of his boyhood experiences from the time he was six to the time of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon; this account included his first vision.³⁶

On two occasions Parley P. Pratt heard the Prophet recount his early visions. Writing to Church members in Canada in 1836, Pratt told of an important meeting he had attended in Kirtland, Ohio:

One week before [the meeting] word was Publicly given that Br. J. Smith Jr. would give a relation of the coming forth of the Records and allso of the rise of the church and of his Experience accordingly a vast concourse assembled at an Early hour Every seat was crowded and 4 or 5 hundred People stood up in the Aisles Br. S[mith] gave the history of these things relating many particulars of the manner of his first vissions &c. The Spirit and Power of God was upon him in Bearing testimony Insomuch that many if not most of the Congregation was in tears — as for my Self i can say that all the reasonings in uncertainty and all the conclusions drawn from the writings of others . . . however great in themselves Dwindle into insignificance when compared with Living testimony when your Eyes see and your Ears hear from the Living oracles of God.³⁷

Parley also heard the Prophet address a large congregation in Philadelphia in 1839 in which Joseph “spoke in great power, bearing testimony of the visions he had seen, the ministering of angels which he had enjoyed; and how he had found the plates of the Book of Mormon, and translated them by the gift and power of God. . . . The entire congregation were astounded; electrified, as it were, and overwhelmed with the sense of the truth and power by which he spoke, and the wonders which he related.”³⁸

For none of the foregoing instances are there known records of the speech. It is hard to explain the paucity of records of Joseph Smith's discourses during the first decade of the Church on grounds other than the slow development of a record-keeping consciousness among members and the problem of establishing a historical enterprise in the unsettled conditions that beset the Church during those years. Although many who heard the Prophet speak were convinced they were in the presence of one sent from God and "feasted upon his words," they left no record of what he said.

Those who reported hearing him frequently mentioned nothing more than the fact of his having spoken. The first recorded minutes of an official Church meeting, a conference at Fayette, New York, on 9 June 1830, refer to an "exhortation by Joseph Smith," but nothing else. Likewise, the recorder of the second conference, held 26 September that same year, also at Fayette, merely wrote, "remarks by Brother Joseph Smith jr."³⁹ In 1835 William E. McLellin reported hearing a three-hour discourse of the Prophet in Huntsburgh, Ohio, but made no reference to its content.⁴⁰

As late as 1844, after record-keeping procedures had become better established in the young Church, some speeches of the Prophet were still not recorded even when competent reporters were present. On 18 February 1844 Willard Richards, who was keeping the Prophet's diary, noted only that Joseph Smith "preached at the temple to a large collection" of people, and the talented English clerk Thomas Bullock, who was also in attendance, recorded that "Joseph spoke to an immense congregation."⁴¹ A week later Richards noted that the Prophet "preached at or near the temple"; Wilford Woodruff wrote in his diary, "President Smith preached at the temple"; and Thomas Bullock went to the temple with his wife and "heard Joseph preach on cardinal points [to] an immense congregation."⁴² William Rowley's report of "listening to one that had not been taught of men" is the only known reference to the Prophet's speech of 12 November 1843.⁴³ And two weeks before his death, the records say only that Joseph "made some observations" at the Seventies Hall in Nauvoo.⁴⁴ On these and other occasions nothing more was recorded than the fact that he had spoken.

At other times the topics of the Prophet's discourses were reported but nothing else. On 13 December 1835 Warren Parrish, Joseph Smith's secretary, reported the Prophet had attended a marriage ceremony where he made some "preliminary remarks upon the subject of matrimony, touching the design of the Almighty in its institution, also the duties of husbands and wives towards each other." After singing and prayer, he spoke another forty minutes.⁴⁵ In May 1838 George W. Robinson wrote that Joseph "instructed the

Church in the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, giving them a history of the planets &c. and of Abraham's writings upon the planetary system, &c." Robinson added that later in the day the Prophet "spoke upon different subjects; he dwelt some upon the subject of wisdom, & upon the Word of Wisdom, &c."⁴⁶ Another time Joseph spoke to the Saints in the Kirtland Temple on the topic of "the gathering of the Saints in the last days and the duties of the different quorums [in] relations thereto."⁴⁷ On the occasion of Wilford Woodruff's thirty-fifth birthday, the young Apostle had killed a turkey and invited his friends of the First Presidency and Twelve to a feast at his home in Nauvoo. According to Willard Richards, Joseph "explained many important principles in relation to progressive improvement in the scale of intelligent existence."⁴⁸ Wilford noted that "after supper the evening was mostly spent in hearing Joseph the Seer converse about the blessings of the kingdom of God much to our edification."⁴⁹ In July 1842 Wilford experienced an "interesting day" when about six thousand people in Nauvoo were "addressed by Joseph the Seer much to our edification. He read the 7th Ch. of Daniel and explained about the kingdom of God set up in the last days and said many things which were truly edifying."⁵⁰ Six weeks before the Prophet was killed, a Nauvoo newspaper reported a discourse he gave in the upper room of his red brick store: "He spoke with much talent, and ability and displayed a great knowledge of the political history of this nation, of the cause of the evils under which our nation groans, and also the remedy."⁵¹ On each of these occasions, as with many others, nothing more was reported than the topic of the speech.

Since Joseph Smith almost always spoke extemporaneously, without a prepared text, there are no drafts to help document his discourses. In 1843 he told an audience, "I am not like other men, my mind is continually occupied with the business of the day, and I have to depend entirely upon the living God for everything I say on such occasions as these."⁵² This was his common practice, a practice suggested by revelation in 1830: "It shall be given thee in the very moment what thou shalt speak and write."⁵³ Occasionally the theme of his address suggested itself as he faced his audience. In March 1842 the Prophet approached a Nauvoo congregation to deliver a discourse on the subject of baptism, "but as a young child was dead & his Corpes presented in the assembly," he changed his remarks to the topic of death and the resurrection.⁵⁴ The following year he told a gathering of Saints in the temple that the subject of his discourse had presented itself after he came to the stand.⁵⁵ In the absence of personal drafts of his speeches, the study of Joseph

Smith's discourses and of his ability as a speaker is dependent on the reports of those who heard him.

Of approximately two dozen persons who wrote for the Prophet in an official capacity, nine reported one or more of the discourses published in his history: Thomas Bullock, William Clayton, Warren Parrish, Willard Richards, Franklin D. Richards, Sylvester Smith, Eliza R. Snow, Robert B. Thompson, and Wilford Woodruff.⁵⁶ Since none of these scribes was sufficiently skilled in shorthand prior to Joseph Smith's death to record verbatim what the Prophet said, the reports preserve main themes rather than a detailed reflection of his personality and prose. Pitman shorthand, which provided a major breakthrough in speed and accuracy, had been developed in England in 1837 but was not mastered by anyone in the Latter-day Saint community in time to be of value in reporting the Prophet's speeches.⁵⁷

Among those who reported Joseph Smith's addresses, Willard Richards and Wilford Woodruff deserve particular attention. Reports of forty of the fifty-two discourses published at some length in Joseph Smith's history were produced by these two men. In terms of quantity, Richards made the most substantial contribution, but he arrived on the scene late. He did not join the Church until December 1836 and was engaged in missionary work in England from 1837 to 1841. Richards began keeping the Prophet's journal at Nauvoo in December 1841 but left the next year to get his family in Massachusetts. In December 1842 he was "appointed private Sect. & Historian" to the Prophet. The diaries kept by Richards form the basis for the Prophet's history during the last two-and-a-half years of the Prophet's life and account for the increased detail in the latter part of that work.⁵⁸ Prior to the Richards appointment, there had been little continuity or consistency in reporting Joseph Smith's addresses. However, Richards tended to take brief, almost illegible notes and to leave gaps with the intention of later filling them. This practice required substantial editing and fleshing out.

Wilford Woodruff, whose diary is one of the most substantive historical sources on the nineteenth-century Church, became acquainted with Joseph Smith in 1834. Wilford felt divinely prompted to keep careful records, a prompting which motivated his extensive diary keeping: "It may be thought Strange why a man of as busy a life as I have lead, Should spend as much time as I have in journalizing," he reflected later in his life, adding, "I have been inspired and required of the Lord to do it."⁵⁹ He was proud that "some of the most glorious Gospel Sermons truths & revelations that were given from God to this people through the mouth of the

Prophets Joseph, Brigham, Heber, & the Twelve Could not be found upon the Earth on record ownly [i.e., except] in my Journals.”⁶⁰ However, missionary and other assignments that took him away from Church headquarters for extended periods prevented the energetic diarist from reporting more than sixteen Joseph Smith discourses. Of these, nine are exclusive reports, recorded by no one else. Although Wilford’s diary shows some knowledge of shorthand (probably that of the eighteenth-century Englishman, Samuel Taylor), Wilford was not skilled enough to make an exact record of a speech. Reflecting upon his ability later in his life, he recalled, “I could write a sermon of Josephs a week after it was delivered almost word for word & after it was written it was taken from . . . my mind. This was a gift from God unto me.”⁶¹ But as the sermons themselves confirm, this statement should be interpreted to mean that Wilford Woodruff had a gift to preserve the general content of the Prophet’s addresses — not a verbatim record.

In addition to the inability of clerks to report verbatim all that Joseph Smith said, years elapsed between the delivery and the editing of most of the discourses. When Joseph Smith was killed in June 1844, the manuscript of his history had been completed to August 1838, and by the time the Saints began leaving Nauvoo in 1846, the history had been compiled to March 1843. Nevertheless, most of the reports of Joseph Smith’s discourses were not incorporated into the history until labor resumed on that work several years after the arrival of the Saints in Salt Lake Valley; the boxes containing the contents of the Historian’s Office were not unpacked until 7 June 1853.⁶² Even then, more than a year elapsed before work recommenced on the Prophet’s speeches.

The death of Willard Richards in 1855 further hampered editorial work. As Church historian, Richards had become the guiding mind behind the compilation of the history after the death of Joseph Smith. But ill health and the strain of the exodus to Salt Lake Valley brought his death before he was able to prepare the reports of Joseph Smith’s speeches for the history, a work that would have included fleshing out the gaps in his own records of the discourses.

In 1855, when newly appointed Church Historian George A. Smith, assisted by Wilford Woodruff, began work on the history, he faced complex editorial challenges.⁶³ Where the Prophet’s discourses had been reported in coherent, connected prose, the editors simply copied the original reports into the history. But where the original reports were less complete, the task was more complicated. Using procedures typical of the literary world of their

day, the editors inserted words, phrases, and sometimes even a paragraph, to smooth out or bridge gaps in the reported text of a speech without indicating that the added material was an editorial expansion of the original report.⁶⁴

The Historian's Office Journal for 1854 to 1856 documents the work of preparing the Smith sermons for inclusion in the history — a process that consisted of blending reports where more than one existed, fleshing out and filling gaps where reports were incomplete, and reading the final product to the President of the Church and others who may have heard the original speech. Wilford Woodruff noted on 16 February 1855 that he spent “part of the day at the Historian's Office examining my journals containing Joseph's sermons preparatory for publication in the Church History.”⁶⁵ The following day Robert Campbell was “copying [a] sermon of Joseph's reported by W. Woodruff.” The day after, Wilford spent “most of the day making out & filling up one of Joseph's sermons,” while George A. Smith and Jonathan Grimshaw were “up at [the] Presidents office reading Joseph[']s Sermon” of 11 June 1843.⁶⁶

On 29 March George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock visited President Young to read to him the finished text of a discourse the Prophet gave to the Nauvoo Relief Society. But the President referred them to Eliza R. Snow since she had written the original report of the address. She in turn gave them both “the original Sermon in the Female R[elief] S[ociety] Record” and one of her own journals, whereupon Smith and Bullock returned to the office and worked until 10 P.M. The next day Heber C. Kimball came to the Historian's Office, “heard Joseph's sermon Read,” and “liked it better as revised.” On 8 August Brigham Young spent some time in the Historian's Office listening to “the remarks of Prest. Joseph Smith before the Female Relief Socy. . . . Tho[mas] Bullock read them to him, and he was much pleased with them.”⁶⁷

Repeatedly in the months from November 1854 to July 1856, George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Robert Campbell, John L. Smith, Jonathan Grimshaw, Leo Hawkins, and Thomas Bullock “amalgamat[ed]” reports of Joseph Smith's speeches, read them to the President, and copied them into the history. George A. Smith described his work on the discourses as “an immense labor, requiring the deepest thought and the closest application.” He emphasized that the editors took the utmost care “to convey the ideas in the prophet's style.”⁶⁸ To assure the greatest accuracy, they read their work to Church leaders who had heard the original discourses in some instances and were in a position to insure the doctrinal integrity of what was said. “Prest B. Young called & staid

a couple of hours this afternoon, and heard minutes and sermons of March 7th 1844 read by T[homas] B[ullock] and also Joseph's sermon of the 10th March 1844, and sanctioned them," according to the Historian's Office Journal, and "G.[eorge] A. S.[mith was] revising sermons & minutes for History & conferring with Prest. Young all day."⁶⁹

Concern for the integrity of the editorial work is evident from the diligence of the historian in having the finished product read to President Young. In November 1855 George A. Smith and Thomas Bullock went to see the President to read a completed Joseph Smith speech but found that "he was gone up to the Canal terminus." They tried again the same evening, but the President "had just rode out." The journal adds that this was the sixth time the historian had tried to read the account to the President "but failed each time."⁷⁰ Recognizing that surviving longhand reports were the only sources for Joseph Smith's speeches, George A. Smith and his associates in the Historian's Office took the utmost care to report them as completely and accurately as possible according to the standards of their time.

One aspect of the editing process that required careful comparison and concentration was the fusing of texts where more than one report was made of an address. A prime example is the King Follett discourse delivered by Joseph Smith on 7 April 1844. Lasting a reported two and a quarter hours, the published discourse was derived by dovetailing the reports of four persons who heard the speech: Wilford Woodruff, Willard Richards, Thomas Bullock, and William Clayton. The original reports reveal the comparative ability of these men to record what they heard on that occasion.⁷¹ Assuming Joseph Smith spoke approximately one hundred words per minute on the average (with no loudspeaking system to amplify his voice, he would have spoken somewhat slowly), the entire speech would have contained about 13,500 words. The longest of the four reports is Thomas Bullock's 4,500-word summary, which represents about 25 percent of the total discourse. William Clayton's 2,800-word report represents about 17 percent of the original; Wilford Woodruff's 2,400 words, 14 percent; and Willard Richards's 900 words, about 5 percent of the original.⁷² These incomplete reports bear out Wilford Woodruff's comment recorded by John Whitaker: "You can imagine how little we could get during an address of several hours, and the notes taken in long hand."⁷³ When dovetailed together, the four reports comprise the 6,700-word version of the discourse published in the *History of the Church*. Although this version represents only about half the length of the total speech, it is no doubt an accurate representation of the

main themes. What is missing is the precise word order and sentence structure that would most clearly reflect Joseph Smith's personality and thought.

In comparing the published discourses of the Prophet with original reports of what he said, one finds elements of harshness, hypercriticism, egotism, ill humor, boasting, etc., cropping up at the points of heaviest editing — traits that have filtered into the record during the reporting and editing process and that appear to be more characteristic of the reporters and editors than of Joseph Smith. Thus the editing process has superimposed the personality of others over that of the Prophet. The following quotations, for example, were added editorially to original reports of the Prophet's speeches to bridge disconnected thoughts or to flesh out ideas that were partially preserved:

The only principle upon which they [Joseph Smith's enemies] judge me is by comparing my acts with the foolish traditions of their fathers and nonsensical teachings of hireling priests, whose object and aim were to keep the people in ignorance for the sake of filthy lucre; or as the prophet says, to feed themselves, not the flock.⁷⁴

The Constitution should contain a provision that every officer of the Government who should neglect or refuse to extend the protection guaranteed in the Constitution should be subject to capital punishment; and then the president of the United States would not say, "*Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you,*" a governor issue exterminating orders, or judges say, "The men ought to have the protection of law, but it won't please the mob; the men must die, anyhow, to satisfy the clamor of the rabble; they must be hung, or Missouri be damned to all eternity." Executive writs could be issued when they ought to be, and not be made instruments of cruelty to oppress the innocent, and persecute men whose religion is unpopular.⁷⁵

[Speaking of the Bible] Ignorant translators, careless transcribers, or designing and corrupt priests have committed many errors.⁷⁶

Willard Richards's 19 April 1843 report of an address reads in part, "If you can get hands onto the House, it will give such an impetus to the work, it will never stop till it is completed." This passage was edited to read, "If you can get hands onto the Nauvoo House, it will give such an impetus to the work, that it will take all the devils out of hell to stop it."⁷⁷

In the case of Joseph Smith's 21 May 1843 speech, Richards reported one segment in five words: "rough stone roling down hill."⁷⁸ This phrase was fleshed out by the editors to read:

I am like a huge, rough stone rolling down from a high mountain; and the only polishing I get is when some corner gets rubbed off by

coming in contact with something else, striking with accelerated force against religious bigotry, priestcraft, lawyer-craft, doctor-craft, lying editors, suborned judges and jurors, and the authority of perjured executives, backed by mobs, blasphemers, licentious and corrupt men and women — all hell knocking off a corner here and a corner there. Thus I will become a smooth and polished shaft in the quiver of the Almighty, who will give me dominion over all and every one of them, when their refuge of lies shall fail, and their hiding place shall be destroyed, while these smooth-polished stones with which I come in contact become marred.⁷⁹

While this version may very well reflect the imagery the Prophet used, the phrasing and word choice may be later creations.

Richards reported a portion of Joseph Smith's discourse of 23 July 1843 in these words:

Although I am under the necessity of bearing the infirmities of other men, &c — on the other hand the same characters when they discover a weakness in brother Joseph, blast his character, &c — all that law, &c through him to the church. — he cannot be borne with a moment.

Men mouth my troubles, when I in trouble they forget it all I believe in a principle of reciprocity — if we live in a devilish world — &c —

After these lines were edited on 11 July 1856 for inclusion in the history, they read:

Notwithstanding my weaknesses, I am under the necessity of bearing the infirmities of others, who, when they get into difficulty, hang on to me tenaciously to get them out, and wish me to cover their faults. On the other hand, the same characters, when they discover a weakness in Brother Joseph, endeavor to blast his reputation, and publish it to all the world, and thereby aid my enemies in destroying the Saints. Although the law is given through me to the Church, I cannot be borne with a moment by such men. They are ready to destroy me for the least foible, and publish my imaginary failings from Dan to Beersheba, though they are too ignorant of the things of God, which have been revealed to me, to judge of my actions, motives or conduct, in any correct manner whatever.

The only principle upon which they judge me is by comparing my acts with the foolish traditions of their fathers and nonsensical teachings of hireling priests, whose object and aim were to keep the people in ignorance for the sake of filthy lucre; or as the prophet says, to feed themselves, not the flock. Men often come to me with their troubles, and seek my will, crying, Oh, Brother Joseph, help me! help me! But when I am in trouble, few of them sympathize with me, or extend to me relief. I believe in a principle of reciprocity, if we do live in a devilish and wicked world where men busy themselves in watching for iniquity, and lay snares for those who reprove in the gate.⁸⁰

A reading of these extracts raises the question, How accurately could even a witness to the original speech reconstruct the missing words of his own report more than a decade after the event? Studies of memory suggest the difficulty of recalling such precise detail.⁸¹ Probably the best that can be hoped for in reconstructing missing segments is that the disconnected elements of the available reports provided the prompts necessary to preserve the general theme. George A. Smith summarized his editorial work as

an immense labor, requiring the deepest thought and the closest application, as there were mostly only two or three words (about half written) to a sentence. The greatest care has been taken to convey the ideas in the prophets style as near as possible; and in no case has the sentiment been varied that I know of; as I heard the most of his discourses myself, was on the most intimate terms with him, have retained a most vivid recollection of his teachings, and was well acquainted with his principles and motives.⁸²

In the instances cited here, the death of one of the prime witnesses, Willard Richards, complicated the editorial work even further.

A recent study indicates that a person's motives, biases, mood, etc., at the time of reconstructing past events, rather than proximity to the events, have a crucial impact upon the way the events are remembered.⁸³ Since Joseph Smith's discourses were edited following the trauma of his murder and the exodus of the Latter-day Saints from Nauvoo in the wake of mob violence and frayed feelings, these events may have had at least some effect on the way certain missing elements of the Prophet's speeches were remembered. However clearly the above editorial insertions reflect the gist of Joseph Smith's discourses, there appears to be a postmartyrdom personality unintentionally injected by the editors to lash back at those forces that killed their prophet and persecuted the Saints.

This finding supports the conclusion that the main value of reports of Joseph Smith's speeches lies in the insight they give to the teachings and doctrines of the Prophet and the early Church, but as a window for observing his personality, these sources are not as informative as others that more accurately preserve his prose.

In the absence of videotape and movie footage, one of the best avenues, which is undistorted by clerical and editorial barriers, for studying Joseph Smith's personality as a speaker is the Prophet's holograph writings — those materials produced by his own hand and hence by his own mind. Note for example the following lines from an 1833 Joseph Smith holograph letter:

O thou disposer of all events, thou dispenser of all good! In the name of Jesus Christ I ask thee to inspire my heart, indite my thoughts, guide my pen, to note some kind word to these my Brethren in Zion that like the rays of the sun upon the Earth warmeth the face thereof so let this word I write warm the hearts of my Brethren. Or as the gentle rain descendeth upon the earth or the dews upon the mountains refresheth the face of nature and causeth her to smile, so give unto thy servant Joseph a word that shall refresh the hearts and revive the spirits yea souls of those afflicted ones who have been called to leave their homes and go to a strange land not knowing what should befall them.⁸⁴

Elinore Partridge, in her important analysis of Joseph Smith's style, an analysis based upon a careful study of his holographs, has provided valuable insight to the Prophet's personality as a speaker.⁸⁵ She identified several stylistic markers that characterize Joseph Smith's prose. Perhaps the most prominent of these was his tendency to use a long, unbroken sentence structure composed of interrelated thoughts with no clear stopping point, connected by the conjunctions *and*, *but*, *for*, *so*, etc. Another characteristic was his tendency to use an unusually large number of demonstratives and pronouns, words such as *that*, *this*, *those*, *they*, *these*, *which*, *who*, etc., that have little meaning without specific referents. He used modifying phrases separated from the parts of speech they modify: "I have visited a grove which is just back of the town almost every day where I can be secluded from the eyes of any mortal"; "they are called to contend with the beast of the wilderness for a long time whose jaws are open to devour them." Partridge also noted Joseph's use of the demonstratives *this/these* ("in this my lonely retreat," "know this that," "these my brothers") and his frequent use of a gerund or participle in place of an infinitive or nominal form ("this led me to searching the scriptures," "to the astonishing of every beholder"). An exception to his use of the participle rather than infinitive was his recurring use of the infinitive with the verb *feel* ("I feel to trust," "feel to thank," "feel to exclaim," "feel to humble myself," "feel to mourn"). To repeat or emphasize a particular point, Joseph Smith used words such as *exceeding*, *ever*, *yea* ("it was with exceeding joy," "ever full of love," "ever winning," "called to give up their wives and children, yea and their own lives also," "may I not say thou wilt, yea I will say Lord thou wilt"). He also provided emphasis by repeating key words in a phrase ("prepare you that you might be prepared," "pray in my prayers," "rejoice with great joy"). He used certain expressions common in the nineteenth century among the uneducated, such as *seeing* or *seeing that* ("it cannot be seeing that"), *but what* ("there is not one place in me but what is filled," "I know nothing but what you have

done the best you could”), *for to* (“the Lord had prepared spectacles for to read the book”). Finally, he used *above* in the place of comparatives (“pillar of light above the brightness of the sun at noonday”) and the King James Bible word forms *thine* and *mine* (“thine enemies,” “mine anger”).⁸⁶

Perhaps more revealing of Joseph Smith’s personality as a speaker than his stylistic word structure are the images he used in his prose. Partridge identifies a number of these. Joseph used words denoting bondage — *bind, bound, binding, bonds* — to designate emotional ties that unite people (“thus we are bound together in chains as well as the cords of everlasting love,” “binding spirit of the gospel,” “bound by faith”). He used *heart* to show a binding of thought and emotion (“we are of one heart and one mind,” “it cheered my heart,” “the language of my heart”). He used scriptural images, including the bow, quiver, polished shaft, sword, plowshare, vineyard, grapes, and fruit of the vine. He referred to things hidden or obscured or brought to light by use of images of treasures buried in the ground, and he frequently used natural phenomena — cloudbursts, lightning, thunder, sun, rain, meteors, snow, mountains, cooling streams, and plowed fields.⁸⁷

Occasional repetitions and awkward constructions in Joseph Smith’s prose further reflect his lack of skill in the formalities of language and support the statements about his being uneducated. (“I want you to take the best care of the family you can which I believe you will do all you can.” He spoke of “things I cannot is not prudent for me to write.”)⁸⁸ With little formal education, he wrote in a style that was often colloquial and conversational; with no prepared text, he delivered speeches that were much the same — that were extended conversations. Hence, there is reason to believe that his speaking closely resembled his writing.

In his prose one senses the tremendous importance Joseph Smith placed on the message he had to impart to mankind and the limitations he felt from having to deliver that message through a language delivery system in which he was not perfectly prepared. When chided on one occasion for allowing revelations to be published with grammatical imperfections, he responded that he was more concerned with the message than with the details of spelling and grammar.⁸⁹ His discomfort with the language can be seen from apologetic statements in his personal writings — “I hope you will excuse . . . my inability in conveying my ideas in writing”⁹⁰ — and his lamentation, “O Lord God deliver us in thy due time from the little narrow prison almost as it were total darkness of paper pen and ink and a crooked broken scattered and imperfect language.”⁹¹ The narrowness of the language prison that

confronted him is hinted in his effort to describe the transcendent experience of his early visions, when he referred to a “pillar” of “fire” (which he changed to “light”), “above the brightness of the sun at noon day” that descended “gracefully” (which he changed to “gradually”) until it fell upon him. He spoke of personages “whose brightness and glory defy all description” and of seeing a heavenly being whose countenance was “like lightning,” who wore clothing of “exquisite whiteness . . . beyond anything earthly” and whose whole being was “glorious beyond description.”

Yet despite Joseph Smith’s limitations in institutional learning and his feelings of inadequacy, literary specialist Arthur Henry King has given Joseph high marks in his craftsmanship in the English language. As a talented stylist, King, who spent most of his life “being disinclined to be impressed” by the things he read, was “deeply impressed” when he first read Joseph Smith’s story. He described Joseph’s account of the First Vision in the beginning pages of his history as “beautiful, well-balanced prose.” And he compared the Prophet with Samuel Taylor Coleridge, “perhaps the best English prose writer of that time.” King noted that with Joseph having had almost no formal schooling, the outstanding thing about the Prophet is “what he did with what he got: he translated the Book of Mormon, wrote the Doctrine and Covenants under inspiration, and accomplished other tasks which show the extent of his genius. The fact that he was inspired by the Lord does not diminish his achievements.” King suggested that “the contrast between Joseph Smith’s limited education and the inspiration of his translation” can best be seen by reading in the 1830 edition of the Book of Mormon: “It brings Joseph Smith home to us in a very different way from the verse-divided, modern-punctuated, spelling-corrected” editions.⁹²

Although we cannot hear Joseph Smith’s voice, Partridge’s study of his holograph writings identifies five distinguishing features of his style that help us picture him as a speaker, features he shared with some of the finest users of the English language: (1) his use of biblical word forms and examples; (2) his ability “to create visual descriptions which allowed his audience to picture what he was talking about”; (3) his keen narrative sense; (4) his familiar, rather than formal, speaking style; and (5) “the tremendous sense of joy and vitality” that permeated his prose. This quality impressed her the most: “In contrast to the dark visions of Calvinism and the dry, rational theology of Unitarianism” of his time, his language emphasizes “the wonder of existence and the love of humanity.”⁹³

Part of the problem of obtaining an accurate historical understanding of Joseph Smith has been the difficulty, to use

Catherine D. Bowen's phrase, of returning to "that foreign country, the past,"⁹⁴ tracking him through a vast thicket where the footprints of other men are interlaced with his. No observer can see Joseph Smith's personality or innermost feelings in what others wrote for him. Yet much of the source material bearing his signature was written by other people. Students of the Prophet who try to analyze his mind and personality on the basis of given documents, without distinguishing between his thoughts and those of others, will end up with a monstrosity made up of Joseph Smith and numerous other individuals.

To paraphrase Ernest R. May, in the complicated world of historical sources, conscientious writers have had difficulty getting hold of the protoplasm that would bring Joseph Smith to life.⁹⁵ Like the bones concealed in the wrappings of an ancient mummy, the sharp outlines of the Prophet lie hidden beneath the personalities of clerks, editors, and ghostwriters. None of those who recorded Joseph Smith's speeches realized that their efforts to preserve what he said would partially obscure the very greatness and individuality they sought to make immortal. And yet, because they recorded what they did while laboring under disruptive social conditions and while using literary and editorial rules different from our own, we do have an important body of documents related to Joseph Smith, and for that they deserve our everlasting gratitude. Using that work intelligently requires a studious effort to understand its nature and fully appreciate its content — a challenge facing all who seek to probe the mind and personality of Joseph Smith.

NOTES

Unless otherwise indicated, unpublished sources cited here are in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), which are used by permission.

¹2 Nephi 3:17.

²Jared Carter, *Autobiography*, 17, manuscript.

³Mathew L. Davis letter of 6 February 1840, cited in Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960), 4:78–79 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

⁴Peter H. Burnett, *Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1880), 40.

⁵Luman A. Shurtliff, *Journal*, 52.

⁶*New York Commercial Advertiser* 46 (17 August 1843): 2.

⁷Edwin de Leon, *Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents* (London: Ward and Downey, 1890), 57.

⁸Lorenzo Snow, "The Grand Destiny of Man," *Deseret Evening News*, 20 July 1901, 22. On Joseph Smith as a speaker, see Calvin N. Smith, "A Critical Analysis of the Public Speaking of

Joseph Smith, First President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 1965).

⁹Joseph Smith, 1832 History, published in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, ed. and comp. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1984), 4–6.

¹⁰Jared Carter, Autobiography, 17.

¹¹Joseph L. Robinson, Journal, 22.

¹²Eliza R. Snow, Diary, 13 June 1843, photocopy of manuscript.

¹³John Spiers, Autobiography and Diary, unpaginated.

¹⁴Parley P. Pratt, Jr., ed., *Autobiography of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1979), 45–46.

¹⁵William Rowley, Diary, 12 November 1843, University of Utah Library, Salt Lake City, as cited in Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 258.

¹⁶James Palmer, Journal, 69, underlining in the original.

¹⁷Newel Knight, Journal, March or April 1838 (presumed from internal evidence).

¹⁸Brigham Young address in Salt Lake City, 7 October 1857, *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool, 1854–1886), 5:332.

¹⁹Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 27 April 1834; published in Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal* (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983), 1:9.

²⁰Woodruff, Diary, 6 April 1837, 1:133.

²¹Woodruff, Diary, 9 April 1837, 1:138–39.

²²Woodruff, Diary, 19 February 1842, 2:155–56, underlining in the original.

²³George Laub, Diary, 19; published in Eugene England, ed., "George Laub's Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 158.

²⁴Burnett, *Recollections*, 40.

²⁵Caroline Barnes Crosby, Autobiography and Journal, [35], Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

²⁶Alfred Cordon, Journal and Travels in the Ministry of the Gospel, 25 August 1841–11 June 1844, 175.

²⁷Edward H. Carr, *What Is History?* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf and Co., 1964), 27.

²⁸Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet*, 2d ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971), vii; see also viii, 25, 405.

²⁹In response to a question on the subject, Brodie said she was "not permitted to see any manuscript material" in the LDS Church Archives, nor did she take advantage of an opportunity to see "a diary of Joseph Smith in his own handwriting" after her uncle, David O. McKay, told her she could see it. "I felt that I would rather not take advantage of my uncle's name to use this material. I wrote him saying I would not ask for any more material and I never went back to the church library. So, technically, I was given access, but I didn't use it" ("Fawn McKay Brodie: An Oral History Interview," *Dialogue* 14 [Summer 1981]: 103).

³⁰Ernest R. May, "Ghost Writing and History," *American Scholar* 22 (Autumn 1953): 460–61.

³¹On early Church record keeping, see Dean C. Jessee, "Joseph Smith and the Beginning of Mormon Record Keeping," in *The Prophet Joseph Smith: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, ed. Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1988), 138–60; and Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979).

³²Calculations based on the author's personal research. The appointment of Sidney Rigdon in 1833 as "spokesman unto this people . . . even a spokesman unto my servant Joseph" (D&C 100:9) may have resulted in fewer speaking opportunities for the Prophet prior to the settlement of Nauvoo; Rigdon's stature diminished after Nauvoo was established.

³³Snow, "The Grand Destiny of Man," 22; see also LeRoi C. Snow, "How Lorenzo Snow Found God," *Improvement Era* (February 1937): 83. In October 1833 Lydia Goldthwait Bailey heard Joseph Smith when he came to Mt. Pleasant, Canada: "The Prophet commenced by relating the scenes of his early life. He told how the angel visited him, of his finding the plates, the translation of them. . . . [He] bore a faithful testimony that the Priesthood was again restored to the earth, and that God and His Son had conferred upon him the keys of the Aaronic and Melchizedek Priesthoods" (*Lydia Knight's History*, The First Book of the Noble Women's Lives Series [Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1883], 18).

³⁴Edward Stevenson, Journal, 19–20.

³⁵William W. Phelps to Sally Phelps, 2 June 1835.

³⁶Joseph Smith, Journal, 14 November 1835; published in Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 84.

³⁷Parley P. Pratt to the Elders and Brethren of The Church of Latter Day Saints in Canada, 27 November 1836, John Taylor Collection, 1829–1894.

³⁸Pratt, *Autobiography*, 298–99.

³⁹Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1983), 2, 3.

⁴⁰McLellin to Oliver Cowdery, 16 April 1835, published in *Messenger and Advocate* 1 (April 1835): 102.

⁴¹Joseph Smith, Journal, 18 February 1844; Thomas Bullock, Diary, same date; compare *History of the Church* 6:221 (different words: “a very large assembly”).

⁴²See the 25 February 1844 entry in the diaries of Joseph Smith, Wilford Woodruff 2:351–52, and Thomas Bullock; compare *History of the Church* 6:225.

⁴³Ehat and Cook, *Words of Joseph Smith*, 258.

⁴⁴Joseph Smith, Journal, 13 June 1844; compare *History of the Church* 6:461.

⁴⁵Joseph Smith, Journal, 13 December 1835; compare *History of the Church* 2:331.

⁴⁶Joseph Smith, Journal, 6 May 1838; compare *History of the Church* 3:27.

⁴⁷Kirtland Council Minutes, 17 September 1837.

⁴⁸Joseph Smith, Journal, 1 March 1842.

⁴⁹Woodruff, Diary, 1 March 1842, 2:156; Joseph Smith, Journal, 1 March 1842.

⁵⁰Woodruff, Diary, 3 July 1842, 2:181.

⁵¹*Nauvoo Neighbor*, 22 May 1844.

⁵²Joseph Smith, Journal, 13 August 1843; compare *History of the Church* 5:529.

⁵³Doctrine and Covenants 24:6. One possible exception is the “article” or treatise “composed” by Joseph Smith and read by Robert B. Thompson at the 5 October 1840 conference of the Church (see *History of the Church* 4:206–12; the manuscript in the handwriting of Thompson is in the Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives).

⁵⁴Woodruff, Diary, 20 March 1842, 2:159.

⁵⁵Joseph Smith, Journal, 11 June 1843; compare *History of the Church* 5:423.

⁵⁶A study of those who wrote for Joseph Smith is in Dean C. Jessee, “The Writing of Joseph Smith’s History,” *BYU Studies* 11 (Summer 1971): 439–73.

⁵⁷Franklin D. Richards, “Bibliography,” July 1880, microfilm of the Bancroft Collection, LDS Church Archives.

⁵⁸See the essay on Willard Richards in Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 3–14; Howard C. Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858” (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979), 84–96; and Searle’s article on Willard Richards in this issue of *BYU Studies*.

⁵⁹Woodruff, Diary, 7 February 1880, 7:551. See Dean C. Jessee, “Wilford Woodruff,” in *The Presidents of the Church*, ed. Leonard J. Arrington (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1986), 117–43.

⁶⁰Woodruff, Diary, 17 March 1857, 5:37.

⁶¹Woodruff, Diary, 17 March 1857, 5:36.

⁶²“About 9 a.m. T.B. [Thomas Bullock] commenced removing heavy boxes of records down [to] WR’s [Willard Richards’s] office and unpacked 2 of them they not having been seen since TB assisted [to] fasten them down on 4 Feb. 1846” (Historian’s Office Journal, 7 June 1853).

⁶³See the essay on George A. Smith in Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, chapter 2; and Searle, “Early Mormon Historiography,” 101–33.

⁶⁴On the writing of Church history in the nineteenth century, see Dean C. Jessee, “The Reliability of Joseph Smith’s History,” *Journal of Mormon History* 3 (1976): 23–46.

⁶⁵Woodruff, Diary, 16 February 1855, 4:305.

⁶⁶Historian’s Office Journal, 13, 14 February 1855.

⁶⁷Historian’s Office Journal, 29 March, 30 March, 8 August 1855.

⁶⁸George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856, in the book containing the docket of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, 218.

⁶⁹Historian’s Office Journal, 18 September 1855.

⁷⁰Historian’s Office Journal, 17 November 1855.

⁷¹The discourse is published in *History of the Church*, 6:302–17; see also Donald Q. Cannon, “The King Follett Discourse: Joseph Smith’s Greatest Sermon in Historical Perspective,” *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 179–92; and Stan Larson, “The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text,” *BYU Studies* 18 (Winter 1978): 193–208.

⁷²Calculations based on the author’s personal research.

⁷³John Mills Whitaker, Journal, 7:73, typescript (311), John Mills Whitaker Collection, MS 2, Journal 7, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah, Marriott Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, 84112.

⁷⁴Joseph Smith discourse, 23 July 1843; compare *History of the Church* 5:516–17.

⁷⁵Compare Willard Richards’s report of Joseph Smith’s 15 October 1843 discourse in Joseph Smith’s journal with *History of the Church* 6:57.

⁷⁶Compare Richards’s report of Joseph Smith’s 15 October 1843 discourse in Joseph Smith’s journal with *History of the Church* 6:57.

⁷⁷Compare Richards’s report in Joseph Smith’s journal, 19 April 1843, with *History of the Church* 5:366.

⁷⁸Joseph Smith, Journal, 21 May 1843.

⁷⁹*History of the Church* 5:401.

⁸⁰Compare Richards's report in Joseph Smith's journal, 23 July 1843, with *History of the Church* 5:516–17.

⁸¹See, for example, Edmund Blair Bolles, *Remembering and Forgetting: Inquiries into the Nature of Memory* (New York: Walker and Company, 1988); Ulric Neisser, "John Dean's Memory: A Case Study," *Cognition* 9 (1981): 1–22; and David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989): 1117–29.

⁸²George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856, in the book containing the docket of the Municipal Court of Nauvoo, 218.

⁸³Thelen, "Memory and American History," 1121.

⁸⁴Joseph Smith to William, John, and others, 18 August 1833; published in Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 283–84.

⁸⁵Elinore H. Partridge, "Characteristics of Joseph Smith's Style," Task Papers in LDS History, no. 14, 1976, typescript.

⁸⁶Partridge, "Characteristics of Joseph Smith's Style," 5–9.

⁸⁷Partridge, "Characteristics of Joseph Smith's Style," 9–11.

⁸⁸Partridge, "Characteristics of Joseph Smith's Style," 13.

⁸⁹Joseph Smith to Edward, William, and others, 30 March 1834, retained copy in Oliver Cowdery Letterbook, 30–36, Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.; published in Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 315.

⁹⁰Joseph Smith to Moses Nickerson, 19 November 1833, in Joseph Smith Letterbook 1:62–65.

⁹¹Joseph Smith to William Phelps, 27 November 1832, in Joseph Smith Letterbook 1, in Jessee, *Personal Writings*, 260.

⁹²Arthur Henry King, *The Abundance of the Heart* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1986), 197–205. Possibly the contrast is even more telling when the extant pages of the original Book of Mormon manuscript are read instead of the first published edition. See Dean C. Jessee, "The Original Book of Mormon Manuscript," *BYU Studies* 10 (Spring 1970): 259–78.

⁹³Partridge, "Characteristics of Joseph Smith's Style," 13–14, 20.

⁹⁴Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Biography: The Craft and the Calling* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968), 69.

⁹⁵May, "Ghost Writing and History," 465.

Willard Richards as Historian

Howard C. Searle

From the very organization of the Church on 6 April 1830, the writing of the history of the Church was considered a “duty imperative.”¹ Although Joseph Smith was the prime motivator behind most of the Church’s early record keeping and history writing, he lacked the necessary literary skills for much of the work and therefore relied heavily upon his clerks and the Church historians to accomplish the day-to-day work. But with variations in title and frequent changes in personnel, the offices of Church recorder and Church historian functioned erratically until 1843, when both callings were consolidated and assigned to Willard Richards. Richards, who brought new stability, talent, and impetus to these offices, was singularly qualified among all the early elders of the Church.

As a boy, Richards eagerly sought education and demonstrated both an affinity and an aptitude for learning. One author suggests that Richards occasionally provoked the displeasure of his father, Joseph, for staying up late to read by candlelight and then being unable to arise the next morning in time for his chores on the family farm at Richmond, Massachusetts.² In his quest for religious knowledge, he apparently became disillusioned with the brand of Calvinism being preached in the family’s Congregational Church and so remained rather aloof from organized religion. During his studies in many different fields, he taught school for a while. In his scientific pursuits, he became interested in electricity and subsequently presented lectures on the subject in some nearby towns. While on one of these lecture tours, he acquired a copy of Dr. Samuel Thomson’s *Practice of Medicine* and was persuaded to become an herbal doctor specializing in the use of lobelia. He launched a medical career by successfully prescribing for his two ailing sisters, and after purchasing a patent for twenty dollars, he expanded his practice to the community.³

Howard C. Searle is a Church Educational System instructor, Salt Lake University Institute of Religion.

Dr. Richards's life took a new direction when he happened upon a copy of the Book of Mormon which had been left by his cousin, Brigham Young, who had already joined the Saints in northern Ohio. He read the book through twice in ten days and immediately began selling his medicines, "settling his accounts," and making preparations to travel the seven hundred miles to the Church headquarters at Kirtland, Ohio. Only after a year and a half of investigation did he join the Church in 1836. As a thirty-two-year-old bachelor, unencumbered by wife or family, he spent the next several years doing missionary work in the eastern states and England. While abroad, he married a refined English girl, Jennetta, with the same surname as his own, and was soon after ordained an Apostle by Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of Twelve then laboring in the rapidly expanding English Mission. In England Richards demonstrated his literary abilities by assisting Parley P. Pratt as editor of the *Millennial Star*. Leaving his wife and a new son in England until he could prepare a place for them to live in America, Elder Richards returned to the United States with some of his fellow Apostles, arriving in Nauvoo, Illinois, in August 1841.⁴ He boarded with his cousin, Brigham Young, for a short time, but on 12 January 1842 Richards moved in with Joseph Smith⁵ to facilitate the rapidly escalating clerical and literary work. During the previous month, he had been appointed private secretary to Joseph Smith, recorder for the uncompleted temple at Nauvoo, and general Church clerk. Shortly after his election to the Nauvoo City Council, he became the recorder for that group and clerk of the municipal court as well.⁶ On 21 December 1842 he was interviewed by Joseph Smith and given the additional assignment of Church historian.⁷ Seven months later he was appointed Church recorder.⁸ To accommodate Richards in his heavy clerical responsibilities, Joseph Smith gave him space in the Prophet's own new office on the second floor of his brick store in Nauvoo. The two men continued a very close relationship that was broken only by Richards's short trip to meet his family in the East and by the forced seclusion of the Prophet while he tried to outmaneuver his enemies.

Willard Richards undoubtedly recorded more of the sources that were used in the later compilation of the history of the Church than any other single person. As the "intimate disciple," he kept Joseph Smith's personal journal for nearly four years, making one entry in Carthage Jail shortly before the attack of the mob. His notes and recollections of those events became the basis for his well-known "Two Minutes in Jail," which has been the principal source for all the standard pro-Latter-day Saint accounts of the martyrdom. In addition to keeping Joseph Smith's personal records,

Richards also wrote regularly in most of the Church and municipal records and even directed and organized the work of the other Church clerks (see table 1).

TABLE 1. Scribes and Clerks for Major Church History Sources

Church History Source	Pages	Dates Kept	Scribes and Clerks
Joseph Smith Letter Book (1829–1843)	245	1837–43	James Mulholland Robert B. Thompson Howard Coray Willard Richards William Clayton Others
Nauvoo Municipal Court Docket	102	1841–45	James Sloan Willard Richards Thomas Bullock
Nauvoo City Council Proceedings	241	1841–45	James Sloan Willard Richards Thomas Bullock
Joseph Smith Journal	281	1842–43	Willard Richards
The Law of the Lord	315	1842–45?	Joseph Smith Willard Richards Thomas Bullock William Clayton
Joseph Smith Journal	309	1843	Willard Richards
Joseph Smith Journal	280	1843–44	Willard Richards
Joseph Smith Journal	280	1844	Willard Richards

Source: LDS Church Archives. Handwriting identified by Dean C. Jessee, senior research historian, Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University.

Richards kept Joseph Smith's journals in a first-person narrative, although the material was obviously not all dictated by the Prophet. This first-person approach preserved the narrative form of the earlier journals that did contain holographic and dictated entries by the Prophet and apparently conformed with Joseph's general plans for the Church annals. Many of the entries in the journals are brief notes that Richards intended to expand later as he wrote the history of the Church or obtained information from others, but, unfortunately, this "filling in" was not completed before his

death. His successor, George A. Smith, was left with the task of deciphering Richards's notes and fleshing out the narrative as best he could.⁹ This task was especially difficult for Joseph Smith's sermons, which were recorded mostly in longhand notes that required considerable emendation.

In addition to keeping the Prophet's journals and most of the official Church records which later served as the basic narrative framework for the *History of the Church*, Richards also kept a personal journal, which often corroborated or supplemented the other sources he was recording. Begun in 1836, his personal journal was mostly a missionary diary until he came to Nauvoo in 1841. It contains some rudimentary shorthand, and many entries are just brief notes; there are some gaps, notably 1848–49. And the diary was discontinued in 1852, two years before his death. These journals, totaling nineteen small volumes, were used by Richards and later by George A. Smith in compiling the history of the Church.

Richards's earliest direct involvement in the compilation of the history of the Church was apparently the addition of some notes during a period in 1842 when W. W. Phelps was writing in the first volume of the Manuscript History. Phelps completed the Manuscript History down to August 1831 (page 130); then the narrative is interrupted by three pages of notes in the handwriting of Willard Richards. These notes, captioned A, B, and C, are out of chronological order and contain supplementary information relating to Joseph Smith's early life and visions. In the earlier pages of the manuscript are small notations which refer to these later interpolations and which clearly indicate where they were intended to fit into the preceding narrative. A reference to the notes in Richards's diary establishes the fact that they were written in December 1842.¹⁰ The notes reflect information that must have been obtained from Joseph himself.

On 11 December 1841 the Prophet expressed his deep concern with the limited progress that had been made on the history as he recounted the following problems and misfortunes that seemed to either interrupt or impede the writing of the Church annals:

Since I have been engaged in laying the foundation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I have been prevented in various ways from continuing my journal and history in a manner satisfactory to myself or in justice to the cause. Long imprisonments, vexatious and long-continued law-suits, the treachery of some of my clerks, the death of others, and the poverty of myself and brethren from continued plunder and driving, have prevented my handing down to posterity a connected memorandum of events desirable to all lovers of truth; yet I have continued to keep up a journal in the best manner my circumstances would allow, and dictate for my history

from time to time, as I have had opportunity so that the labors and suffering of the first Elders and Saints of this last kingdom might not wholly be lost to the world.¹¹

Just two days later, on 13 December 1841, Joseph Smith appointed Willard Richards as his private secretary, general clerk, and recorder for the unfinished Nauvoo Temple.¹² Richards recorded that he “began to board with Prophet Smith” one month later,¹³ but his work on the Manuscript History of the Church did not begin until 21 December 1842. On this day he was interviewed by the Prophet and “appointed private Sect. & Historian.”¹⁴ His first entry in Joseph Smith’s journal was made this same day, and on 24 and 25 December, Richards recorded in his own journal that he was working on the history with Joseph Smith.¹⁵ The Church history that was eventually compiled for 24 December reads: “At home afternoon. Read and revised my history with Secretary Richards.”¹⁶ W. W. Phelps was not released from his work when Richards was assigned the dominant role but continued to assist the Doctor with the project.¹⁷ Richards was ill most of January 1843 but was at work in Joseph Smith’s office on the twentieth when the Prophet came in to give Phelps and him “some instructions about the History.”¹⁸ For February, Richards’s journal contains almost daily entries that say, “Writing at Joseph’s.” During the first week in March he received some further counsel from the Prophet, who observed: “I told Dr. Richards that there was one thing he failed in as a historian, and that was noting surrounding objects, weather, etc.”¹⁹ While issuing instructions and giving assignments to the Twelve in April 1843, Joseph Smith reiterated Elder Richards’s responsibility “to continue in the History at present.”²⁰

The Manuscript History shows that Willard Richards started writing on page 158, where the narrative deals with the events of 1 November 1831. Richards’s journal indicates that he worked almost daily on the history in March and April, but he does not record his specific progress on the project until 8 May, when he noted, “I wrote pages 271, 2, & 3.”²¹ By 31 May he had reached page 453, which meant that in about six months he had produced nearly twice as much written history as all his predecessors.

In spite of the accelerated progress on the history, Joseph Smith continued to exhibit a great deal of anxiety about the project. On 19 May he “told Brother Phelps a dream that the history must go ahead before anything else.”²² On 7 November 1843 Richards and Phelps called on the Prophet to report that Mr. Cole, a school teacher, had moved his tables into a hall too close to where they were working and “that the noise in the school disturbed them in the progress of writing the History.”²³ Joseph responded:

I gave orders that Cole must look out for another place, as the history must continue and not be disturbed, as there are but few subjects that I have felt a greater anxiety about than my history, which has been a very difficult task, on account of the death of my best clerks and the apostasy of others, and the stealing of records by John Whitmer, Cyrus Smalling and others.²⁴

There was steady progress on the history throughout this period in spite of the difficulties. In August 1843 Richards completed the first volume of the Manuscript History, later designated A-1. He reserved several pages at the end of the journal for "Addenda," which could be inserted in the narrative during the review and revision of the manuscript. The "Addenda" in Book A-1 eventually grew to sixteen pages, which are mostly in the handwriting of Thomas Bullock, who made the additions after the Prophet's death. Similar additions to the history were made at the end of each subsequent volume.

On 24 August 1843 Richards started writing in the second volume of the history, book B-1. The page-numbering sequence from the first volume was continued, and by 14 November Richards had reached page 748. Practically nothing was written the rest of 1843, but in January and February of 1844 the manuscript was continued to page 803. From that time until the death of Joseph Smith on 27 June only nine more pages were added, which carried the historical narrative down to 5 August 1838.

Richards described his hopes and expectations concerning the history in the following letter to a Mr. Moffatt on 27 March 1844:

It is now seven years since I have laid my head one night in my own house [he was building a house in Nauvoo which was not completed yet] during that time I have been in England, near four years and the remainder of the time have spent in writing the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which, of course will afford no income until it is completed and printed which cannot possibly be done for one or two years. It is a great work and all important to the Church and world.²⁵

Richards's hope for some remuneration for his work on the history was never realized; neither was his goal to have the history finished in one or two years.

During his final hours in Carthage Jail, Joseph Smith apparently instructed Willard Richards to continue the history according to the plan and format that they had previously followed,²⁶ but it was mid-January 1845 before Richards could get back to his work on the project. Without Joseph Smith to dictate, revise, or supervise the future writing and publication of the Church annals, Richards turned to others for assistance and established new

procedures for compiling the history. Thomas Bullock, who had been employed as a clerk by Joseph Smith since November 1843 and had worked closely with Richards for over a year, became Willard's faithful assistant. W. W. Phelps continued to collect materials,²⁷ but his role in the project was greatly diminished by this time.

The history was compiled under the general supervision of Brigham Young, who visited the Church historian occasionally but apparently did not get involved in the details of work.²⁸ As the posthumous writing of Joseph Smith's history commenced, a rough draft was prepared by Richards and Bullock which is still extant in the LDS Church Archives (see table 2).

TABLE 2. Rough Draft of the *History of the Church*

Written by:	Pages	Historical Period Covered
Willard Richards	1-77	Aug. 6, 1838, to Dec. 30, 1839
Willard Richards	1-19	Jan. 1, 1840, to Dec. 30, 1840
Willard Richards	1-23	Jan. 1, 1841, to Dec. 30, 1841
Willard Richards	1-19	Jan. 1, 1842, to June 30, 1842
Willard Richards	1-24	July 1, 1842, to Dec. 31, 1842
Willard Richards	1-13	Jan. 1, 1843, to Jan. 29, 1843
Thomas Bullock	13-26	Jan. 30, 1843, to Mar. 3, 1843
Thomas Bullock	1-89	Mar. 1, 1843, to Dec. 29, 1843
Jonathan Grimshaw	1-5	Jan. 1, 1844, to Jan. 27, 1844
Thomas Bullock Jonathan Grimshaw Leo Hawkins Robert L. Campbell	7-72	Feb. 1, 1844, to June 21, 1844
Thomas Bullock Jonathan Grimshaw Leo Hawkins Robert L. Campbell	1-76	June 22, 1844, to June 28, 1844
Robert L. Campbell	1-18	June 22, 1844, to Aug. 8, 1844

Source: LDS Church Archives. Dean C. Jessee assisted in identifying the handwriting of the different scribes.

The rough draft begins with the history for 6 August 1838 — the very date reached by Richards before the death of the Prophet — and starts out in the handwriting of Willard Richards (see fig. 1). Some preliminary rough drafts were probably used by other compilers of the history, but they have not survived in any organized condition and are therefore difficult to identify; the use of rough drafts is not mentioned specifically by any of the earlier scribes. Richards's rough draft is written on loose foolscap with pagination that starts over again every few pages. This preliminary draft permitted Richards to leave most of the tedious writing to Bullock, who copied into the Manuscript History book the connecting narrative and the numerous sources that were merely listed by Richards in the rough draft. Numerous corrections and additions were made right in the rough draft before it was copied (see fig. 2). The finished Manuscript History shows that Bullock started writing the history in that volume for the very same date that Richards commenced compiling the rough draft — 6 August 1838. From the foregoing the procedure is clear: Richards was responsible for the actual composition of the history in the rough draft, and after revisions were made, Bullock copied the text in its finished form into the Manuscript History book.

Although Richards now wrote the history without the participation of Joseph Smith, he still continued the first-person narrative that had characterized the history during Joseph Smith's lifetime. According to George A. Smith, Richards had been instructed by the Prophet in Carthage Jail to continue the plan of compiling the history.²⁹ As the Prophet's "Private Sect. & Historian," Richards apparently felt he had the necessary investiture of authority to permit him to write for and even as if he were Joseph Smith. Richards had already written in the first person most of the Prophet's journals, which were a major source for the Church annals, but he went far beyond this practice and actually transposed material from other writers and sources into the first person of Joseph Smith.³⁰ All of these modifications were made, of course, without the assistance or review of the central character of the history.

Work on the history progressed at a much accelerated rate during the early months of 1845. Volume two, or B-1, was filled up in February and March, and by April Bullock had commenced writing in a third volume, C-1.³¹ Richards's and Bullock's journals both show that the men worked on the history almost daily during the first three months of 1845.

Although Brigham Young had always supported Richards and Bullock in their work, on 1 April 1845 he assumed a more active role in the preparation of the history. His history for this day reads:

1838

Far West
 August 6. In the afternoon the citizens of ~~Colony~~, assembled in
 the school house, and organized the meeting by calling Judge
 Elias Wright to the chair, and appointing Geo. W. Robinson Secretary.
 Stated to the meeting that the time had come when it was
 necessary that we should have a weekly news paper, to
 unite the people, by giving the news of the day, & when
 it was unanimously agreed that such a paper be established
 & that Post Sidney Higdon stand for the editor, & was also
 stated that a petition be circulated to remove the county seat
 to Far West. I addressed the meeting on the propriety of
 the measure & also on the duty of the brethren to come into
 cities, to build cities, & carry on their farms out of the
 cities, according to the word of God. Post Higdon & Bro
 Hyrum spoke upon the same subject.

Some two weeks previous to this Judge ^{Morrison} ~~Morrison~~ who lived at
 Mill Port, informed John D. Lee, & Lewis Stewart, that it was
 determined by the mob to prevent the Mormons from voting
 at Gallatin. at the election on the 5th of August, and thereby elect Col
 Wm Perister, who had the mob in clay county. He also
 advised them to go prepared for an attack, to stand their ground
 and have their rights. - The brethren, hoping better things
 gave little heed to Judge ^{Morrison} ~~Morrison~~ ^{for} ~~the~~ ^{advice} ~~of~~ ^{and} ~~advised~~
 repaired to the polls at Gallatin the third town of Davies
 county, without weapons. - About 11 o'clock A.M. Wm Perister
 ascended the head of a barrel and harangued the voters for the
 purpose of exciting them against the Mormons, saying that
 Mormon lands were "a set of horse thieves, leeches, counterfeits"
 "and you know they profess to be the saints, cast out devils."
 "do you all know that is a damned lie," that the members of
 the church were clergies, and not too good to take a false oath on
 any common occasion; that they would steal and did not carry
 perfect safety where they were; that he was opposed to their silly
 and if they suffered the Mormons to vote, the paper would soon
 cease their support; and, said he "I headed a mob to drive you
 out of Clay county, and would not prevent your being robbed
 money;" when ^{Wicks} ~~Wicks~~ ^(called Dick) ~~Wicks~~ the mob bully, just drunk enough for
 the occasion, began a discussion with Bro Samuel Brown
 by saying the Mormons were not allowed to vote in Clay County.

Photographed by the author from the original. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

FIGURE 1. Beginning of the rough draft written by Willard Richards in 1844. Compare *History of the Church* 3:56.

Tuesday, April 1, 1845. — I commenced revising the History of Joseph Smith at Brother Richards' office: Elder Heber C. Kimball and George A. Smith were with me. President Joseph Smith had corrected forty-two pages before his massacre. It afforded us great satisfaction to hear Brother Richards read the history of the infancy of the church. Adjourned at eleven p.m. having read one hundred and forty pages in Book 'A'.³²

The events of this day must have impressed all the participants, for it is well attested in their journals. The date when Brigham Young began "revising the History" is also corroborated by a note at the top of page 42 of the manuscript which reads: "Tuesday [April] 1st — Commenced revising."³³ Page 42 in the manuscript is in the handwriting of James Mulholland, the first clerk to write in the Manuscript History book, and deals with a conference held on 1 June 1830. It is apparent that the Prophet entrusted a great deal of the responsibility for his history to his scribes and the Church historians, for he had reviewed and checked the history only up to page 42 by the time of his death, even though it had already been published in the *Times and Seasons* up to page 179 and had been written up to page 812. Although the history was "revised by the Council of the First Presidency almost without any alteration," Brigham Young continued the practice of having the history read to him until it was finished in 1858.³⁴

On 3 April 1845 the Church historian was occupied in preparing a recapitulation of the work done on the history up to that time. C. W. Wandell, one of the clerks, was put to work counting the words written by each scribe, and Richards recorded the results in his journal.³⁵ According to this summary, the previous clerks and Richards had written 250,259 words in the first volume (A-1); Richards and Bullock had written 159,479 words in the second volume (B-1); and Bullock had written 250,200 words in the third volume (C-1). The narrative of the history had been carried down to the end of 1841.

Due to the increased attacks of the anti-Mormons in Illinois and the anticipation of the hazards of the Latter-day Saint migration to the West, Richards had the clerks begin copying a duplicate of the history.³⁶ This duplicate was not only an insurance copy, but also the latest revised transcript of the history. It was continued on a somewhat sporadic basis for over eleven years but was discontinued in 1856 when a vault was completed in the new Church Historian's Office where all the records could be stored safely.

Richards's resolve to get the history finished was sorely tested in the later months of 1845. His problems seemed to start when he had to stay home on 17 May to doctor his wife Jennetta, who was

pregnant and suffering serious complications. He often went for days without taking off his clothes to rest as he labored day and night trying to save his wife and child. In his anxiety he practically stopped all work on the history and even neglected his own journal. On 6 July he felt encouraged because the baby showed signs of life, but in spite of oft-repeated prayers and administrations by Brigham Young, John Taylor, George A. Smith, and John Smith, his wife and baby died on 9 July.³⁷ Bullock notified the sisters to come and attend to Jennetta's body, and she was buried on 11 July at the southwest corner of the lot where the family had just moved into a new home.

By 14 July Richards was back at work on the history, but after a few months his health began to fail him. It was his custom to get up around 5:00 A.M. and write for some time before breakfast, but he was soon unable to stick to this schedule. For help he turned to his friend and adopted son Bullock, who began making entries in Richards's journal for him and also started writing the rough draft of the history. Bullock's handwriting in the rough draft seems to indicate that he began composing the history at this point, but Bullock explained in the Doctor's journal the actual procedure. In his anxiety to complete the history, Richards invited Bullock to his home, where Willard got out of his sickbed, sat in a chair, and dictated the rough draft.³⁸ As Richards grew a little stronger, he sometimes dictated until dark in a dogged effort to grind out the historical narrative.

After 20 January 1846 the work on the history wound down rather steadily as Bullock began "sorting and packing Books &c" for the journey west.³⁹ On 4 February when the last book of the manuscript was apparently closed and packed, the history had been written to 1 March 1843 — ending in the middle of page 1485 in volume D-1. Bullock penned a note of explanation on this last page of the history: "books packed Feb. 4, 1846 in Nauvoo."⁴⁰ Some remaining papers were packed up in a "large box" the next day, and Bullock completed a one-page inventory.⁴¹

In spite of the rigors of travel and the inconvenience of a mobile Historian's Office, Richards continued "writing history" from time to time as the Saints moved across Iowa.⁴² At Winter Quarters, Richards managed to build a house which was known as the Octagon because of its built-on appendages. This structure served not only as his home, but also as the Historian's Office and a make-shift Church headquarters during the winter of 1846–47.⁴³ On 2 April 1847 Richards and Bullock were again busy "packing up papers & books for History" and "preparing for the Pioneer journey."⁴⁴ Although Richards and Bullock accompanied the original pioneer company of 1847 and held important record-



FIGURE 3. Willard Richards with wife Jennetta Richards and son Heber John. Nauvoo, 24 March 1845.

keeping assignments, their main storehouse of boxed records was left behind at Winter Quarters until such time as the records could be brought safely across the plains. Eventually Bullock was the one who in the summer of 1848 transported the boxes with all the records to Salt Lake Valley.⁴⁵

Although some of the historical records were used to resume the publication of the history of the Church in the *Deseret News* in November 1851, most of the records were apparently not even unpacked until June 1853. Bullock, who often wrote small enough to inscribe his whole letter on the postage stamp, penned a tiny note at the top of the first page of history written in Utah: "The books were unpacked in G.S.L. City by Willard Richards and Bullock. June 7, 1853. J. Grimshaw & Miles Romney present."⁴⁶ Some remaining boxes were unpacked on 7 June, but it was not until 1 December 1853 that Richards returned to his task of writing the history. Richards's abortive effort is described in another of Bullock's marginal notes: "Decb. 1 1853 D. Willard Richards wrote one line of History — being sick at the time — and was never able to do any more."⁴⁷ This last line of history for 1 March 1843, which was dictated by Richards and written by Bullock, ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence. Later, at the end of the 28 February entry, Bullock wrote in the margin: "end of W. Richards compiling."⁴⁸ After suffering several debilitating attacks over a period of eighteen years, Richards succumbed to dropsy on 11 March 1854 at the age of forty-nine. He was the first Apostle of the Restoration to die a natural death.

It seems well within the mark to conclude that Willard Richards, more than any other person, was responsible for the actual compilation and publication of the history of Joseph Smith (see table 3). Any historian must admire the actual volume of his literary output under very trying and unsettled conditions. Equally inspiring is his dedication, tenacity, persistence, and ability to write correctly and clearly. But in spite of his tremendous accomplishments and contributions, his history suffers most of the shortcomings and defects of amateur history writing in the early nineteenth century.

History written in the first half of that century has been described variously by students of historiography as patrician history, literary history, or romantic history.⁴⁹ It was written mostly by independent gentlemen who had the time and inclination for such literary pursuits and "was animated by patriotism," reverence for its subjects, and party and personal loyalties. History was generally "regarded as a branch of literature," and "style was paramount."⁵⁰ Much of this history was marked by bias, embellishment, inaccuracy, and plagiarism.⁵¹ Thus it is unfair to appraise the

TABLE 3. Time Schedule for Writing the Manuscript History of Joseph Smith

Men Compiling and Copying the History	Pages Written	Period Covered	When Written
Before Joseph Smith's Death on 27 June 1844			
Joseph Smith James Mulholland	A-1, 1–59	Dec. 23, 1805 to Sept. 26, 1830	June 11, 1839 to Oct. 27, 1839
Joseph Smith Robert Thompson Howard Coray	A-1, 60–75	Sept. 26, 1830 to Oct. 1830	Oct. 3, 1840 to Aug. 27, 1841
Joseph Smith W. W. Phelps	A-1, 75–157	Oct. 1830 to Nov. 1, 1831	1841–1842
Joseph Smith Willard Richards	A-1, 158 to B-1, 812	Nov. 1, 1831 to Aug. 5, 1838	Dec. 21, 1842 to Mar. 2, 1844
After Joseph Smith's Death			
Willard Richards Thomas Bullock	B-1, 812 to D-1, 1486	Aug. 6, 1838 to Mar. 1, 1843	Jan. 15, 1845 to Dec. 1, 1853
George A. Smith Wilford Woodruff Thomas Bullock Leo Hawkins Robert Campbell Jonathan Grimshaw	D-1, 1486 to F-1, 304	Mar. 1, 1843 to Aug. 8, 1844	Apr. 18, 1854 to Jan. 30, 1857

Sources: Manuscript History of the Church, James Mulholland Journal, Willard Richards Journal, Historian's Office Journal, George A. Smith Journal, Wilford Woodruff Journal, and Howard Coray Autobiography, all in the LDS Church Archives; and Dean C. Jessee, "The Writing of Joseph Smith's History," *BYU Studies* 9 (Spring 1971), 441.

work of Willard Richards by the standards and techniques that evolved in the succeeding century, for the accepted methodology of modern historians as they relate to plagiarism, documentation, and strict adherence to sources are comparatively recent developments in America and were not practiced even by professional historians until fifty years after Richards had completed his work on the Church annals.⁵²

One of the more obvious defects of Willard Richards's historical writing, when viewed from a twentieth-century perspective, is its misleading and confused authorship. Most of the first-person narrative of Joseph Smith was ghostwritten by Richards, and much of what Richards wrote was plagiarized from other writers. The first-person format may have been imposed upon Richards by the Prophet at the beginning of their collaboration, but whatever his reasons, Richards stuck faithfully to the same style of narrative to the very end. Joseph Smith was associated closely enough to Richards to provide input for the history from time to time, but he reviewed the finished manuscript only to page 42 and must have left most of the work and details to Richards. At this time it seems impossible to definitively separate all of the actual dictation and input of the Prophet from the contributions and coloration of his scribes and ghostwriters even though most of the diaries, journals, minute books, letter books, and periodical articles that comprised the sources for the Church annals are well preserved in the LDS Church Archives and it is still possible to identify the original authors of many of these sources.

Willard Richards's historical writing clearly belongs to the Judaeo-Christian tradition of providential history. This type of history is "an interpretation of time in terms of eternity and of human events in the light of divine revelation."⁵³ It focuses on the story of God's dealings with his people and the interpretation of all human events within the framework of this central theme. The *History of the Church*, like Judaeo-Christian history, is an affirmation of faith as well as a historical narrative. The major events of Church history are endowed with the highest religious and ideological significance, and the result is an account where faith and history are inseparably intertwined.

Richards interpreted the role of God in history from a perspective of faith that may have reflected images of his New England background and his recent defection from Calvinism. Like other Christians of the early nineteenth century, he was strongly influenced by ideas of predestination and divine retribution and was inclined to take the reverent view that in all things — good or bad — "God moves in a mysterious way, his wonders to perform."

God's hand was confessed not only in blessings and fortunate events, but also in tribulation, tragedies, and setbacks. Negative and harmful experiences were interpreted as either trials for the faithful or punishment of and retribution on the not-so-faithful. God's intervention had much in common with the judgments of the Old Testament, the Greek formula of nemesis, and the Calvinist doctrine of divine retribution. In fitting events into this cause-and-effect pattern, Richards and other early authors of Church history did not always insist — as did Gilbert and Sullivan — that the punishment fit the crime. As with the Greek doctrine of nemesis, great calamities were often attributed to small and trifling causes. The narrative of Zion's Camp suggests that a Mrs. Moss and three other members of her family perished in Missouri because she was "afraid of the cholera" which had broken out in the Latter-day Saint camp and had refused the men's request for "a drink of water."⁵⁴ Other punishments seemed more justly matched to the offense. A boastful Missouri mob leader and six of his men drowned while trying to cross a river. A rain-and-hail storm resulted in the death of another mobster, who was struck by lightning;⁵⁵ in the soaking of the attacking mob's gunpowder; and in the complete isolation of the Saints from their enemies.

With this emphasis on the intervention of God in human events, there was a general neglect of more natural causation by Richards. Although the doctrines of the Restoration proclaimed the free agency of man and the reign of law, these causal factors were not usually investigated or emphasized as dominant. Seeking for explanations and answers other than God might have appeared to this devout disciple as a negation of faith in the sovereignty of God, so such natural factors were usually ignored. Such an approach has been described as extreme supernaturalism — a philosophy of history where the events of the Restoration are treated as a divine miracle occurring in what appears to be a historical vacuum. However, this neglect of natural causation by Richards should not be interpreted as a denial of the fact that such causal factors are operative in the historical process; it is only an indication that such matters were usually beyond the interest and objectives of the writer.

Although the meaning and interpretation of events in Church history were matters of faith, such intuitive deductions and conclusions were expected to be based upon reliable information. Faith was not equated with credulity or superstition. According to Church doctrine, "true faith" springs "from trustworthy evidence, rightly interpreted."⁵⁶ The writers of the Church annals were among the leading actors in the events portrayed and were, therefore,

themselves personal witnesses to most of the things they wrote about. There were often several such eye-witness reports available for use in comparing and corroborating facts and in rounding out the narrative. The result has been a history that is remarkably accurate in its factual content. Richards and his assistants were men of integrity and took pride in presenting the truth as they perceived it.

From the beginning, Richards and his associates were motivated to keep accurate records, but they were sometimes hampered by lack of adequate skills and materials. Shorthand was not utilized with any effectiveness during Richards's work on the history, with the result that conversations and sermons were never recorded verbatim. The penmanship, including that of Richards, often left much to be desired; ink was not of equal consistency or permanence; and the primitive hand-dipped pens contributed to uneven shading and ink spots. In spite of all these difficulties, however, most of the sources and manuscripts of early Church history are remarkably legible and complete.

Changes were made in some of the sources in the belief that the original author would have made these corrections himself if he had had the time and opportunity, while other changes were made on the basis of supplementary information which the historians wanted to amalgamate into the narrative. Although they deliberately altered many of their sources to make them fit the style, form, and objectives of the history, they did not completely conceal their methodology. The changes which were introduced into the history without annotation are not so much an attempt to deceive as a product of the writers' flawed nineteenth-century historical methodology. The sources, along with rough drafts and manuscripts where the changes were clearly indicated, were all carefully preserved for future checking and verification.

Richards undoubtedly desired to produce a history that was conducive to faith in the Restoration, but at the same time he felt a strong obligation to tell the truth. He never seems to have embraced the idea that the end justifies the means, but he nonetheless had to reconcile being honest and accurate with edifying his readers and promoting the image of the Church and its leaders. The usual solution to this predicament was simply to leave out the objectionable and negative material. This approach was apparently considered a judicious use of truth, an approach which would best serve the cause of the Kingdom. By the criteria of the modern historical method, Richards and his associates clearly erred in misrepresenting and corrupting their sources, but it should be acknowledged that such historical procedures were common at that time and that these

historical transgressions were mostly the result of sincere biases and an archaic methodology.

One source of Richards's concern for the image of the Church and its Prophet was the persecution complex of the early Saints and leaders. Having lived through physical and verbal attacks for years, Richards was understandably defensive and wary. His writing reflects the characteristics of historical apologia as he defends and justifies the faith and actions of the Saints. He emphasizes the atrocities of the Saints' enemies while at the same time he allotted little space to the Saints' own excesses, shortcomings, or failures. The history even has some of the characteristics of the persecution literature of early Christianity, for names and places were encoded to protect prominent and exposed leaders.

Richards's writing sometimes suffers from the black-and-white syndrome. A man was either for the Kingdom or he was against it; he was either a friend or foe; saint or sinner; inspired of God or of the devil. There was no attempt to see the Latter-day Saint persecutions through the eyes of the old settlers of Missouri and Illinois or to analyze the consequences of federal intervention in the affairs of the states who acquiesced or aided in the expulsion of the Saints. Both federal and state politicians were castigated and cursed for their Pilate-type responses. Dissenters and apostates were usually portrayed as bad characters with evil motives, with no indication of their good qualities, contributions to the Church, or the complex and difficult problems that led to their disaffection. On the other hand, the faithful elders seldom erred.

Theodor Mommsen once observed: "Those who have lived through historical events, as I have, begin to see that history is neither written nor made without love or hate."⁵⁷ This observation seems especially applicable to the writing of the early history of the Church by Richards and his associates. As they wrote the history, the strong positive feelings of these men toward the Church, the Prophet, and the Saints were often concomitant with feelings of disdain and animosity toward anti-Mormons and apostates. These deep feelings of the history's compilers are best expressed by George A. Smith, who had the responsibility of completing Richards work. As he completed the history of the Prophet's imprisonment and murder, he observed that it was "the most affecting piece of business I have ever undertaken" and that "it makes me feel like swearing and all that restrains me is that I am not philologist enough to command words as fervent as I could wish to do justice to my feelings."⁵⁸ It was only natural that the intense feelings of love, loyalty, sacrifice, and devotion which were engendered in the Latter-day Saint scribes and historians through their religious

experiences and commitment should be carried over into their historical writing. Therefore it is not surprising that we also find their deep-seated indignation toward their oppressors and their strong contempt for former friends who had forsaken them or turned against them.

There is evidence of some historical relativism in Richards's writing. At its best, this process is an attempt to make the past relevant by interpreting it in relationship to contemporary experiences and values; at its worst, it is merely an effort by one generation to "play on the dead whatever tricks it finds necessary for its own peace of mind."⁵⁹ Richards wrote differently about such men as Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris after he was aware of their apostasy and excommunication; he injected the current, not past, feelings toward such men. Although plural marriage figured into many of the problems both from within and without the Church, Richards never mentions it. He was obligated to adhere to the strict contemporary policy of secrecy that was imposed on all who knew of the doctrine or its practice. Ironically a few years later when polygamy was denounced by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, George A. Smith and B. H. Roberts had to collect and retroactively insert the missing information.

Because Richards and his assistants did not write history in a literary vacuum, their history should exhibit the same characteristics and flaws of other historical works of the period. Plagiarism, ghostwriting, the alteration of sources, a lack of documentation, too sparing a use of quotation marks, relativism, emotionalism, and a lack of balance and objectivity were all common features of nineteenth-century historical writing both within and without the Latter-day Saint Church.

NOTES

Sources located in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, are used by permission.

¹D&C 123:7, 9, 11.

²Claire Noall, *Intimate Disciple: A Portrait of Willard Richards, Apostle to Joseph Smith—Cousin of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1957), 40–41.

³Noall, *Intimate Disciple*, 92–95.

⁴Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (1901–36; reprint, Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 1:53–54.

⁵Willard Richards, Journal, 13 January 1842, Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

⁶Richards, Journal, 12 December 1841; and Jenson, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia* 1:54–55.

⁷Richards, Journal, 21 December 1842.

⁸Richards, Journal, 30 July 1843.

⁹George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856, LDS Church Archives.

¹⁰Dean C. Jessee, "How Lovely Was the Morning," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 6 (Spring 1971): 87–88. Note A, which relates to Joseph Smith's boyhood illness and journey to western New York, was never published in the *History of the Church*.

¹¹Joseph Smith, *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1932–51), 4:470 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

¹²Richards, Journal, 13 December 1841.

¹³Richards, Journal, 13 January 1842.

¹⁴Richards, Journal, 21 December 1842.

¹⁵Richards, Journal, 24–25 December 1842.

¹⁶*History of the Church* 5:207.

¹⁷*History of the Church* 5:253, 394; 6:66.

¹⁸*History of the Church* 5:253.

¹⁹*History of the Church* 5:298.

²⁰*History of the Church* 5:367.

²¹Richards, Journal, 8 May 1843.

²²*History of the Church* 5:394. The "else" at the end was added to the original source in Joseph Smith's journal.

²³*History of the Church* 6:66.

²⁴*History of the Church* 6:66. Smalling was a member of Zion's Camp and a seventy, but his connection with the missing records has not been discovered.

²⁵Willard Richards to Mr. Moffat, 27 March 1844, LDS Church Archives.

²⁶George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856.

²⁷*History of the Church* 7:325.

²⁸Richards, Journal, 18 January 1845; and Thomas Bullock, Journal, 25 January 1845, LDS Church Archives.

²⁹George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856.

³⁰The journal of Heber C. Kimball is a good example of one of these altered sources.

³¹Bullock, Journal, 3 April 1845.

³²*History of the Church* 7:389.

³³Manuscript History of the Church, A-1 (microfilm, CR 100, 102, reel 6) 42, LDS Church Archives.

³⁴George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, 21 April 1856.

³⁵Richards, Journal, 3 April 1845.

³⁶The duplicate history was designated A-2, B-2, C-2, etc. to correspond to each volume of the original.

³⁷Richards, Journal, 17 May–July 6, 1845; and Historian's Office Journal, 9 July 1845, LDS Church Archives.

³⁸Richards, Journal, 17 May–July 6, 1845, 3 January 1846.

³⁹Historian's Office Journal, 20 January 1846.

⁴⁰Manuscript History of the Church, D-1, 1485.

⁴¹Richards, Journal, 5 February 1846.

⁴²Richards, Journal, 6 May 1846.

⁴³Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 338.

⁴⁴Richards, Journal, 2 April 1847.

⁴⁵A faint note in the Manuscript History of the Church, D-1, 1485, reads: "The records carried by T. Bullock from Winter Quarters to G.S.L. City in 1848."

⁴⁶Manuscript History of the Church, D-1, 1486. Bullock confirmed this incident in his entry in the Historian's Office Journal for this same day, which reads: "About 9 a.m. T B commenced removing heavy boxes of records down [to] W Rs office & unpacked 2 of them they not having been seen since T B assisted [to] fasten them down on 4 Feb 46."

⁴⁷Manuscript History of the Church, D-1, 1486.

⁴⁸Manuscript History of the Church, D-1, 1485.

⁴⁹John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 10–11, 14–18; and Phillip R. Shriver, "American Historiography before the Twentieth Century," in *The Development of Historiography*, ed. Matthew A. Fitzsimons, Alfred G. Pundt, and Charles E. Nowell (Harrisburg, Penn.: Stackpole Co., 1954), 399.

⁵⁰Shriver, "American Historiography," 399.

⁵¹Shriver, "American Historiography," 399.

⁵²For a more complete discussion of the development of nineteenth-century historiography and its shortcomings, see Howard C. Searle, "Early Mormon Historiography: Writing the History of the Mormons, 1830–1858" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Los Angeles, 1979), 465–73.

⁵³Christopher Dawson, "The Christian View of History: An Anthology of Modern Christian Views of History," in *God, History, and Historians*, ed. C. T. McIntire (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 32.

⁵⁴*History of the Church* 2:115.

⁵⁵*History of the Church* 2:99–100, 103–105.

⁵⁶James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith*, 12th ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1924), 100.

⁵⁷Quoted by G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century*, 2d ed., rev. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), 462.

⁵⁸*The Mormon*, 17 May 1856.

⁵⁹Carl L. Becker, quoted by Trygve R. Tholfsen, *Historical Thinking: An Introduction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 222–23.

British Travelers View the Saints 1847–1877

Edwina Jo Snow

Richard Burton, the nineteenth-century English explorer who visited the Latter-day Saints in 1860, warned readers of his book, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California*, that there were three opinions about anything that happened in Great Salt Lake City: “that of the Mormons, which is invariably one-sided; that of the Gentiles, which is sometimes fair and just; and that of the anti-Mormons, which is always prejudiced and violent.” He divided his inclusive bibliography into the same three parts — Mormon, anti-Mormon, and Gentile, a category he further defined as works by the “comparatively unprejudiced observer.” In this category he placed the travel narratives of three Americans — Howard Stansbury, John Williams Gunnison, and Solomon Nunes Carvalho; two Britons — William Kelly and William Chandless; and one Frenchman — Jules Remy.¹

Historians who have made extensive studies of the Latter-day Saints’ image in nineteenth-century American plays, novels, periodicals, newspapers, and pictorial representations have found the image was decidedly negative, or, as Burton put it, “anti-Mormon.”² No one has made a similar investigation of the Church’s image in another popular nineteenth-century medium, the travel account, in which Burton found more neutral views of the Latter-day Saints.³ Historians have used travel writing as sources for details of time, place, and person.⁴ They have also examined these firsthand accounts as a genre, summarizing how foreigners, particularly the British, viewed America.⁵ These broad studies of America give only a few sentences or paragraphs to the Latter-day Saints, however, even though a number of travelers devoted pages, chapters, and books to the subject.

As one step towards an analysis of the Latter-day Saint image in travel literature, this article looks at accounts by Britons who visited the Salt Lake Valley between the Latter-day Saints’ arrival

Edwina Jo Snow holds a master’s degree in American studies from George Washington University. A version of this paper was presented to the Mormon History Association, Oxford, England, July 1987.

in 1847 and the death of Brigham Young in 1877. These accounts include seven books by travelers who reached Salt Lake City by wagon or stagecoach before the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 and eighteen by those who arrived by rail. These visitors were aware of the prevailing anti-Mormon stereotype but described the Latter-day Saints more impartially. Also, just as the negative image in other media reveal some of the fears and prejudices of the times, the more balanced, firsthand depictions disclose some of that time's values and preoccupations.

The British travelers differed on logistic matters such as when and how they journeyed, whether they were headed west or east, and how long they stayed in Utah. (Please refer to the annotated bibliography for details.) Otherwise they were similar in background and purpose — the very model of “outside observers.” They were upper class, wealthy, well educated, and well traveled; all male except one; and literary, many being professional writers. They kept diaries, saved newspapers, and collected other material for inclusion in their books. Most visited Utah Territory as part of a tour of the United States, of North America, of both Americas, or of the world. Only one, Richard Burton, went to Salt Lake City for the sole purpose of observing the Latter-day Saints. But all would have agreed with him that the Church was “a subject of general and no small importance.”⁶ Aware that travel writers generally had a reputation for exaggeration, most were self-conscious about being accurate, apologizing for the briefness of their stay or their “surface observations.”⁷ They were acquainted with other travel narratives about the Latter-day Saints. Later visitors added to or took exception with the accounts of earlier observers, especially those of Burton, William Dixon, and Sir Charles Dilke. They also kept their audience in mind. For example, William Bell found “numbered amongst his readers the man of science, the lover of adventure, and the practical public.”⁸

The travelers' comments about their visit to Salt Lake City fit well into Bell's three categories. For the lover of adventure, the authors described the approach to the Latter-day Saint capital through Echo and Weber Canyons in terms spectacular if not sublime and Salt Lake Valley in words picturesque if not romantic. Adventurous writers made excursions to other canyons or took a dip in the hot sulphur springs near the city. But only the most daring, like the military men Captain Burton and Major Sir Rose Lambert Price, undertook an uncomfortable swim in the Great Salt Lake.⁹

For the practical public — investors, emigrants, tourists, and sportsmen — the Britons recorded prospects in Utah. Investors were advised to look closely but cautiously at mining, keeping in

mind the substantial losses suffered by British investors in that “gigantic swindle,” the Emma Mine.¹⁰ Emigrants were warned that “Mormons own all the fertile land, and they are bitterly hostile to the advent among them of all persons but such as belong to their own faith.”¹¹ For tourists, the travelers highly recommended the Townsend House, the hotel where most stayed; complained about the August heat and winter mud; exclaimed over the clear, dry mountain air; and noted tourist attractions, such as the slowly rising temple foundations, the Salt Lake Theater, Brigham Young’s houses, the Tabernacle and organ, Camp Douglas, the curious “All-seeing Eye” sign hung over the Latter-day Saint cooperative stores, and the steamboats on the Great Salt Lake. John Murphy informed sportsmen that the “fresh-water lakes and all the streams abound with fish” and listed the types of birds and “higher game” that were also numerous.¹²

It was to the man of science that the writers directed most of their remarks. With the same seriousness that they applied to Great Basin geography, geology, and ethnology, they described the Latter-day Saint economy, theology, and system of polygamy. To the British travelers, the Latter-day Saints were not an object of humor or derision, but a subject to study, explain, and evaluate. They related the Church to what they considered broader topics such as progress, the poor, democracy, freedom of speech, religion, the sanctity of the home, and women’s rights.

The Britons were impressed with the Latter-day Saint settlement because of its rapid growth, propriety, and “modified English appearance.” Salt Lake City reminded them of a “gigantic village” or “central market town” with a “charming mix of town and country” like “a quiet English country town.” They approved of the wide streets, the irrigation ditches, the houses nestled among fruit trees and “surrounded by familiar English flowers,” and the absence of bars and brothels.¹³ Successive visitors noted progress, industry, energy, perseverance, prosperity, hard work, thrift, sobriety, order, cleanliness, tranquility, civility, and quietness. James Bonwick, however, found Salt Lake “humdrum” in relation to San Francisco.¹⁴

The travelers also praised or criticized specific aspects of the community. Dixon and Maria Longworth were delighted with the theater, particularly the “proper” arrangements behind the curtain.¹⁵ Joseph Ollivant complimented the schools he visited — the university, a primary school, and an infant school.¹⁶ Some compared Salt Lake City newspapers and visited their offices, applauding the Church’s *Deseret News* and its English-convert editors for publishing “solid news” but condemning anti-Mormon

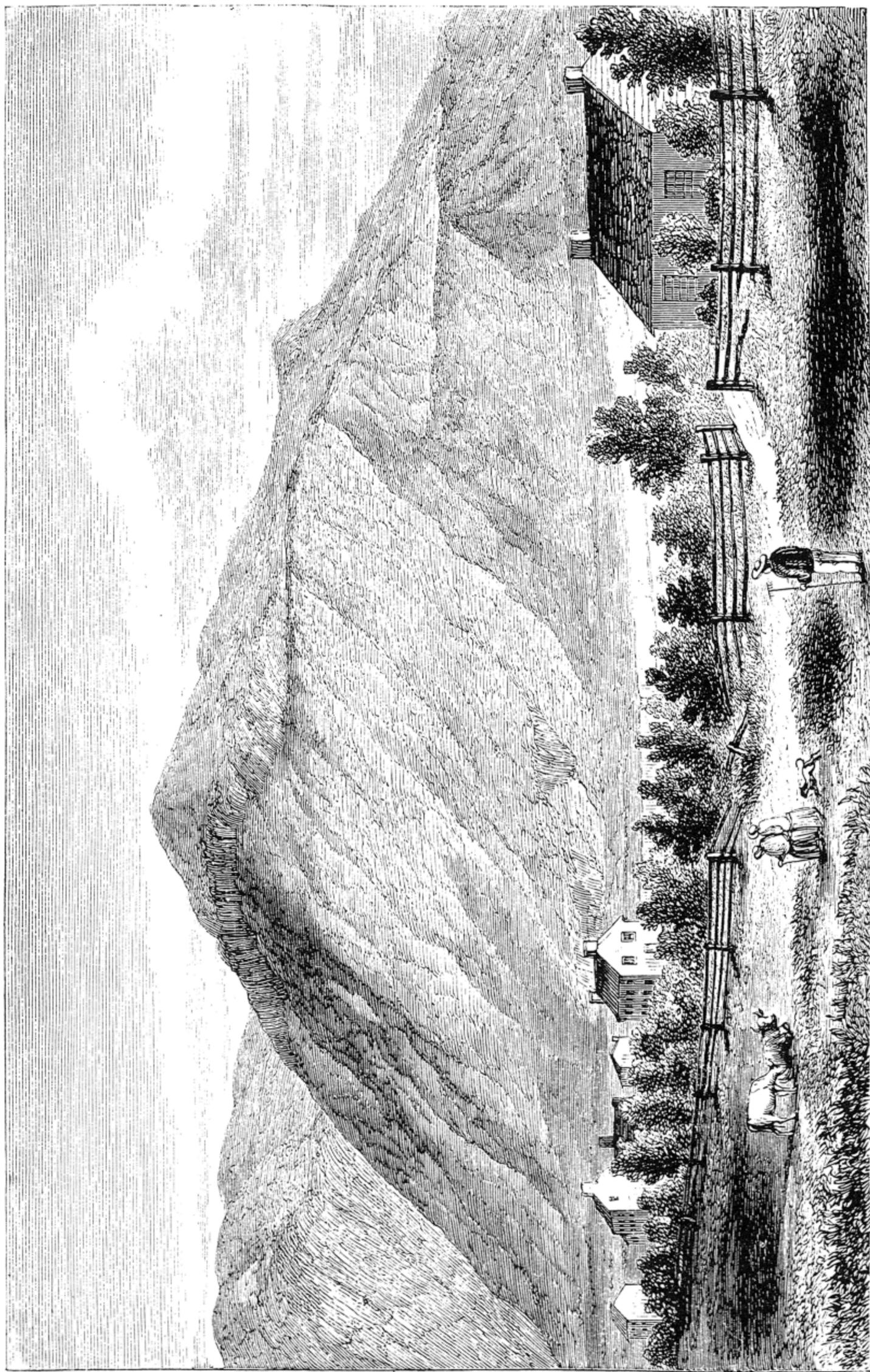


FIGURE 1. "Ensign Peak, north end of Great Salt Lake City" (engraving from Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* [New York: Harper and Brothers, 1862], 358).

papers like the *Union Vedette* for printing “trash.”¹⁷ Several criticized the Latter-day Saint economy, pointing out that “barter” and “want of specie” were hardest on the poorest, limiting their opportunity to save and keeping them “virtual prisoners in Utah Territory.”¹⁸ A number considered Brigham Young’s refusal to trade with Gentiles and his setting up of cooperative stores to be unwise and unfair. They believed competition would soon defeat the policy. Also foolish was President Young’s opposition to mining. Ollivant thought Utah needed an export other than agricultural products to bring cash into the economy. He concluded that “the Mormon has single-handed done much,” but for “material prosperity an alliance with the world around” is “advantageous.”¹⁹

The British visitors were interested in the European converts, the majority of whom shared their nationality but not their class. Maria Longworth, the Viscountess of Avonmore, “had lived in Wales, the hunting ground of the Mormons, and whence they had carried off our best housemaids and cooks.”²⁰ Perhaps aware that Americans negatively stereotyped converts as degraded foreign immigrants,²¹ Bonwick stressed that converts were not from the immoral demimonde or underworld but were instead “honest, God-fearing, earnest men and women,” the “pious, though ignorant, of our own country people.”²² The travelers printed statistics on the proportion of British to other European converts, included histories of the British Mission, explained the operation of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, and described emigrant trains entering the city. But except for Cambridge graduate William Chandless, who was traveling incognito as a “cattle driver” rather than a gentleman, they reported no attempt to talk at any length with any number of these “pious, though ignorant.” The upper-class observers were, however, concerned about the welfare of their lower-class countrymen.

Was the condition of the converts improved from their lot in Europe? Several Britons pointed out a social drawback — the European converts were followers while American “Yankees” were the leaders.²³ On the other hand, a benefit was that the converts’ children were receiving “a decent education.”²⁴ Burton had no doubt that converts were improved morally (the community was “pure”), spiritually (bad food is better than none), and physically (the dry mountain climate cured the sickly English).²⁵ Dixon stated that the care of the poor was a sacred obligation to the Latter-day Saints who were relieving Britain of “a painful duty.”²⁶ Burton chastised his fellow British:

When wealth shall be less unequally distributed in England, thus doing away with the contrast of excessive splendour and utter

destitution, and when Home Missions shall have done their duty in educating and evangelising the unhappy pariahs of town and country, the sons of the land which boasts herself to be the foremost among the nations, will blush no more to hear that the Mormons or Latter-Day Saints are mostly English.²⁷

Chandless depicted some British convert followers but had no access to the American Latter-day Saint leaders.²⁸ The other travelers, Burton in particular, provided portraits of the leaders. Most met Brigham Young and were favorably impressed; they expressed strong reservations about the extent of his power but otherwise described him as intelligent, fluent, honest looking, seemingly sincere — a possessor of good sense and great administrative ability, a Moses who delivered his people, a benefactor of the poor. Reciprocating these cordial feelings, Brigham Young told Murphy “that a class of English lords were the only truthful persons he met.” President Young added that even though he was “always glad to meet strangers” and “show them any kindness he could,” most repaid him with slander and sarcasm, “especially newspaper writers and bookmakers.”²⁹

One English convert who was a leader in the religious community was admired by several travelers for his high “culture,” his “power of faith,” and his “truly brotherly way of treating his co-religionists.”³⁰ This was T. B. H. Stenhouse, editor of the *Telegraph*, a newspaper well regarded by the travelers. Stenhouse accompanied Burton, Dixon, and Dilke practically everywhere, just as he accompanied other prominent visitors to Utah Territory in the 1860s. One historian has suggested that Stenhouse had a marked influence on the good impression of the Latter-day Saints that these visitors developed.³¹ But Stenhouse had the opposite effect on a later visitor. William Rae was in town in October 1869, when Stenhouse was disfellowshipped for, as Rae saw it, “not being as ardent a supporter of the President’s [Brigham Young’s] temporal power as of his spiritual pretensions.” After “making an unqualified admission of error” and apologizing, Stenhouse was reinstated. Rae was not impressed that Stenhouse “submitted to the rebuke.”³²

Although the British gentlemen liked Brigham Young and Stenhouse personally, they did not like what they stood for. Brigham Young was a one-man power, and Stenhouse was obedient to that power. Dilke and Dixon reported that Stenhouse told them Brother Brigham “ought to do everything” and “have his way in everything.”³³ To Dixon, “such an act of prostration . . . in free America . . . coming from the lips of a writer who could make jokes and quote the last poem, and who is enough American to carry two revolvers in his pockets” was “more than strange. It was a sign” of

“Asiatic obedience to a man without birth, without education” whom the Latter-day Saints “have chosen to regard as God’s own vicar on the earth.”³⁴

British travelers in America at that time were critical of American democracy, not always of the theory, but of the practice. They considered the American political system of universal suffrage to be rule by the people but “*not by the best people*,” a rule resulting in “tyranny of the majority.”³⁵ The travelers pointed out that, in Utah, church and state went hand in hand — Utah Territory was a theocracy. They were critical of the theocracy, not because it was different from American-style democracy, but because they considered it an oligarchy, a tyranny, a despotism, a one-man rule. Chandless thought it “the very worst feature of Mormonism.”³⁶ Burton was being sarcastic when he called it “the perfection of government,” because he then explained that the theocracy was like “the universal suffrage of the American States, tempered by the despotism of France and Russia.” All Church officers were first chosen “of the Lord through His Prophet” and were afterwards “voted in” by “every adult male” at the semiannual conferences. Thus, Burton continued, the Latter-day Saint male had “all the harmless pleasure of voting, without the danger of injuring himself by his vote.” Furthermore, Burton well understood “how thoroughly hateful to the petulant fanatical republican of the New World” was “the Mormon state within [a] state.”³⁷

A political ideal asserted by the travelers as they discussed the Church was liberty — liberty of thought, speech, and action. They believed the British practiced it, the Americans less so, and the Latter-day Saints hardly at all.³⁸ The toleration afforded the Latter-day Saint missionaries in England, declared Rae, stood out in contrast to the intolerant and inhumane treatment of the missionaries in nearly every other land and was “an honour to this sea-girt home of free thought and free speech.”³⁹ Burton showed “how little of that ‘largest liberty,’ concerning which the traveler in the United States hears so often and sees so seldom, has been extended to” the Latter-day Saints.⁴⁰ But for the Latter-day Saints themselves “freedom of thought or of action” was “as impossible as to idiots or slaves.”⁴¹ Some travelers, however, gave the Latter-day Saints credit for tolerating anti-Mormon preachers and the anti-Mormon press, itself doing harm “to liberty of thought throughout the world.”⁴² Finally, some believed, how the Americans would deal with the Latter-day Saints would underscore the riddle of liberty — “to what extent toleration of creeds implies toleration of the conduct which springs from creeds.”⁴³

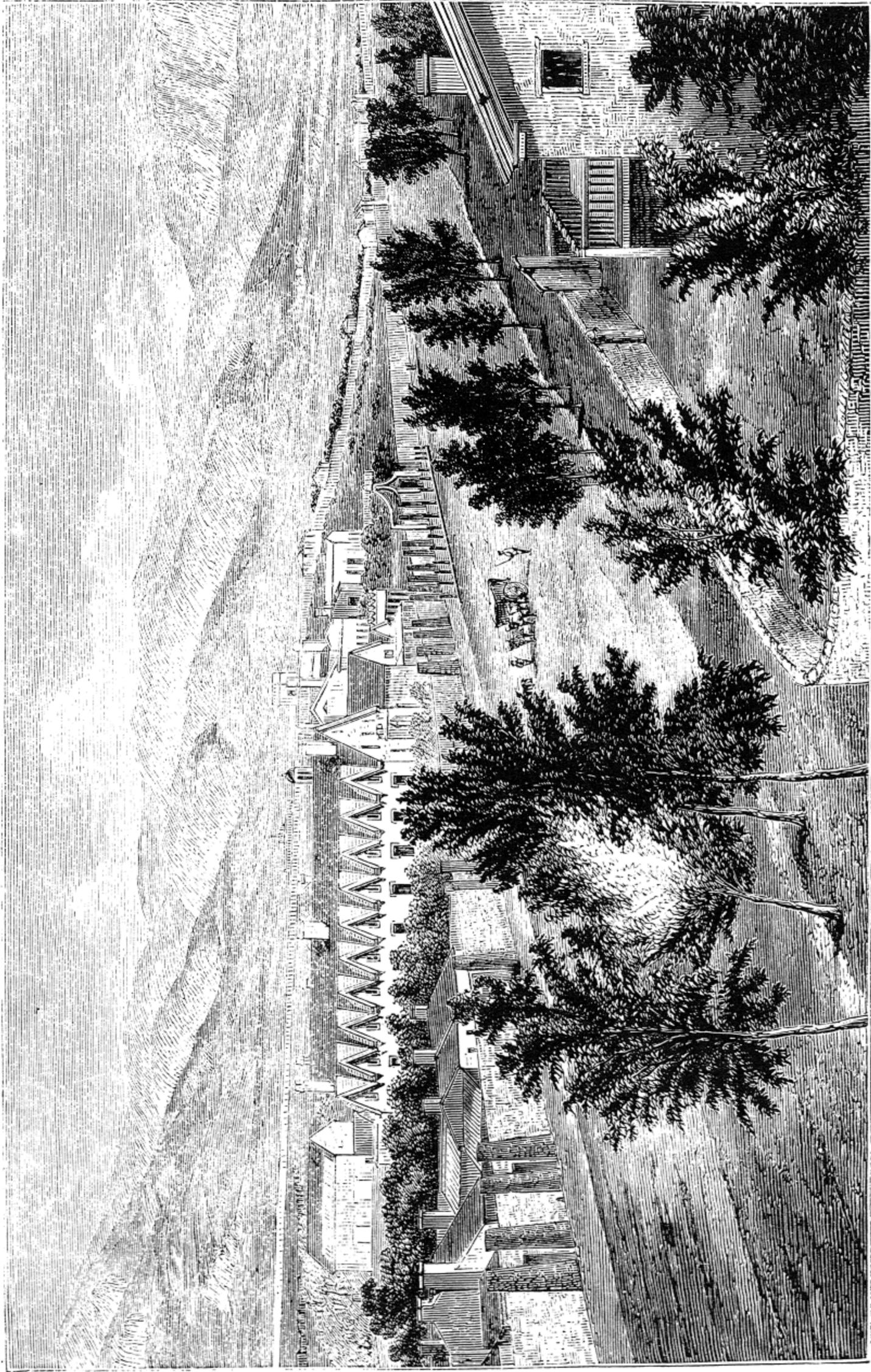


FIGURE 2. "The prophet's block" (engraving from Burton, *The City of the Saints*, 247). Visible are the wall, which at that time was strengthened with semicircular buttresses; the Lion House with its multiple gables; offices; the "Bee House"; and the Tithing Office.

The British observers were intensely interested in American religions, not just in Mormonism, but in all sects arising in a land without an established state church.⁴⁴ A number of travelers made a determined effort to understand and analyze Church doctrine and practices. They questioned Church leaders, attended Sunday services,⁴⁵ collected transcripts of sermons published in the *Deseret News*, excerpted catechisms provided by the Church Historian's Office, summarized Orson Pratt,⁴⁶ and read parts of the Book of Mormon.⁴⁷ They displayed their knowledge of comparative religions. Some, like Burton, put Mormonism in the context of the Protestant Reformation.⁴⁸ Bonwick characterized Latter-day Saint belief in the preexistence as "a sort of Miltonic version, and not unlike Milton's original from the Persian Zoroaster."⁴⁹ A number noted Old Testament parallels and judged Mormonism to be millennial, materialistic, anthropomorphic, utilitarian, eclectic, hierarchical, patriarchal, and contradictory. But the British observers also took issue with each other. Dixon wrote that the Latter-day Saints believed that labor was "noble and holy" and that "every action of the day" was considered in relation to "the will of God."⁵⁰ Bell countered that the Latter-day Saints showed "an entire absence of religious devotion," appearing "to worship no deity but the works of their own hands — not wood and stone exactly, but coin and fruit-trees, factories and theatres."⁵¹

As well as analyzing the Latter-day Saint religion, travelers in the 1870s described two schisms from the Church — the "Reorganized Church . . . headed by the sons of Joseph Smith" and the "Church of Zion" (or "Godbeites") presided over "by Messrs. Godbe, Harrison, and Shearman."⁵² The travelers concluded that neither schism posed a permanent threat to the dominant church. Regarding the Reorganized Church, Rae observed that "the living priest" (Brigham Young) had "a great advantage over the dead prophet" (Joseph Smith).⁵³ The Godbeites, however, were not dismissed as lightly.

Probably attracted by a shared cultural background, the British travelers seemed particularly interested in the Godbeites, who either had been born in Great Britain or had proselyted there. Like the travel writers, the Godbeite leaders "virtually to a man" displayed "artistic, journalistic, or literary talent."⁵⁴ Furthermore, the Godbeites promulgated the British Victorian ideal of "freedom," interpreted, in part, as freewheeling public debate and laissez-faire economics.⁵⁵

The travelers summarized the tenets of the Godbeites, who professed to communicate with "departed spirits."⁵⁶ Because of this Godbeite belief, the Latter-day Saints told visitors that the

Godbeites were given over to the Devil, but “further investigation,” such as talking to the dissidents and reading their newspaper, the *Tribune*, satisfied Bonwick that “they were not less moral than the orthodox, though a great deal more daring and inquisitive.”⁵⁷ Ollivant judged their “programme” of “universal charity” to be “too ideal to be successful in such a world as ours” but found it “impossible to withhold a feeling of respect from these men who against great difficulties” were “trying to reform the principal abuses of the system” — polygamy and the “infallibility of the priesthood and of Brigham Young.”⁵⁸

Polygamy was the topic on which the travelers wrote the most pages, gave the strongest opinions, were most familiar with what others had written, and made the greatest effort to get information. They questioned Latter-day Saints (mostly men), collected publications such as the revelation on “plurality of wives” (D&C 132) and Belinda Pratt’s defense of polygamy,⁵⁹ and gathered statistics, which varied widely, about the number of Brigham Young’s wives, the proportion of females to males in the Territory, and the percentage of polygamous to monogamous marriages. They tried to find out if Latter-day Saint women were really the ugly, wretched creatures of the anti-Mormon stereotype.⁶⁰

All the travelers commented on the general appearance of Latter-day Saint women. Only a few, however, had a firsthand look at a polygamous household and could surmise whether the women were happy or miserable. While not finding them ugly, most observers were not impressed. They described the women as plain, unfashionable, modest to the extreme, quiet, shy, subdued, perplexed, thoughtful, and melancholic. Bonwick judged them “healthy” and “contented looking” but “a deal heavier than their sisters in the monogamous East.”⁶¹ On the other hand, Burton “found them exceedingly pretty and attractive, especially Miss ____.”⁶² Chandless, who boarded for two months with Vincent Shurtleff and his four wives and children,⁶³ found each of his hostesses attractive. He also stated that the “wretchedness of wives in Utah has been greatly exaggerated: . . . human nature is apt to suit itself to necessities, and many among their daily occupations have little time for repining.”⁶⁴ Besides, Bonwick pointed out, “there is another cause for the silence of wives under the burden [of polygamy]. They voluntarily submitted to the yoke.”⁶⁵

Harris thought the “firm belief” of Latter-day Saint women in polygamy “strange.”⁶⁶ But regarding the women’s support of polygamy, Burton explained, “the Mormon prophets have expended all their arts upon this end.”⁶⁷ The travelers summarized the Latter-day Saint defense of polygamy, which included

religious, social, and physical justifications. Foremost, it was a “religious duty” based on revelation, Old Testament precedent, and concepts of both premortal existence and afterlife. The issue for women was not happiness, but salvation — “no Cross, no Crown.”⁶⁸ Of secondary importance were social benefits claimed by the Latter-day Saints — it built population, took care of excess females, and combatted “the social evil” (prostitution). All travelers but Burton decided not to print the Latter-day Saints’ physical arguments for polygamy because they “touch[ed] on subjects too delicate” to mention.⁶⁹ Burton, however, explained: “All sensuality . . . is strictly forbidden beyond the requisite for ensuring progeny,” and the mother must remain continent “during the gestation and nursing of children.”⁷⁰

As the Latter-day Saint prophets allegedly expended all their arts to convince Latter-day Saint women to submit to polygamy, so the travelers exerted their reasoning power to dispute the Latter-day Saint rationale. In so doing, they asserted their own values. Monogamous marriage was as important and sacred an institution to them as polygamous marriage was to the Latter-day Saints. Dixon declared, “Marriage lies at the root of society,” and “the true law of nature . . . is, that one male and one female shall make their home together.”⁷¹ Burton affirmed that “monogamy is best fitted for the large, wealthy, and flourishing communities,” implying that polygamy might be appropriate for small, poor, struggling ones.⁷² But was it acceptable for Christian and Western communities? Longworth concluded no, that “living in the West, and being Christians . . . made the crime.”⁷³ Some pointed out fallacies in Latter-day Saint arguments. Contrasting polygamy to social evils did not make it right, nor did the antiquity of the practice. Why not concubines, too, asked Bonwick.⁷⁴ Others worried about specific problems such as the legal status of additional wives and children and the early age at which Latter-day Saint females married.⁷⁵ A few judged polygamy incestuous in appearance if not in practice.⁷⁶ A number believed it unfair to bachelors.⁷⁷ At least two supposed it would result in an excess of female births.⁷⁸ Several noticed the lack of romance in courtship and marriage resulting in “an unnatural reserve at home” and “Moslem gloom” hanging over society.⁷⁹ Dixon and Rae thought it gave Brigham Young power to impose or bestow additional wives on favored “elders and apostles,” making him, as Dixon put it, “the master of every house in Utah.”⁸⁰

The inequality of Latter-day Saint women was a point against polygamy expressed by almost every traveler. Dilke stated: “If we have one argument against polygamy which from our Gentile point of view is unanswerable, it is not necessary that we should rack our

brains for others. All our modern experience is favorable to ranking woman as man's equal; polygamy assumes that she shall be his servant — loving, faithful, cheerful, willing, but still a servant."⁸¹ This point did not bother Burton, who thought womanhood happier "below par" than on a pedestal.⁸² It upset Chandless, however, that Latter-day Saint men argued "the physical and mental inferiority of the female sex" before their wives.⁸³ Bonwick, too, was uneasy with the Latter-day Saints' "undue exaltation of men," the inferior position of wives who succeeded the first, and the belief that a Latter-day Saint woman's "express and highest mission" is that of marriage and bearing children. About the latter, Bonwick asked, "Should it be held disreputable, or contrary to Scripture warrant, for Miss Martineau or Miss Florence Nightingale to persist in their taste for a single life?"⁸⁴

Every traveler had an opinion about the future of the Church. Burton, writing just before the Civil War, thought the Latter-day Saints would become an independent nation, maintaining theocracy and polygamy.⁸⁵ The others predicted change as a result of "foes within, as well as foes without."⁸⁶ Internal "foes" included the eventual death of Brigham Young, the influence of schisms, and the modification of tenets as "American forms of thought" prevailed.⁸⁷ External foes would not and should not include physical force; past persecution was wrong, and besides, it had strengthened the Church.⁸⁸ Neither would the rising waters of the Great Salt Lake "swamp" the Latter-day Saints. But the Gentiles would.⁸⁹ Due to the discovery of minerals and the completion of the transcontinental railroad, Gentiles were pouring into Utah.⁹⁰ With wealth and prosperity, the power of the "Prophet and his apostles" would "sensibly decline."⁹¹ A number of travelers also noted the initial attempts to enact and enforce legislation against polygamy. "Enforce the law," they advised, and let the government "place its shield between the Mormons and the darts of Jove."⁹²

Although a few travelers raised the possibility that the Latter-day Saints would again move, either to Mexico or the Sandwich Islands, rather than let go of polygamy,⁹³ most predicted that the Latter-day Saints would give it up. Two travelers who paid a visit to Church Historian George A. Smith in 1875 claimed that Smith told them polygamy was not essential for the Church to flourish. The Reverend Manning wrote that Smith said if the time came for the Latter-day Saints to abandon polygamy, they could "go back upon the first revelation," a passage in the Book of Mormon that condemns polygamy. John Murphy quoted Elder Smith as thinking "that the truths of the faith would survive, even if polygamy were abolished."⁹⁴

A study of British travelers in the Mountain West in the 1870s, 80s, and 90s focused on Colorado and concluded that the visitors found “the West” to be the “most American” part of the country.⁹⁵ If the author had included Utah Territory in his focus, he could have added that the Britons found Utah’s Latter-day Saint theocracy to be not only un-American but also at odds with a number of cherished British values as well. Dixon’s point of view reflected that of most travelers: the Latter-day Saints had “cast aside” the “white” man’s “most precious conquests of time and thought — personal freedom, family life, change of rulers, right of speech, concurrence in laws, equality before the judge, liberty of writing and voting.”⁹⁶ Yet the British observers admired the Latter-day Saint community’s rapid development, sobriety, English appearance, and attention to the poor and uneducated European converts. They also liked individual Latter-day Saints, despite having “no very elevated respect for their creed.”⁹⁷

The Latter-day Saint image in the British travel accounts is broader and more balanced than the negative stereotype of other genres. Yet the travelers wrote in light of the stereotype, tempering it, adding details, and responding to the issues it raised. This analysis of travel literature also supports several conclusions about public opinion made in Jan Shipps’s study of the Latter-day Saint image in periodicals. The “scholarly” articles that appeared occasionally in these periodicals were more “neutral” than other types, such as those by religious leaders.⁹⁸ The travelers considered themselves “men of science” and probably regarded plays, novels, most newspaper and periodical articles, and cartoons about the Latter-day Saints the way Rae regarded Dixon’s writings about the Latter-day Saints — not “trustworthy merely because they happen to be entertaining.”⁹⁹ Shipps’s study of periodicals also concluded that polygamy was “the primary concern of those who wrote about the Latter-day Saints between 1861 and 1895,” followed by Latter-day Saint political control.¹⁰⁰ No other British traveler suggested, as Burton did, that the issue of polygamy had been “used as a tool by designing men to raise up enmity against a peaceful, industrious, and law-abiding people.”¹⁰¹ Rather, the majority concurred with Frederick Whymper that the Church had “its good points. The practice of polygamy” was “its great curse.”¹⁰²

NOTES

¹Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 219, 224–38.

²For a listing of works discussing the image of the Latter-day Saints in various media, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), 648–49; and Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914: Cartoons, Caricatures, and Illustrations* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

³For an introduction, see Edwina Jo Snow, “Singular Saints: The Image of the Mormons in Book-Length Travel Accounts, 1847–1857” (Master’s thesis, George Washington University, 1972), which also includes a discussion of accounts published in the 1860s. See also Edwina Jo Snow, “William Chandless: British Overlander, Mormon Observer, Amazon Explorer,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (Spring 1986): 116–36.

⁴William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen included excerpts from British travelers in *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969). Leonard J. Arrington used British observations to fill in his portrait of Brigham Young in *Brigham Young: American Moses* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 324–28.

⁵Two studies are Richard L. Rapson, *Britons View America: Travel Commentary, 1860–1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971); and Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1953).

⁶Burton, *City of the Saints*, 228.

⁷Burton, *City of the Saints*, 224.

⁸William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the Pacific Ocean during 1867–8* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), vii.

⁹Burton, *City of the Saints*, 367–68; and Major Sir Rose Lambart Price, *The Two Americas; an Account of Sport and Travel with Notes on Men and Manners in North and South America* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1877), 265–66. The only other traveler who swam in the Great Salt Lake was J[ohn] W[hetham] Boddam-Whetham, *Western Wanderings: A Record of Travel in the Evening Land* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874), 77–78.

¹⁰Price, *The Two Americas*, 263. For a detailed history of Alta City’s Emma Mine, the “most famous — or infamous” of all Anglo-American mining enterprises in the 1870s, see Clark C. Spence, *British Investments and the American Mining Frontier, 1860–1901* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), 229.

¹¹John Mortimer Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains: being a description of the physical geography, climate, soil, productions, industrial and commercial resources, scenery, population, educational institutions, arboreal botany, and game animals of Oregon, Washington Territory, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1879), 229.

¹²Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 232.

¹³Burton, *City of the Saints*, 221; William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake; Being a Journey across the Plains and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1857), 154; Frederick Whympfer, “From Ocean to Ocean: The Pacific Railroad” in three parts in *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Discovery, Geography and Adventure*, ed. Henry Walter Bates (London, 1869), 57; and J[oseph] E[arle] Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake; or New Zealand to New York by the New Mail Route* (London: William Hunt and Company, 1871), 50–51.

¹⁴James Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872), 30.

¹⁵William Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, 2 vols. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867), 1:198–208; and Maria Theresa Longworth [Thérèse Yelverton] (Viscountess Avonmore), *Teresina in America*, 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1975), 2:47.

¹⁶Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 68–79.

¹⁷Burton, *City of Saints*, 281–82; Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 186* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1869), 107–17; and Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 160–63.

¹⁸Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 214–23; and W[illiam] F[raser] Rae, *Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East* (London: Longmans, Guen, and Co., 1870), 119–20.

¹⁹Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 101–3.

²⁰Longworth, *Teresina in America*, 35.

²¹Snow, “Singular Saints,” 91–92.

²²Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 106.

²³Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 154; and Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 138.

²⁴Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 36; and Dixon, *New America* 1:241.

²⁵Burton, *City of the Saints*, 494–95.

²⁶Dixon, *New America* 1:241.

²⁷Burton, *City of the Saints*, 495.

²⁸Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 210–13.

²⁹Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 242–43.

³⁰Dixon, *New America* 1:245; and Burton, *City of the Saints*, 247, 399.

³¹Ronald W. Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," *Journal of Mormon History* 1 (1974): 55.

³²Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 153–54. Stenhouse requested excommunication less than a year later in August 1870 (Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," 62).

³³Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 102; and Dixon, *New America* 1:245.

³⁴Dixon, *New America* 1:245–46.

³⁵Rapson, *Britons View America*, 130, 137; italics in original.

³⁶Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 178.

³⁷Burton, *City of the Saints*, 334–35, 456.

³⁸British travelers generally thought Americans were less tolerant of dissent than were the British (Rapson, *Britons View America*, 139).

³⁹Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 137.

⁴⁰Burton, *City of the Saints*, 456.

⁴¹Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 118.

⁴²Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 117.

⁴³Dixon, *New America* 1:243.

⁴⁴Rapson, *Britons View America*, 144.

⁴⁵In the Tabernacle, Murphy did not sit in the front section reserved for Gentiles but, by mistake, sat "among the chosen people." He got poked in the ribs during Brigham Young's inflammatory sermon against the Gentiles. "That's the way to give it on to 'em," his seat mate said (Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 240).

⁴⁶Burton was disappointed that he could not meet Pratt (Burton, *City of the Saints*, 393–94).

⁴⁷Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 164; and Burton, *City of the Saints*, 284.

⁴⁸Burton, *City of the Saints*, 405.

⁴⁹Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 50.

⁵⁰Dixon, *New America* 1:250, 268.

⁵¹Bell, *New Tracks in North America*, 462–63.

⁵²Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, viii, 80–82.

⁵³Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 126.

⁵⁴Ronald W. Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1977), 23–24.

⁵⁵Walker, "The Godbeite Protest in the Making of Modern Utah," 25.

⁵⁶For the spiritualist aspect of the Godbeite schism, see Ronald W. Walker, "The Commencement of the Godbeite Protest: Another View," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 42 (Summer 1974): 217–44.

⁵⁷Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 146.

⁵⁸Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 91–92, 82.

⁵⁹Belinda Pratt was the second wife of Stenhouse and a "foremost female advocate of polygamy" (Walker, "The Stenhouses and the Making of a Mormon Image," 61).

⁶⁰Bunker and Bitton said there was "double jeopardy" in being a nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint woman. She could be maligned for the supposed attributes of both women and Latter-day Saints (see chapter 7, "Double Jeopardy: Visual Images of Mormon Women," in *The Mormon Graphic Image*, 123).

⁶¹Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 111–12.

⁶²Burton, *City of the Saints*, 455.

⁶³Snow, "William Chandless," 130.

⁶⁴Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 199–202, 192–93.

⁶⁵Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 113.

⁶⁶[W. A. Harris and Alexander Rivington], *Reminiscences of America in 1869* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1870), 275.

⁶⁷Burton, *City of the Saints*, 482.

⁶⁸Burton, *City of the Saints*, 482.

⁶⁹Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 241; and Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 150.

⁷⁰Burton, *City of the Saints*, 479.

⁷¹Dixon, *New America* 1:288, 302.

⁷²Burton, *City of the Saints*, 480.

⁷³Longworth, *Teresina in America*, 36.

⁷⁴Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 127, 125; and Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 109–11.

⁷⁵Ollivant, *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake*, 111; Burton, *City of the Saints*, 477; and Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 252.

⁷⁶Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 193; Dixon, *New America* 1:307–11; and Whympier, "From Ocean to Ocean," 66. The travelers were referring to alleged instances in which a man had married a woman and her mother.

⁷⁷Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 252; Burton, *City of the Saints*, 483; Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 103; and Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 244, 252.

- ⁷⁸Burton, *City of the Saints*, 479; and Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 123.
- ⁷⁹Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 259; Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 101, 124; and Burton, *City of the Saints*, 468.
- ⁸⁰Dixon, *New America* 1:315–16; and Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 122–23.
- ⁸¹Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 106.
- ⁸²Burton, *City of the Saints*, 481.
- ⁸³Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake*, 241.
- ⁸⁴Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 124–28. Harriet Martineau, a widely read British author dedicated to humanitarian reform, spent two years in the United States (1834–1836) and wrote about her experiences.
- ⁸⁵Burton, *City of the Saints*, 334.
- ⁸⁶Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 168.
- ⁸⁷Bell, *New Tracks in North America*, 465.
- ⁸⁸Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 169; and Rev. Samuel Manning, *American Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil* (London: The Religious Tract Society [ca.1876]), 80.
- ⁸⁹Harris and Rivington, *Reminiscences of America in 1869*, 275–76.
- ⁹⁰William Robertson and W. F. Robertson, *Our American Tour: Being a Run of Ten Thousand Miles from the Atlantic to the Golden Gate, in the Autumn of 1869* (Edinburgh, 1871), 77; and Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 169.
- ⁹¹Price, *The Two Americas*, 263.
- ⁹²Rae, *Westward by Rail*, 177; and Bonwick, *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*, 187.
- ⁹³Dilke, *Greater Britain*, 121; Robertson, *Our American Tour*, 77; and Alfred Falk, *Trans-Pacific Sketches: A Tour through the United States and Canada* (Melbourne: George Robertson, 1877), 57.
- ⁹⁴Manning, *American Pictures*, 79–80; and Murphy, *Rambles in North-Western America*, 248.
- ⁹⁵Athearn, *Westward the Briton*, 151.
- ⁹⁶Dixon, *New America* 1:245.
- ⁹⁷William Kelly, *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada; with a Stroll through the Diggings and Ranches of That Country*, 2 vols. (1851; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1973), 1:234.
- ⁹⁸Jan Shipps, “From Satyr to Saint: American Attitudes toward the Mormons, 1860–1960,” (paper delivered at the 1973 Meeting of the Organization of American Historians), 21 (copy in possession of the author).
- ⁹⁹Rae, *Westward by Rail*, xi.
- ¹⁰⁰Shipps, “From Satyr to Saint,” 18, 22.
- ¹⁰¹Burton, *City of the Saints*, 232.
- ¹⁰²Whymper, “From Ocean to Ocean,” 66.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

SECONDARY SOURCES

The main studies of British travelers in America are these: Allan Nevins, *America through British Eyes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1948); Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveler in America, 1785–1835* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1922); Max Berger, *The British Traveller in America, 1836–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943); and Richard L. Rapson, *Britons View America: Travel Commentary, 1860–1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1971). A study focusing mostly on Colorado is Robert G. Athearn, *Westward the Briton* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1953).

BOOKS BY BRITISH TRAVELERS

The following list of travel books was compiled from the Athearn and Rapson bibliographies, which were selective. Thus it does not contain every British traveler who published comments about a visit to the Latter-day Saints between 1847–1877. Nor does it include accounts by British apostates such as

John E. Davis, *Mormonism Unveiled* (Bristol, 1855); or British Saints such as Frederick Hawkins Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (1855; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962). Nor does it include periodical articles based on a visit to Salt Lake City such as Charles Marshall, "Salt Lake City and the Valley Settlements," *Fraser's Magazine* (July 1871).

The biographical information in the annotations is based on the aforementioned books by Athearn and Rapson and on Margaret Drabble, ed., *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 5th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). The books are arranged chronologically, based, as far as I can determine, on when the traveler visited Latter-day Saints rather than on the date of publication.

Kelly, William. *An Excursion to California over the Prairie, Rocky Mountains, and Great Sierra Nevada; with a Stroll through the Diggings and Ranches of That Country*. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1851 (reprint; New York: Arno Press, 1973). Kelly, an articulate, good-natured Irishman, rested for several days in Salt Lake City in late June 1849 with a party of about twenty-five gold-seekers, the majority British. He kept a diary with the intent of publishing.

Chandless, William. *A Visit to Salt Lake; Being a Journey across the Plains with a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah*. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1857 (reprint; New York: A.M.S. Press, 1971). Chandless (1829–1896), a wealthy Cambridge graduate, gave up law for travel and exploration. He crossed the continent on a whim by hiring on as a "cattle driver" with a wagon train bound for Salt Lake City. There, he boarded with a polygamous family during November and December 1855 before continuing to California via the Mormon corridor. He later explored and mapped the southern tributaries of the Amazon River.

Burton, Richard F. *The City of the Saints and across the Rocky Mountains to California*. Ed. Fawn M. Brodie. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963. Burton (1821–1890), who left Oxford without graduating, published over forty volumes of travel as well as other literary works. In 1860 Burton took the mail stage to Salt Lake City and spent three weeks there, in September, gathering information for his book on the Latter-day Saints.

Dixon, William Hepworth. *New America*. 2 vols. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867. Dixon (1821–1879) was editor of the *Athenaeum*, a London literary periodical. In 1866 Dixon met Charles Wentworth Dilke, the son of the proprietor of the *Athenaeum*, at Omaha, Nebraska, and together they traveled by stagecoach to Salt Lake City, where they spent fifteen days in August (?) collecting material about the Latter-day Saints. *New America* went through eight editions. Also based on the 1866 trip is *Spiritual Wives*, 2 vols. (London, 1868). Dixon returned to Utah in 1874 and later published *White Conquest*, 2 vols. (London, 1876).

Dilke, Sir Charles Wentworth. *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*. London: MacMillan and Co., 1869 (first published as a two-volume work in 1868). Dilke (1843–1911), Cambridge graduate and son of the proprietor of the *Athenaeum*, accompanied Dixon, its editor, on a visit to Salt Lake City in August (?), 1866. He later became a radical M.P. Some say Dilke might have succeeded Gladstone as prime minister if not for his connection in a divorce scandal. *Greater Britain* passed through four editions.

Bell, William A. *New Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Railroad to the*

- Pacific Ocean during 1867–8*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1870 (reprint; Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965). Bell, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, took no part in the survey for the Kansas Pacific Railway Company but served the expedition first as “photographer” and then as “physician.” In February 1868 he traveled by mail coach from San Francisco to Salt Lake City, where he “remained some time” (460).
- Townshend, Frederick Trench. *Ten Thousand Miles of Travel, Sport, and Adventure*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1869. Townshend (1838–1924), a captain of the Second Life Guards, along with a fellow officer, C. P. Kendall, joined a party of American army scouts crossing the plains in 1868. Townshend spent four days in Salt Lake City that winter before continuing to California in the “odious mud-wagon” (209).
- Whymper, Frederick. “From Ocean to Ocean: The Pacific Railroad,” in three parts in *Illustrated Travels: A Record of Discovery, Geography, and Adventure*. Ed. Henry Walter Bates (London, 1869). Traveling west a week before the transcontinental railroad was completed (10 May 1869), Whymper spent a few days in Salt Lake City.
- [Harris, W. A., and Alexander Rivington]. *Reminiscences of America in 1869*. London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1870. The authors spent several days in Salt Lake City in August (?) 1869. “Harris wrote more than two thirds of the book” (Rapson, *Britons View America*, 234), which was originally prepared as lecture notes.
- Robertson, William, and W. F. Robertson. *Our American Tour: Being a Run of Ten Thousand Miles from the Atlantic to the Golden Gate, in the Autumn of 1869*. Edinburgh, 1871. In Salt Lake City for a few days at the end of August 1869, the authors complained of 118-degree heat. They wrote to “preserve recollections” and published privately.
- Rae, W[illiam] F[raser]. *Westward by Rail: The New Route to the East*. London: Longmans, Guen, and Co., 1870. (The New York 1871 edition was used.) Rae (1835–1905) spent a few days in Salt Lake City in October (?) 1869. His impressions of America were first published as letters in the London *Daily News*, the visit to the Latter-day Saints being one series. Rae differed with Burton and Dixon but found Dilke sensible and fair (x–xi).
- Ollivant, J[oseph] E[arle]. *A Breeze from the Great Salt Lake; or New Zealand to New York by the New Mail Route*. London: William Hunt and Co., 1871. Ollivant, an educator and correspondent for the *Southern Cross*, Auckland, New Zealand, spent 13–16 June 1870 in Salt Lake City. His letters about Utah were lost, and he recast his notes for the book.
- Bonwick, James. *The Mormons and the Silver Mines*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1872. Bonwick (1817–1906), an Australian colonist, spent time in Salt Lake City during the winter of 1870–71 (?). He wrote other books on colonial subjects and on travel.
- Lawrence, George Alfred. *Silverland*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1873. Lawrence (1827–1876), an Oxford graduate, abandoned law for a career as a novelist. Visiting Salt Lake City in early February 1872 at the expense of the Emma Silver Mining Company, he toured the Emma Mine and then became ill.
- Lester, John Erastus. *The Atlantic to the Pacific: What to See and How to See It*. London, 1873. (The Boston 1873 edition was used.) Lester spent a few days in the spring of 1872 in Salt Lake City. Parts of his book appeared first as letters to *The Providence Evening Press*. Although included in Athearn’s bibliography, Lester was possibly not British because in his preface he referred to “our” Great West (6).

- Merewether, Henry Alsworth. *By Sea and by Land; being a trip through Egypt, India, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, and America, all round the world*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1874. Merewether (1812–1877) made a one-night stop in Salt Lake City in 1872.
- Longworth, Maria Theresa, Viscountess Avonmore [Thérèse Yelverton]. *Teresina in America*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1875. Longworth (1832?–1881) spent over a week in Salt Lake City at Christmas time 1872. She wrote three other books about travel in the United States.
- Boddam-Whetham, John Whetham. *Western Wanderings: A Record of Travel in the Evening Land*. London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874. Boddam-Whetham (1843–?) spent a few days in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1873 (?). He is the author of other travel books.
- Campbell, John Francis. *My Circular Notes: Extracts from journals, letters sent home, geological and other notes, written while traveling Westwards round the world, from July 6, 1874, to July 6, 1875*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1876. Campbell (1822–1885) spent one day, 12 August 1874, in Salt Lake City.
- Davenport, Montague. *Under the Gridiron: A summer in the United States and far West, including a run through Canada*. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1876. Davenport spent a few days in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1875.
- Manning, Rev. Samuel. *American Pictures Drawn with Pen and Pencil*. London: The Religious Tract Society, [ca. 1876]. Manning (1822–1881) was a Baptist minister who edited the *Baptist Magazine*. He spent a few days in Salt Lake City in the summer of 1875. He also wrote other travel accounts.
- Murphy, John Mortimer. *Rambles in North-Western America from the Pacific Ocean to the Rocky Mountains: Being a description of the physical geography, climate, soil, productions, industrial and commercial resources, scenery, population, educational institutions, arboreal botany, and game animals of Oregon, Washington Territory, Idaho, Montana, Utah, and Wyoming*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1879. Murphy called on George A. Smith, so he visited Salt Lake City before 1 September 1875 (when Smith died). Murphy went south as far as St. George to find “Simon pure” Latter-day Saints. He wrote other books about the American West.
- Price, Major Sir Rose Lambart. *The Two Americas; an Account of Sport and Travel with Notes on Men and Manners in North and South America*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1877. Price (1837–1899) observed the funeral of George A. Smith, Sunday, 5 September 1875, during his several-days visit to Salt Lake City.
- Falk, Alfred. *Trans-Pacific Sketches: A Tour through the United States and Canada*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1877. Falk, an Australian, spent a few days in Salt Lake City in May 1876.
- Leng, Sir John. *America in 1876: Pencillings during a Tour in the Centennial Year: With a Chapter on the Aspects of American Life*. Dundee: Dundee Advertiser, 1877. Leng (1828–1906), editor of the *Dundee Advertiser*, visited Salt Lake City for one day in the autumn of 1876. Parts of his book first appeared in the *Dundee Advertiser* as “Across the Atlantic.”

Conventional Musings

Paranobitantribellum.
I think he spoke of that.
Paranobitantribellum —
That's what it was, from where I sat.
Relationships of Haustopausits.
Dialogues of Foustumcausits.
Poetic license, or a thing more wondrous,
All was quite parnobitantriboundrous.
Evident testimony of cuantitantrous,
The character waxed philandipantrous.

“Crumbioulious, witcomtantri,”
Said the cat from a shelf in the pantry.

“Titi biti y cambriclorange,”
Answered the walloby, “Iantomborange.”

Oh, les belles choses, les belles choses!
Marvellous souls in second-hand clothes.
¡Señor, Señor, lo que inventa la gente!
(It's fair close to Latin, like “probablemente.”)

The conclusion has merit, and never doubt it.
He pounded the pulpit and commenced to shout it.
“Paranobitantribellum.”
That's right, neophyte, you bet! You tell 'em!

— Harold K. Moon

The Church's Image in Italy from the 1840s to 1946: A Bibliographic Essay

Michael W. Homer

Since Italy's transformation from a kingdom to a republic in 1946 and the reestablishment of the Italian Mission in 1966, there has been a virtual explosion of articles published in Italy concerning The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Hundreds of magazine and newspaper articles have appeared in the Italian press, as well as a scattering of books and pamphlets. Nevertheless, fewer books containing references to the Church were published in Italy during the last twenty-five years than in the preceding one hundred years.¹ Many of these earlier books do not appear in Chad J. Flake's *Mormon Bibliography* and its ten-year supplement,² which attempt to identify all books published concerning the Church from 1830 to 1930.

Some of these works were published by the Latter-day Saints themselves after the establishment of the short-lived Italian Mission (1850–1867); others were published by Italian travelers to the American west after the completion of the transcontinental railroad; and a few are translations of accounts written by British, French and German authors. The remaining books and articles were published by those who had never visited Utah but still had opinions concerning the Church. This essay will identify and briefly describe these works.

THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN ITALY

The Italian Mission

Soon after Lorenzo Snow, T. B. H. Stenhouse, Jabez Woodard, and Joseph Toronto (a Sicilian who was converted to the Church in the

Michael W. Homer is an attorney in Salt Lake City, Utah. He is also on the Executive Committee and Board of Trustees of The Utah Opera Company. Portions of this paper were delivered to the Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Foggia, Italy, on 2 May 1990, and to the Department of Sociology, University of Torino, in Turin, Italy, on 15 October 1990.

United States) arrived in Italy in 1850 to commence missionary work, Elder Snow made arrangements to publish a tract he had written especially for the mission.³ *La Voix de Joseph*⁴ was published in French because Elder Snow commenced his mission among the Waldensians, who were located in the Kingdom of Sardinia and spoke French as did most of the inhabitants of Piedmont.⁵ In order to publish the book in Turin, the capital of the kingdom (which eventually absorbed the rest of the peninsula and became the Kingdom of Italy in 1861), Elder Snow placed “a woodcut of a Catholic Nun, Anchor, Lamp and Cross on the first page, and on the last, Noah’s Ark, the dove and the olive.”⁶ No work, according to Elder Snow, was permitted to be published “which attacks the principles of Catholicism.”⁷ That same year, another work by Elder Snow, *Exposition des premiers principes de la doctrine de l’Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours*,⁸ sans nun and ark was also published in French in Turin. It was translated from a pamphlet he had written while serving as a missionary in Great Britain ten years earlier.⁹ For the first year of the Italian Mission, these were the only missionary tracts which were circulated in Italy. The second pamphlet was republished by T. B. H. Stenhouse after his arrival in Geneva to organize the Swiss Mission.¹⁰

The publication of Elder Snow’s pamphlets provoked two Swiss nationals to write responses which were distributed in Piedmont. Louis Favez wrote a 46-page tract which advanced the Spaulding Theory and quoted from *La voix de Joseph* and *Exposition des premiers principes*,¹¹ while Emile Guers wrote a pamphlet in which he compared Mormonism and Irvingism and criticized “the corpus vile” of Elder Snow’s “paltry pamphlets.”¹² These pamphlets caused T. B. H. Stenhouse to respond with a third Church tract, which was also criticized in subsequent writings by Favez and Guers.¹³ At the same time, John C. Bennett’s anti-Mormon book, *The History of the Saints*,¹⁴ was also circulating in Italy.

During his first six months in Italy, Lorenzo Snow wrote five letters to Church officials which recounted the history of the mission and the general reaction of the Waldensians to the elders’ message. He published these letters in a tract entitled *The Italian Mission* in January 1851, when he returned to Great Britain to supervise the translation of the Book of Mormon into Italian.¹⁵ One of these letters had previously been published in *The Millennial Star*,¹⁶ and all were later included in Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow*.¹⁷ Some also appeared in *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine*.¹⁸

LA VOIX DE JOSEPH

ÉCRITE ET RECUEILLIE PAR

LORENZO SNOW, MINISTRE DE L'ÉVANGILE

DE LA CITÉ DU GRAND SALL-LAKE

Dans l'Etat de Deseret (Haute-Californie)

DANS L'AMÉRIQUE DU NORD.



TURIN

IMPRIMERIE, FERRERO ET FRANCO

1851

FIGURE 1. The title page of Lorenzo Snow's *La Voix de Joseph*, the first Latter-day Saint tract published in Italy. Although intended for the Italian Mission, the tract is written in French, the principal language of the Piedmont, and its title page has a Catholic-style woodcut.

Although these letters reflect Lorenzo Snow's severe disappointment with the lack of progress of the Italian Mission, he proceeded with an Italian translation, published in London, of the Book of Mormon.¹⁹ Although approximately 1,000 copies were published, only 192 were actually bound in 1852, 18 of which were presentation copies.²⁰ The remaining copies were not bound until 1927 and 1930, the same period the Church of Jesus Christ (Bickertonites) published its own Italian translation of the Book of Mormon.²¹ In 1852, the Italian Mission also published an Italian translation of Elder Snow's *Exposition des premiers principes*²² of which no copies apparently survive.

Of the three tracts and one book published in 1851–52, *La Voix de Joseph* was most often mentioned by missionaries as being useful in attracting new converts. In his manuscript history, Jabez Woodard²³ described one early convert as a “firm believer in the Voice of Joseph.” The official announcement of polygamy led to criticisms by Favez, Guers, Bennett, and other early critics and in Italy influenced the image of the Church, which was confined to the Waldensian community living in Piedmont. Stephan Malan, one of the earliest converts to the Church in Italy and the first local missionary, wrote in his Autobiography and Family Record, that the Waldensian ministers “announced to the people that [the Latter-day Saint missionaries] were a set of liars, that [they] were wolves in sheep's clothing, that [they] were hired by Brigham Young, to convert them as a bait to bring them to western deserts of America and, the recruits would be slaves, and your young women taken possession by that infamous polygamist and his associates to satiate their lust and debauchery.”²⁴ Such tactics did not always work, however. Woodard, when “finding they were trying to excite prejudice in that way . . . went again and preached plurality to the father, and the result was as it will ever be to an honest mind. The house soon became the stopping place for Elders and some of the highest names in the Church have eat[en] and slept beneath that hospitable roof.”²⁵ The journals of another early Italian missionary, Samuel Francis, are also available at the Church archives.

When Jabez Woodard reported the results of the Italian Mission to an assembly in the Tabernacle in 1854, Brigham Young observed that the Waldensians “are only like the brute; they are not to blame for their superstition, and they are not the people to readily receive the Gospel.”²⁶ Three years later, however, after approximately eighty converts had immigrated to Utah and all foreign missionaries, including those in Italy, were called back to Utah during the war, he commented favorably upon their ancestors.²⁷

After 1857 few converts were made, and the Italian Mission was officially closed ten years later.

During its seventeen-year history, the Italian Mission produced fewer than two hundred converts. The letters published in *The Millennial Star* by Woodard and other Italian missionaries demonstrate their disappointment in these results as well as in the Church's image among the Waldensians.²⁸ Many of these letters are either republished or paraphrased in Daniel B. Richards, *The Scriptural Allegory*.²⁹

After the closure of the mission, George A. Smith summarized its history in the first edition of *The Rise, Progress and Travels of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*.³⁰ The only change made with respect to the Italian Mission in later editions, which were published in 1872 and 1873, was eliminating T. B. H. Stenhouse, who had apostatized from the Church, from the list of elders who had helped establish the Italian Mission in 1850.³¹ In all three editions, Elder Smith listed the names of Daniel Tyler and John L. Smith as presidents of the Swiss–Italian Mission in the late 1850s. Both Tyler's and Smith's journals are in the LDS Church Archives.

Subsequent Visits to Italy

Shortly before the closure of the Italian Mission, the first criticism of Elder Snow and his missionary activities was published in Italian. In 1865 a translation of an article written by William J. Conybeare originally published in the *Edinburgh Review* was printed in Milano.³² In this article, Conybeare criticized not only the Book of Mormon, the Doctrine and Covenants, the practice of polygamy, and various doctrinal works published by Church officials, but also the missionary work of Lorenzo Snow. According to Conybeare, Elder Snow's account contained in *The Italian Mission* was "grotesque"; Conybeare particularly criticized the Apostle for having "contrived to deceive the Roman Catholic authorities, by publishing a tract under the title of 'The Voice of Joseph,' with a woodcut of a nun for a frontispiece and a vignette of a cross upon the title page. Under these false colors, they hope soon to win their way."³³

The appearance of this anti-Mormon tract in Italian is not surprising because of its reference to the Italian Mission and because beginning in the 1860s, Italy had become a battleground for competing protestant messengers. The Latter-day Saints were among the first to arrive (in 1850), but they were followed by the Wesleyans in 1861, the Baptists in 1863, the Adventists in 1864, and the Methodists in 1871.³⁴

In the midst of this protestant onslaught, Elder Snow returned to Italy, but not to the Waldensian valleys and not as a missionary. Instead, he, his sister Eliza, George A. Smith, and several other “tourists” visited the major cities of Italy — Genoa, Milano, Venice, Naples, and Rome — on their way to Palestine, just as Mark Twain had done five years earlier.³⁵ Like Twain, the travelers recorded their adventures in *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists*,³⁶ parts of which were later included in Eliza R. Snow Smith’s *Biography and Family Record*.³⁷ One site which Elder Snow had visited and described in 1850 and to which he returned in 1872 was the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa. In the description of his second visit, which is reminiscent of Twain’s *The Innocents Abroad*, Snow wryly observed that while he and his fellow travelers attended a Catholic service, a guide

waited upon us through the building, pointing out and explaining various objects of interest. He conducted us to a small chapel enclosed by an ornamental railing, and showed us the identical chain with which John the Baptist was bound while in prison previous to being beheaded, and also his ashes enclosed in the silver urn, any doubts we entertained of the genuineness of these articles we refrained from expressing. No woman is allowed to enter the Chapel of St. John, except one day in the year, because one of her sex instigated the death of this saint. My sister, who happened to be the only lady present, bore this interdiction with her characteristic grace and fortitude.³⁸

Ironically, Lorenzo Snow’s second visit to Italy coincided with the arrival in the Waldensian valleys of the first RLDS missionary, John Avondet. Avondet reported in 1873 that he “found many Mormons here, but they all returned back to the Protestant church (or Waldenses Church).” Avondet claimed that the Church’s image made his labors particularly difficult. (His main complaint was polygamy.) He left Italy within two years, after having performed only two baptisms.³⁹

During the same decade, Joseph Toronto, who with Elders Snow, Woodard, and Stenhouse had opened the Italian Mission, also returned to Italy. Like Lorenzo Snow, Elder Toronto did not return to Piedmont, but he did return to his hometown of Palermo, Sicily, where he had spent most of his mission and had baptized a few friends and relatives between 1850 and 1852. Elder Toronto spent an additional one and one-half years in Palermo between 1876 and 1877 and returned to Utah with fourteen friends and relatives for whom he paid boat and train expenses.⁴⁰

Elder Toronto’s visit, and perhaps Elder Snow’s, attracted the attention of the United States and Italian governments. In 1880, a

United States consular official in Palermo noted that “a few Mormons of Sicilian extraction” had been in Palermo during the past five years to look after their pecuniary affairs and to represent “the advantages that must necessarily accrue to all those who espouse their creed and emigrate to Utah.” Yet, according to this consular official, their efforts were unavailing, and the Latter-day Saints returned home alone, in part because “they refused absolutely to give pecuniary aid to all those who showed a disposition to accompany them.”⁴¹

In 1879, the charge d'affaires in Rome, George W. Wurts, also discussed the topic of the Church with the Italian prime minister, Benedetto Cairoli. While noting that “the only instance we have known here of the presence of any Mormon, either as a preacher or proselyte, even as a visitor, was last year, when three compatriots calling themselves Mormon Elders passed through Rome on their way to Jerusalem” (perhaps a reference to Snow's visit to Rome six years earlier), he also related the prime minister's belief that although Mormonism was not present in his country, “all civilized Christian powers should cooperate to terminate the existence of a sect whose tenets are contrary to the recognized laws of morality and decency.” Wurts also told the prime minister that although there was no cause to apprehend a “Mormon crusade in Italy where as yet Mormonism is unknown,” a sect formed by David Lazzaretti, who, like Joseph Smith, claimed to have visions and was martyred, demonstrated “the possibility of the Italian people being led astray by the enticements [of those] who . . . blind them to every sense of reason and of right.”⁴²

Thus thirty years after the organization of the Italian Mission, the image of the Church in Italy, advanced by protestant ministers and government officials, both United States and Italian, was still of a sect composed of poor, uneducated immigrants who illegally practiced polygamy.

After 1867 some of the original Waldensian converts made scattered attempts to find additional converts among the Waldensians: Jacob Rivoire and his wife, Catherine Jouve, proselyted in Piedmont from 1879–1880; James Bertoch and Jules Grague spent a portion of their German-Swiss Mission in Piedmont between 1891 and 1893; and Daniel Richards and Paul Cardon also proselyted among the Waldensians in 1900. These efforts failed to produce any additional converts and apparently went unnoticed by the press and government. No additional missionary work of any significance was done until the early 1960s, and in 1966 the Italian Mission was reestablished.

ITALIAN PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING THE CHURCH

Early Italian Observers of the Church (1844–66)

The image of the Church which Latter-day Saint missionaries had attempted to cultivate in their tracts and discourses did not penetrate beyond the narrow, French-speaking region populated by the Waldensians, and their Italian Book of Mormon did not circulate among the larger Italian-speaking population. The earliest Italian commentators on the Church were not even aware that Latter-day Saints had attempted to proselyte their fellow countrymen for almost two decades. Instead, the image of the nineteenth-century Church in Italy was shaped by observations written by Italians themselves, many of whom visited Utah Territory.

Father Samuele Mazzuchelli, a Dominican priest from Milano, traveled to the United States in 1828 and preached to the Indians for the next thirty-six years. In 1843, Mazzuchelli took a holiday in Italy, where he published an anonymous book recounting his experiences in America, including a visit to Nauvoo, Illinois.⁴³ The book was republished in English in 1915⁴⁴ and 1967.⁴⁵ The Congregation of the Dominican Sisters, of the Holy Rosary of Sinsinawa, which was founded by Father Mazzuchelli in Sinsinawa, Wisconsin, has recently published and presented a *Positio*, a document necessary for canonization, which sets forth Mazzuchelli's reputation for holiness, to the Congregation for the Causes of Saints. The *Positio* briefly mentions his visit among the Latter-day Saints.⁴⁶

While in Nauvoo, which Mazzuchelli visited because he "desired to see and speak with heresiarch known for several years in every part of the Republic and even in England," the Catholic priest visited the Prophet Joseph Smith. Mazzuchelli noted that Joseph "declared that he had many times seen God face-to-face and had had more revelations than the Apostle St. Paul" and that such claims demonstrated that Joseph was a "false prophet" who propagated "heresies."⁴⁷ At the same time, Mazzuchelli argued that Solomon Spaulding wrote the Book of Mormon and that "the theology of the Mormons is chiefly the work of a certain P. Pratt."⁴⁸ Mazzuchelli also blamed the rise of the Church on the gullibility of Protestant ministers and their congregations. Mazzuchelli had apparently learned most of what he knew about the Church from reading J. B. Turner's *Mormonism in All Ages, or the Rise, Progress and Cause of Mormonism*,⁴⁹ which he cited in his book and which, ironically, also criticized Catholicism.⁵⁰

Six years after the publication of Mazzuchelli's memoirs, a second book which discussed the Church appeared in Italian.⁵¹

Antonio Caccia had apparently visited the United States, but it is unlikely that he ever visited Salt Lake City, for his work is both biased and inaccurate. For example, he claimed that the Latter-day Saints immigrated to Utah in 1848 and confused Nauvoo with Salt Lake City. He did, however, accurately describe the Saints as having a “theocratic government with a community of goods and a plurality of women.”⁵² Despite its publication the same year as Elder Snow’s arrival in Italy, Caccia’s book was apparently unknown to the elders.

Another early reference to the doctrine of plural marriage appeared in a book concerning Catholicism and society published by Francesco Cavalleri in 1864. He noted that an official report of the United States in 1851 had determined that eminent persons in “the protestant sect of Mormons” have large numbers of wives “even twenty and thirty and Govenor Yonk [*sic*] has even more.”⁵³

Ten years after the arrival of Elder Snow, while the elders were still attempting to spread their mission to the larger Italian-speaking and Catholic population, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, a journal with strong Vatican ties published its first article devoted solely to the thirty-year-old Church.⁵⁴ *La Civiltà Cattolica* was founded in 1850 by the Jesuits to combat the increasingly vocal attacks on the papacy’s temporal authority. The article is the text of a speech delivered by a Catholic cardinal (Cardinal Reisach) to the Accademia di Religione Cattolica. The cardinal made some of the same criticisms as Father Mazzuchelli fourteen years earlier, but the article also contains some interesting observations which reflect the author’s concerns about the nascent Kingdom of Italy’s stated goal to annex the Papal States and his belief that there were similarities between Mormonism and Catholicism. For example, he noted that Mormonism “mixes and unifies the church with the state . . . and [in] this horrifying and iniquitous, religious, social and political system, I ask myself, can one find a confirmation of Catholic truth. Without doubt . . . isn’t it a Catholic principle that the church must not be separated from the state; . . . these principles are recognized in substance by the Mormons.”⁵⁵ Similarly, the author wrote that “the Mormons . . . resort to primitive revelation, through their inspired, infallible prophet. . . . No one can deny, that in this . . . there comes a testimony concerning the truth of Catholic principles. . . . Mormonism recognizes . . . it must teach with infallibility.”⁵⁶

Another Catholic cleric who mentioned the Church during this same period was the Bishop of Annecy. His book (which apparently appeared in French in the mid-1850s) was published in Italian in 1865.⁵⁷ Bishop Rendu referred to the founder of the Church as “John Schmodt” and noted that converts were being made rapidly in England and Scotland. The Church doctrine which

apparently interested him the most was the “power by virtue of the work of Saint Paul (I Corinthians 15:29) to save the dead they wish by receiving baptism for them.”⁵⁸

Although several other Italian authors wrote concerning the Church in the 1860s, including Giuseppe Fovel,⁵⁹ these accounts were written without the benefit of travel to Utah territory. Most Italian travelers who journeyed to Utah did so after the completion of the transcontinental railroad. However, at least two authors visited the territory prior to 1869.

Early Travel Accounts (1853–69)

The second time an Italian visited a Latter-day Saint prophet occurred ten years after Father Mazzuchelli’s visit to Nauvoo, and one year after Elder Snow returned to Utah from Italy. Count Leonetto Cipriani (Leonetto means “Little Lion”) visited Brigham Young in Salt Lake City while en route to San Francisco as part of a business venture. Cipriani was born in Corsica and raised in Tuscany. In 1852, he was appointed by the King of Sardinia — a kingdom which included both Sardinia and Piedmont — as that country’s first consul in San Francisco. After resigning from that position, he traveled to the midwest, where he purchased cattle to drive them west and sell them for profit in California. During the cattle drive he passed through Salt Lake City in 1853. Upon arriving in Utah Territory, he met a fellow Italian, whom he referred to in his book as Gennaro Capone but who was probably Domenico Ballo, a Sicilian who had converted to the Church and immigrated to Utah in 1851.⁶⁰ Ballo introduced Cipriani to John Taylor, with whom Cipriani was able to converse in French, and Elder Taylor, in turn, introduced Cipriani to Brigham Young. Although Cipriani spent some time with “The Lion of the Lord,” the Little Lion’s recollections consist mainly of his visit to the Salt Lake Theatre, where Ballo conducted the orchestra, and of his various conversations with Elder Taylor regarding the practice of polygamy, the territorial government, and the legal system. Although Cipriani’s work is essentially complimentary, it was not published until 1934,⁶¹ more than forty-five years after his death. Yet, it is possible that he discussed the Latter-day Saints during his long public service in Italy, which included membership in the Italian Senate. An English translation of his book was not published until 1962.⁶²

Another Italian, Enrico Besana, visited Utah Territory during his first trip around the world in 1868. Besana was the first professional Italian traveler who visited the United States in the nineteenth century and who wrote vivid accounts of his adventures.

During his three circumnavigations of the globe, he visited every country in Europe and Asia, as well as the United States, Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia. His articles on his visit to Utah in 1868 were published in a Milanese newspaper⁶³ and in a weekly journal published in the same city by Emilio Treves.⁶⁴ The publication of Besana's travel accounts by Treves, who was a well-known Milanese publisher, is significant since the article contained the first engravings of Utah Territory published in Italy (which were taken from books by Frederick Piercy and others) and because Treves soon published seven books which included lengthy descriptions of the Church.

The Fratelli Treves Travel Accounts (1875–79)

From 1875 to 1879, "Fratelli Treves" (Emilio Treves) published Italian translations of books written by Richard Burton,⁶⁵ Louis Simonin,⁶⁶ William Hepworth Dixon,⁶⁷ and Joseph Alexander Graf Von Hubner,⁶⁸ as well as the account of an Italian traveler, Francesco Varvaro Pojero,⁶⁹ all of which contained graphic descriptions of Utah and the Latter-day Saints. In addition, Emilio Treves coauthored and published a dictionary in 1878, which included several references to Utah and the Latter-day Saints.⁷⁰

Abridgements of the books by Burton, Simonin, and Dixon appeared in the French travel periodical *Le Tour du Monde*,⁷¹ and all these foreign authors were translated into and published in French editions prior to the publication of their Italian translations.⁷² It is likely that the Italian translations were taken from the French rather than the original English (Burton and Dixon) or German (Hubner). The engravings in the Italian versions of Burton and Hubner were taken from the original French translation of Burton, which appeared in *Le Tour du Monde* in 1862, and, as will be seen, they perpetuated the mistakes made by the French translators.

With the exception of Burton, the accounts of the non-Italians were, for the most part, critical of the Church, and even Burton's book was more critical in its Italian version than in its English edition. These authors wrote for an audience which was concerned about the spread of the Church in their countries and about the immigration of Latter-day Saint converts to the United States. Most had visited Brigham Young and referred to him as the Pope of Mormonism. Although their impressions of President Young differed, they were convinced that the Church would disintegrate after his death, a change that would be helped by the increased influx of gentiles into Utah Territory after the completion of the transcontinental railroad. The authors emphasized the same topics

as most writers who visited Utah in the last three decades of the nineteenth century — polygamy, Danites, temple ceremonies, blood atonement, the legal system, and their good impressions of the Salt Lake City theater.

Richard Burton's even-handed account of his visit to Utah was first published in Great Britain in 1861 as *The City of the Saints*.⁷³ The Italian edition is an abridgement of Burton's English work and is a translation from the French version that appeared in *Le Tour du Monde* in 1862. The French version excluded much of Burton's original text and added an appendix which contained portions of John Hyde's anti-Mormon diatribe, *Mormonism: Its Leadership and Designs*,⁷⁴ and engravings from books by Howard Stansbury,⁷⁵ Frederick Piercy,⁷⁶ John C. Bennett,⁷⁷ and Jules Remy and Julius Brenchly.⁷⁸ The extracts taken from Hyde's book were purported to be his recollections of the Latter-day Saint temple ceremony. The French translator translated the word *endowment* as "admission to the sect," an error which was perpetuated in the Italian translation. Because of the translator's confusion regarding the meaning of the word *endowment*, the captions given to several engravings (both in French and Italian) taken from Bennett's anti-Mormon book (which Lorenzo Snow noted was circulating in Italy in 1850) are not consistent with the originals. For example, one engraving depicting the temple ceremony is captioned: "The Baptism of the Mormons." It features a naked baptismal candidate kneeling before an altar officiated over by three mitred ministers clothed in white robes.⁷⁹ A second engraving, which depicted Danites, is labeled "Admission of a Neophyte Mormon." It portrays a man standing before three ministers in robes and mitres.⁸⁰ Other engravings are also mislabeled. For example, "Camp at Keokuk" becomes the Great Salt Lake,⁸¹ the Great Salt Lake becomes Utah Lake,⁸² and Fort Utah becomes Camp Floyd.⁸³

Fratelli Treves published two works by the French traveler, Louis Simonin, both of which mention the Church. *Il Far-West degli Stati Uniti: i Pionieri e i Pelli Rosse* (1876) is the translation of Simonin's account published in *Le Tour du Monde* in 1868 and in book form in 1869, in which he described his first visit to the United States. Although he did not visit Utah at that time, he mentions at the beginning of his narrative that one of his traveling companions teased a fellow coach passenger by telling him that Brigham Young was on the train.⁸⁴ The second book, *Attraverso gli Stati Uniti dall'Atlantico al Pacifico* (1876), contains Simonin's account of his visit to Utah in 1872. This book was first published in French in *Le Tour du Monde* in 1874 and in book form in 1875.⁸⁵ It was also published in the Milanese magazine *Il Giro del Mondo*

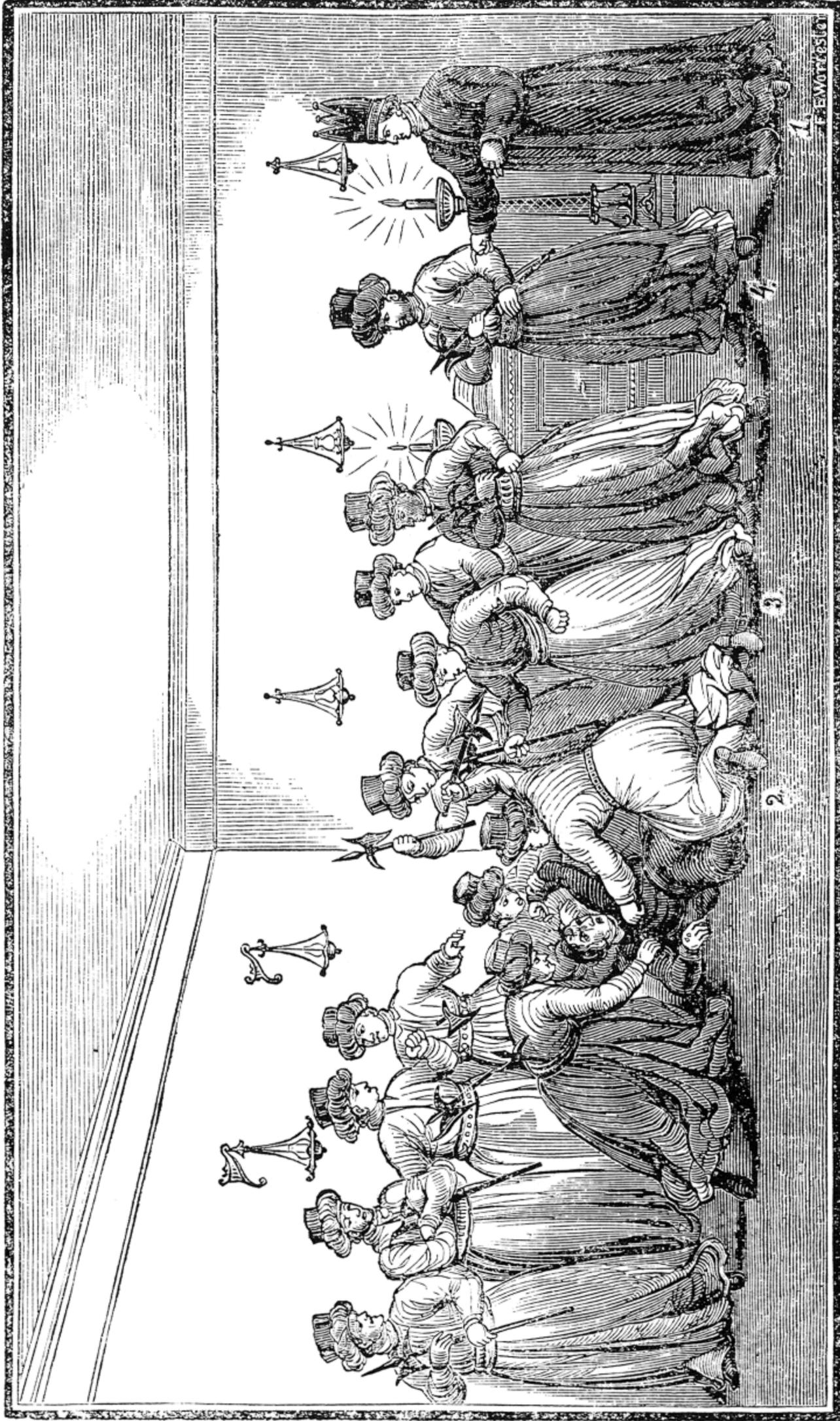
in 1874 prior to being published in book form in Italian.⁸⁶ Of particular interest is Simonin's account of having talked with T. B. H. Stenhouse, who "spoke very good French" and who had "preached Mormonism in Switzerland." He also observed that the Church's missionary work had been unsuccessful in France and Italy.⁸⁷

William Hepworth Dixon published three books in Great Britain concerning his visits to and impressions concerning the Latter-day Saints. The Italian translation of one of these books, *The White Conquest (La Conquista Bianca)*, was published by Fratelli Treves in 1877. The French translation appeared in *Le Tour du Monde* one year earlier in 1876 and in book form the same year as the Italian book.⁸⁸ It was referred to by many subsequent Italian authors and seems to have had more of an impact upon Italian writers than books written by travelers of their own nationality. It was serialized in Italian by Fratelli Treves's *Il Giro del Mondo*⁸⁹ the same year that it was published in France by *Le Tour du Monde* and, as such, reached a wide audience.

In *La Conquista Bianca*, Dixon claimed that "Mormons seem to have derived their chief ideas, and adopted their chief practices, from the Indian lodges"⁹⁰ and that the completion of the transcontinental railroad signaled the end of the religion because it would cause them to have more contact with "gentiles" and less with the "Indians." He looked upon the apostasy of T. B. H. Stenhouse and the divorce proceedings filed by Ann Eliza Young as evidence of the Church's decline.

In 1879 Fratelli Treves published a fifth book by a foreign author who had visited Utah. Joseph Alexander Graf Von Hubner was an Austrian count and diplomat who journeyed around the world from 1871 to 1873 and published his account in German in 1874. *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo* contains some of the same engravings published in the Italian edition of Burton's book, including "The Baptism of the Mormons"⁹¹ and "Admission of a Neophyte Mormon,"⁹² and perpetuates the mistakes made by Burton's French translator.

During the same decade that Fratelli Treves published books by Burton, Simonin, Dixon, and Hubner, it also published the account of an Italian traveler who visited Utah in 1876. In fact, Francesco Varvaro Pojero had read both Dixon (including *New America* which was published for the first time in French in 1869),⁹³ and Hubner, which was also published in French.⁹⁴ Both of these travelers clearly affected Varvaro Pojero's judgment regarding the Saints, before he wrote *Una corsa nel Nuovo Mondo* after a three-month stay in the United States. Like Cipriani, he was a minor nobleman, and, like most travelers to Utah, he criticized the practice



1. Joe Smith. 2. D. B. Huntington. 3. R. D. Foster. 4. Willard Richards.

FIGURE 2. "Destroying Angel," from the 1842 edition of John C. Bennett, *The History of the Mormons*, 269. This engraving was modified by *La Tour du Monde* and later published in the Italian edition of Richard Burton's *The City of the Saints* (see fig. 3).

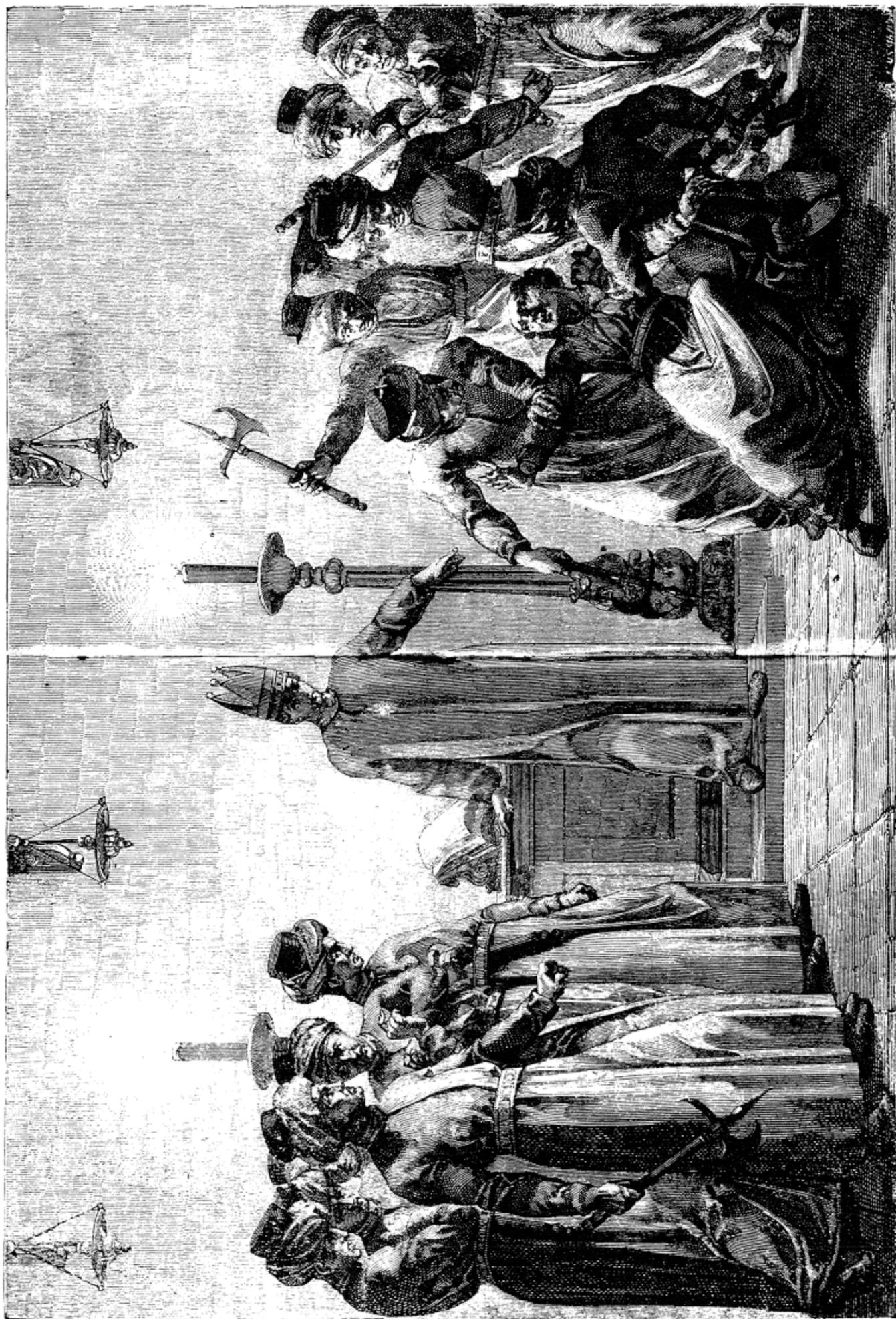


FIGURE 3. "Assassinio sacro commesso dai Daniti, secondo i riti degli Antimormoni" (Sacred murder committed by the Danites, according to the religious ceremonies of the Antimormons). The caption is a mistranslation of the French caption which appeared in *Le Tour du Monde* as "Meurtre sacre commis par les Danites, suivant les recits des anti-Mormons": *recits* "accounts" was mistranslated into Italian as *riti* "religious ceremonies" (from Richard Burton's *I Mormoni e la citta' dei Santi* [Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1875], 132-33; compare to fig. 2).

of polygamy, theocratic government, and the Mountain Meadows Massacre. He also visited Brigham Young, and, like other Italians, he was complimentary of the theater in Salt Lake City, noting that Brigham Young was “very particular in his selection of plays” and that the theater in Salt Lake City “did not have anything in common with those scandalous places we have visited in Denver and Cheyenne.”⁹⁵ Varvaro Pojero was asked by a Church elder, “Then you must know, without doubt, our two brothers Toronto and Lorenzo Snow, missionaries to your country.” Although he was visiting Utah more than twenty-five years after the opening of the Italian Mission, Varvaro Pojero responded by saying, “No, I have never heard of them.” The elder was incredulous, “I can’t believe it. Lorenzo is a great missionary and he would convert you quickly. He would know how to demonstrate to you the evidence of the sweetness of polygamy, and he would not find it difficult to destroy your aversion to it.”⁹⁶

Varvaro Pojero did not indicate whether he eventually met Elder Snow or if he was proselyted by him. But the publication of Varvaro Pojero’s book, and the Italian editions of Burton, Simonin, Dixon, and Hubner, did generate interest in the Latter-day Saints. In fact, in 1878 Treves published a “universal dictionary,” one of the first of its kind in Italian, which had entries for Mormonism, Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Utah. These entries are surprisingly even handed and do not attempt, as later Italian dictionaries did, to criticize the Church. At times, however, the factual information given is inaccurate. A second edition of this work, which was authored by Emilio Treves and Gustavo Strafforello, was published in 1880.⁹⁷

Italian Travelers (1875–1900)

Besides Varvaro Pojero, there were at least eight Italians who visited Utah between 1875 to 1900 and returned to Italy to write an account of their travels. Despite the criticisms set forth in the works published by Fratelli Treves, many of these subsequent writers were favorably impressed by the inhabitants of Utah.

Francesco Carega di Muricce visited Utah in 1872 during a trip to North America and published his memoirs three years later in *In America 1871–72*.⁹⁸ Carega di Muricce expressed his admiration for the Latter-day Saints’ expertise in agriculture and rural planning by facetiously suggesting that it had almost convinced him to join their faith. Like Varvaro Pojero, he was impressed by Salt Lake City’s theater, and most of his memories of Utah concern his visit to a “five penny” performance of Shakespeare.

He was amused that the audience seemed almost as interested in seeing Brigham Young and his wives as it was in the performance. He was also surprised that the Latter-day Saint prophet brought only two of his wives with him. He compared the Church's system of marriage to the Catholic religious sacrament and noted that "Utah was a kind of mecca for unhappy marriages. One can obtain a divorce for \$10 paper money or \$9 in coin" and that it was easier for a woman to make out a case than for a husband.⁹⁹ He also noted that Brigham Young taught that unhappiness in marriage was largely the fault of husbands and urged that this "doctrine should be followed and should be accepted, even among us (Italians) who hypocritically practice Mormonism with fatal results . . . through illegitimate births and clandestine relationships." He continued, "At least the Mormons of Utah treat their wives well and respect them, and they [the wives] live honored and tranquil lives, their children are legitimate, maintained and given an education."¹⁰⁰

In 1876 an anonymous Italian correspondent visited Utah during the Philadelphia Exposition. The correspondent had read the book by Simonin which described his visit among the Latter-day Saints. Even though the correspondent was extremely critical of the Church's practice of polygamy, he admitted that the practice would inevitably be discontinued and that the Latter-day Saint faith would then become a religion like any other. The author was also complimentary of the Latter-day Saints' "courage" and "faith," and he expressed "admiration" for the first proselytes who settled Utah Territory and colonized the arid west. He described Salt Lake City as "a large and prosperous marketplace: There is no luxury, but there is also no misery; there is a general feeling that prosperity is equally shared."¹⁰¹

In 1880 another Italian correspondent visited Salt Lake City on his way to San Francisco. Although Paolo Devecchi did not write a book, he did send letters to the *Gazzetta Piemontese* in Torino, some of which were also published in *L'Eco d'Italia* in New York. In one of these letters, Devecchi wrote of his encounter with some of the Italians Joseph Toronto had brought with him from Sicily a few years earlier. These converts, he claimed, were anxious to return to their homeland.¹⁰² Eventually one family did return to Sicily, and another moved to California, "where the climate was more to their liking."¹⁰³

Another Italian correspondent, Giovanni Vigna dal Ferro, visited Utah in 1881. He was in the United States for four years beginning in 1876 and wrote a series of letters to the Italian newspaper *La Patria*, a summary of which was later published in *Un viaggio nel Far West Americano*.¹⁰⁴ He arrived in Salt Lake City

during April conference in 1881 and was treated very cordially by Church officials, including John Taylor. He was introduced to the families of other Church officials and invited to their homes, where he found a “friendly reception and [the] appearance of complete happiness.”¹⁰⁵ Yet he also wrote that the Latter-day Saints “are not and cannot be said to be a Christian people.”¹⁰⁶ For him, they were “men of affairs” and had no difficulty in transacting business with gentiles, although he believed “their society is destined, sooner or later, to fall apart.”¹⁰⁷

Six years after the publication of Vigna dal Ferro’s book, another book, which recounted the visit of Carlo Gardini to Utah, was published in Bologna. In *Gli Stati Uniti-Ricordi*,¹⁰⁸ Gardini recounts his four visits to the United States between 1878 and 1886, travels which included the most extensive visit by any Italian traveller to Utah Territory. Not only did he visit Ogden and Salt Lake City (the usual stopping places for visitors), but he also visited Provo, Milford, Cedar City, Silver Reef, Toquerville, Pipe Springs, and Kanab. During his visit to Utah, the author was informed that Church missionaries who had proselyted in Italy had found it necessary to carry out their work with “maximum secrecy” because of the Italian government’s prohibition against “public conferences.” Like previous Italian visitors to the Territory, Gardini found his reception in Utah to be very cordial: “The hospitality of the Latter-Day Saints is a sacred thing.”¹⁰⁹ On one occasion, Gardini was even given free fruit by a shopkeeper after the merchant learned that Gardini was Italian — “in exchange for the great pleasure that your fellow countrymen have given me in both operas and concerts.”¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, Gardini was critical of the Church and called it a “bizarre sect, and its followers fanatics.”¹¹¹ Like Hubner and Dixon, whose books he had read, he predicted that the arrival of the gentiles on the railroad would eventually cleanse the Church and that its doctrines were similar to those of the Indians in the territory. In fact, it was because of Gardini’s curiosity about the Indians that he set out for southern Utah accompanied by a companion he referred to as “the missionary.” Even in the frontier settlements of southern Utah, he continued to be impressed with the hospitality of the Latter-day Saints he met.

In 1892 a book was published which contained the letters of Augusto Torlonia written during his travels to India, China, Japan, and the United States in 1886–87. It includes one letter written from Salt Lake City while the author was traveling from San Francisco to New York before returning to Italy. Torlonia described Salt Lake City as “lovely and its position charming.” Yet he also complained that he had hoped to find “more traces of Mormonism which is, little

by little, changing into a religious sect without polygamy.” He was disappointed not to see the Tabernacle full of Apostles, revelators, and bishops on his Sunday visit in September 1887 but was impressed with the acoustics of the structure. He also noted the construction of the temple, whose architecture he was not impressed with. He believed that Salt Lake City was worth a visit even if “after all I have seen in the Orient, nothing in America can seriously interest me.”¹¹²

One of the last travel accounts by an Italian who visited Utah in the nineteenth century was written by Giulio Fano.¹¹³ Fano spent less than one day in Salt Lake City on a train trip between San Francisco and Denver and, as such, simply recounted his visit to the major tourist attractions, including the Beehive House, temple lot, the Tabernacle, and ZCMI, which he described as a cooperative with marvelous organization. He was, however, taken back by the Knutsford Hotel, where he complained that the service was not good and “one has to eat a series of badly-prepared courses from the same plate.”¹¹⁴

Another Italian who visited Utah for only a short time was Guido Rossati, who was sent to the United States by the Italian Minister of Agriculture to study the American wine industry and the potential market for Italian wines. He wrote a book entitled *Relazione di un viaggio d'istruzione negli Stati Uniti*, in which he stated that Salt Lake City was one of the most prosperous cities of the West and an important agricultural center and that he had observed “some vineyards with alot of blooming grapevines.”¹¹⁵

Armchair Writers (1874-1912)

An increasing number of Italian writers commented upon the Latter-day Saints from their armchairs in Italy following the publication of the first travel accounts. One of the most curious works is by an Italian educator, Emilio Teza.¹¹⁶ In it, the author recounts that he was sent a copy of *The Deseret First Book*,¹¹⁷ which was written in the Deseret alphabet. Teza translated portions of the book and included in his Italian translation a pronunciation guide for the new alphabet. He also included a short account of the Book of Mormon, which he concluded was authored by Solomon Spaulding.

Other writers, who visited the United States but not Utah, also mentioned the Latter-day Saints. In 1876, Sebastiano Fenzi visited the United States and published his memoirs, *Gita intorno alla Terra dal gennaio al settembre dell'anno 1876*,¹¹⁸ in which he included a short discussion of the Church.

In 1878 Gustavo Strafforello, who coauthored the “universal dictionary” with Emilio Treves the same year, utilized a book written by Friedrich Anton Heller von Hellwald¹¹⁹ — in which Hellwald described his trip to Utah — as the basis for a book, *La Terra e l'uomo*.¹²⁰ A second edition was published in 1886. It is doubtful that Strafforello had visited Utah. Nevertheless, relying on Hellwald, he believed that the Church was “the most socially and politically important sect” in the United States, and he sought to dispel the misconception that “a disorganized and primitive way of life exists among the Mormons.” “On the contrary,” he wrote, “there exists in every location the maximum order: one does not encounter either beggars or idlers, it’s a country cultivated by hands that transformed a desolated desert.”¹²¹ He was, however, critical of the Church’s system of civil government and of its religious claims, but he also noted that the Church had been successful in attracting converts in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal. The book also republished one of the engravings from Burton’s and Hubner’s books depicting “Baptism of a Neophyte Mormon” kneeling before the altar presided over by robed priests.¹²² In addition, it contains several engravings from Stansbury,¹²³ which were published in the German edition of von Hellwald.

In 1884 an Italian economist also mentioned the Latter-day Saints briefly in a book he wrote concerning the agriculture, industry, and commerce of the United States.¹²⁴ Although Egisto Rossi does not specifically state that he visited Utah, he did spend thirteen months in the United States between 1881 and 1882. He reported that Salt Lake City “is one of the most elegant cities in the United States” and that the surviving wives of the “defunct Pope Brigham Young” were “not much worse off now than before according to the coreligionists of the famous polygamist.”¹²⁵

In 1885 another Italian who had visited the United States but probably not Utah wrote a book in which the Latter-day Saints were prominently mentioned.¹²⁶ De Martiis’s work on socialism in the United States was part of a multivolume work on that subject. In his account of the Church, he relied heavily on Burton, Hubner, Simonin, and Dixon and was particularly interested in Dixon’s theory that Latter-day Saint theology borrowed many of its precepts from the Indians who resided in the territory. The author also noted the presence of Latter-day Saints in Italy, about which he had learned by reading the correspondence of the United States consular official who had reported the presence of Joseph Toronto in Sicily several years earlier. He also believed that the death of Brigham Young had “deprived the Saints of a force which has weighed, almost despotically, upon their heads for many years.”¹²⁷ Unlike

previous authors, he did not predict the demise of the Church after the death of President Young (which had occurred eight years before the publication of his book), but he did believe that Brigham's successor, John Taylor, was not as clever and did not command as much respect from his followers.¹²⁸

In 1888 an article which appeared in the periodical *Nuova Antologia* derived much of its information from de Martiis and the secondary sources he cited.¹²⁹ Although it was quite common for authors to derive much of their information concerning the Church from other authors, Brunialti's article is so similar to de Martiis's description of Latter-day Saints that it is difficult not to conclude that he plagiarized most of it from de Martiis's account.

This article was not the first nor last one published by *Nuova Antologia* on the Church. In 1877 Angelo de Gubernatis commented on the death of Brigham Young, claiming it would halt a planned Latter-day Saint exodus to the Sandwich Islands. He also wrote that one of Brigham Young's sons would succeed him but that the religion would not survive long after Brigham's death.¹³⁰ Another article appeared in 1896 concerning the new constitution of the state of Utah.¹³¹ *La Civiltà Cattolica* also published an article mentioning the Latter-day Saints' difficulties in obtaining statehood because of the practice of polygamy during the period of mounting tensions with the federal government.¹³² The article is an account of Italian emigrants who passed through Salt Lake City; these emigrants, who had read Hubner, criticized polygamy and, like the United States consular official in Palermo, compared Joseph Smith to David Lazzaretti.¹³³

Another interesting book which mentions the Church and was published in Italy prior to the Manifesto is by G. Marinelli.¹³⁴ Volume 7 of this work concerns America and was written around 1890. It included several references to the Church. The author had read Dixon, Bowes, Brunialti, and Schlagintweit and believed that the Church was in great decay because of polygamy. According to the author, polygamy had brought with it slavery and oppression of women. As long as the Latter-day Saints were isolated, the system worked, but with the discovery of minerals, the coming of the railway, and the influx of immigrants, Latter-day Saint women rebelled and reclaimed their rights. As lust and greed entered the Church, schisms started. The author also noted that the Church had never had missionary success among Catholics.

Even after the Manifesto, Italy saw published occasional books which mistakenly accused the Church of continuing to sanction polygamous marriages.¹³⁵ This perception seemed to be confirmed by the publication in Italian of various works of fiction

written before 1890, including Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days* and Arthur Conan Doyle's *A Study in Scarlet*, which contained melodramatic accounts of Latter-day Saint polygamy.¹³⁶ In fact, Emilio Salgari, an Italian author of adventure novels who has been compared to Conan Doyle, was apparently writing a novel similar to *A Study in Scarlet* when he committed suicide near Torino in 1911.¹³⁷ In 1910 Romolo Bianchi wrote a book about religious movements, *L'evoluzione religiosa nella società Americana*,¹³⁸ which is volume five of *Biblioteca del Pensiero Moderno*.¹³⁹ For him, the Church was "the most important of all religious sects in the United States" and its spiritual beliefs were similar to "the spiritual disposition of Italian mystics."¹⁴⁰ He advocated the Spaulding theory and argued that the religion had taken its main precepts from the Old Testament and patterned its practices after Zoroaster and Pythagoras, as well as the Baptists, Irvingites, and Millennialists. The author also accused the leadership of the Church of not being sincere in its abandonment of polygamy.

Two years later, in 1912, Luigi Villari, in *Gli Stati Uniti d'America e l'emigrazione Italiana*,¹⁴¹ claimed that the Church still practiced polygamy,¹⁴² a mistake which has been replicated by several Italian writers in the last forty years, including a recent editor of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, who suggested not only that polygamy might continue to be practiced, or at least would be if it were legally possible, but also that Latter-day Saints believed that Jesus and Adam are the same person.¹⁴³

Travelers and Commentators (1913–1952)

For the most part, the Italian authors of the twentieth century who discussed the Church were not aware of the previous writings by Italians about the Latter-day Saints. Nor did they know that the Latter-day Saints had proselyted in Italy. Instead, they relied on the works of American, English, or German authors, which were, for the most part, negative in their treatment of the Church.¹⁴⁴ There are several exceptions. In 1913 two letters written by a Waldensian pastor, David Bosio, were published in the Waldensian newspaper, *L'Echo des Vallées Vaudois*. Bosio had visited Utah in September 1913 and wrote that he had talked to some of the former Waldensians who had converted to the Church and immigrated to Utah approximately sixty years before his visit. He noted that most of them had settled in either Ogden or Provo and that one of them had apparently been converted from Mormonism to another Christian religion. Even though Bosio visited Utah more than twenty years after the Manifesto, he also wrote that the Church

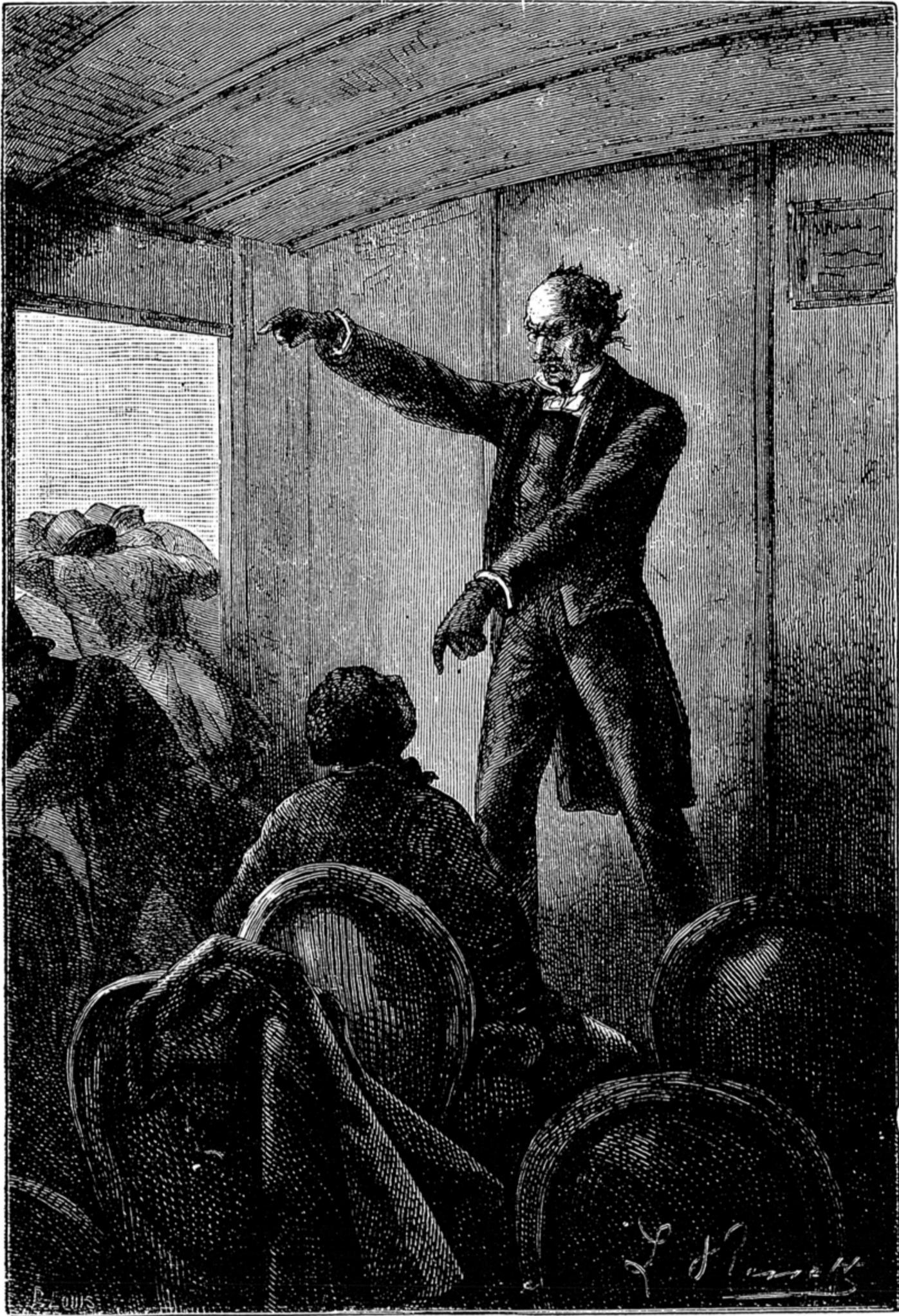


FIGURE 4. A Mormon elder preaching aboard a train of emigrants: “E voi mio fedele.....”, (And you my faithful). From Jules Verne, *Il Giro del Mondo in Ottanta Giorni* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1887), 249.



FIGURE 5. “Ed era già balzato indietro per afferrare il suo fucile, quando Lucia, sopravvenuta, lo trattenne per il braccio” (And would have rushed upstairs for his gun had not Lucy seized him by the arm and restrained him). A melodramatic scene from an Italian edition of Arthur Conan Doyle’s *A Study in Scarlet* (*Il Poliziotto Dilettante: Lo Scritto Rosso* [Firenze: A. Salani, 1908], 157).

permitted polygamy and that the English government was opposed to the Church because “their missionaries go to England principally to marry women and take them away with them.”¹⁴⁵

Another exception is the work of Luca Beltrami, who wrote several articles to record the achievements of Samuele Mazzuchelli.¹⁴⁶ Beltrami’s attitude toward the Church was heavily influenced by the Catholic priest’s writings — although he did write that Mazzuchelli and Joseph Smith had talked until three o’clock in the morning, even though this fact is not mentioned by the Catholic priest in his own book published in 1846.¹⁴⁷

During the early Mussolini years, the writings of Cipriani were finally published, as well as books by Arnaldo Cipolla,¹⁴⁸ Arnaldo Fraccaroli,¹⁴⁹ and Irene di Robilant.¹⁵⁰ Cipolla was a seasoned traveler who visited Utah in 1925 on a trip from Alaska to New York City. Although he appears to have believed that the Church was a “religious sect which disposes men toward polygamy,” he was more impressed by Salt Lake City’s unique geography which was comparable to the “Lido of Venice in July combined with the valleys of Alto Adige in September.” He was also impressed with the Great Salt Lake and the Saltair Resort, which he estimated had twenty thousand women on the dance floor at one time.

Fraccaroli’s account is less substantive and contains spurious and silly comments on the citizens of Utah (that they killed cats which hunt mice on Sunday and that Latter-day Saints continued to practice polygamy).¹⁵¹

On the other hand, di Robilant’s references to the Church are surprisingly complimentary. She had read M. R. Werner’s biography of Brigham Young and concluded that previous travel accounts had overemphasized the Latter-day Saint practice of polygamy. She was convinced that polygamy was not practiced for the pleasure of men, but to provide women with protection, family, and offspring. The author also believed that the most important story to be found in the Church after the abandonment of polygamy was its superb economic organization and its commercial and social prosperity.

During the 1930s, various encyclopedias were published which contained slanted and unfavorable accounts of the Latter-day Saints.¹⁵² The authors did not refer to any of the books which had previously been published in Italian concerning the Church; instead, they relied on anti-Mormon works published in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. In addition, a Jesuit priest, Camillo Crivelli, briefly mentioned the Latter-day Saints in his book on Protestants in Italy, *I Protestanti in Italia*,¹⁵³ and later wrote an entry on Mormonism in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, wherein he

insisted that “polygamy continues to be practiced among [the Latter-day Saints] even if not as openly as before.”¹⁵⁴

POST-WAR TRENDS

While a few articles continued to appear in Italy subsequent to World War II and prior to the reopening of the Italian Mission in 1966,¹⁵⁵ hundreds of articles have been published in the Italian press during the past twenty-five years.¹⁵⁶ At the same time, a number of pamphlets and articles have been published in Italian by sectarian authors who criticize Latter-day Saint theology and doctrines and warn their readers of the Latter-day Saint missionary “menace.”¹⁵⁷

Yet from 1966 to 1989 only two books dedicated exclusively to the Church were written and published in Italy.¹⁵⁸ The first book, *Confronto con i Mormoni*, was by a Catholic priest, Pier Angelo Gramaglia.¹⁵⁹ Although published with ecclesiastical approval, it has been criticized by Dr. Massimo Introvigne, who noted that it ignores almost all of the scientific literature and historical research done concerning the Church since the Second World War.¹⁶⁰ The second book, by a Latter-day Saint convert, Giovanni Stragliotto, *La mia testimonianza: perché un Cattolico diventa Mormone?*,¹⁶¹ recounts his conversion and a few basic doctrines.

The most serious studies of the Church by an Italian have been by Massimo Introvigne, who is a Torino university lecturer, a lawyer, a practicing Roman Catholic, and Director of the Center for Studies on New Religions (CESNUR). He has written the most scholarly, unbiased articles on the Church published in Italy to date.¹⁶² In his most recent books, *Le nuove religioni* and *Le sette cristiane*, Introvigne discusses and compares the Church (and its main splinter groups) with other important new religious movements. Introvigne’s books will no doubt become important sources in Italy for nonmembers about the Church and other new religions for many years to come. In 1990 and 1991, CESNUR also published books on new religions.¹⁶³ The material includes chapters on the Church by Massimo Introvigne and Jean-François Mayer, who are both conversant with Church history and theology.

During the past year a third book devoted solely to the Church by an Italian author was published by one of the largest publishing companies in Italy.¹⁶⁴ Michele Straniero is a journalist from Turin who has been a student and observer of the Church since 1972, when he interviewed Harold B. Lee, who visited Italy while returning from Israel. Straniero has also visited Utah and written several articles on it in the Italian press. His book is nonsectarian and attempts to accurately present Church history by quoting the works

of historians such as Leonard Arrington, B. H. Roberts, James B. Allen, and Glen M. Leonard and the doctrinal works of James E. Talmage and Bruce R. McConkie. He does not totally ignore other non-Mormon commentators, but he does not cite anti-Mormon statements, which have been the common content of past books mentioning the Church.

While most of the Italian authors who have written about the Church during the past twenty-five years have not been aware of the prior works discussed in this paper, they are aware of scholarly works about the Church written in the past twenty-five years and can now present a more complete and unbiased picture of the Church to the Italian public.

NOTES

The author wishes to thank the following libraries for their assistance in locating copies of the works cited in this paper: the Newberry Library, Widener Library at Harvard University, Biblioteca Querini Stampalia in Venice, Biblioteca Comunale in Milano, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Firenze, Mudd Library and Beinecke Library (both at Yale University), Firestone Library at Princeton University, Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago, the Library of Congress, the British Library, Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, Marriott Library at the University of Utah, and the Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Appreciation is also expressed to Sisters Nona McGreal and Marie Laurence Kortendick of the Mazzuchelli Guild in Sinsinawa, Wisconsin; Massimo Introvigne and Jean-Francois Mayer of CESNUR (Center for Studies on New Religions); Gino Fletzer, Judge, Court of Cassation, Rome, Italy; Andrew F. Rolle, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; and Roberto Mongia, Rosasco, Italy, for information relating to the subject matter of this paper.

¹Some of the Italian travelers discussed in this paper who visited Utah are mentioned by Andrew F. Rolle in his important work, *The Immigrant Upraised* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), and in *The American Italians: Their History and Culture* (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1972). Some are also mentioned by Andrew Joseph Torrielli, *Italian Opinion on America as Recorded by Italian Travelers, 1858–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941).

²Chad J. Flake's *Mormon Bibliography* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1978); and Chad J. Flake and Larry W. Draper, *Mormon Bibliography, 1830–1930, Ten-Year Supplement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989).

³Lorenzo Snow, *The Italian Mission* (London: W. Aubrey, 1851), 13–14.

⁴Lorenzo Snow, *La Voix de Joseph* (Turin: Ferrero et Franco, 1851) (Flake 8255).

⁵See Michael W. Homer, "The Italian Mission, 1850–1867," *Sunstone* 7 (May-June 1982): 16–21. Elder Snow most likely chose the Waldensians after reading a pamphlet published by The Religious Tract Society in London in 1846 entitled *Sketches of the Waldenses*, which quoted liberally from Alexis Muston, *Histoire des Vaudois . . .* (Paris: F. G. Levrault, 1834).

⁶Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 25.

⁷Snow, *The Italian Mission*, 22.

⁸Lorenzo Snow, *Exposition des premiers principes de la doctrine de l'Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours* (Turin: Louis Arnaldi, 1851) (Flake 8239a).

⁹Lorenzo Snow, *The Only Way to Be Saved* (London, 1841) (Flake 8210).

¹⁰Lorenzo Snow, *Exposition des premiers principes de la Doctrine de l'Eglise de Jesus Christ des Saints des Derniers Jours* (Genève, 1852) (Flake 8834; Flake incorrectly shows the author as John Taylor).

¹¹Louis Favez, *Lettre sur les Mormons de la Californie* (Vevey: E. Buvelot, 1851) (Flake 3316).

¹²Emile Guers, *L'Irvingisme et le Mormonisme* (Genève, 1853).

¹³See T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Les Mormons et leurs ennemis* (Lusanne, 1854) (Flake 8403). A response from Favez and Guers was forthcoming in Louis Favez, *Fragments sur les Mormons*, 2 vols. (Lusanne, 1854–56) (Flake 3315); and Emile Guers, *Le Mormonisme Polygame* (Genève, 1855) (Flake 3740a). Also see Paul-Anton Nielson, "Die ersten zehn Jahre des Mormonentums in der Schweiz, 1850–60" (Cand. lic. phil., University of Bem, 1989).

- ¹⁴John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or, An Exposé of Joe Smith and the Mormons* (Boston: Leland & Whiting, 1842) (Flake 403); and *Millennial Star* 12 (15 December 1850): 371.
- ¹⁵Lorenzo Snow, *The Italian Mission* (London: W. Aubrey, 1851) (Flake 8208).
- ¹⁶*Millennial Star* 13 (15 January 1851): 25–26.
- ¹⁷Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Co., 1884), 116–232 (Flake 7835).
- ¹⁸“The Apostle Lorenzo Snow,” *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* 2 (January 1883): 377–98 (Flake 9048).
- ¹⁹*Il Libro di Mormon* (Londra: Stamperia di Guglielmo Bowden, 1852) (Flake 731).
- ²⁰L. R. Jacobs, *Mormon Non-English Scriptures, Hymnals and Periodicals, 1830–1986* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986).
- ²¹*Il Libro di Mormon* (Monongahela, Pa.: The Church of Jesus Christ, 1929) (Flake 732).
- ²²Lorenzo Snow, *Exposition des premiers principes de la doctrine de l’Eglise de Jesus-Christ des Saints-des-Derniers-Jours [Una Spiegazione dei primi principi della dottrina . . .]* (Turin, 1852) (Flake 8241).
- ²³Jabez Woodard, *Autobiography and Diary 1853–57*, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).
- ²⁴Stephen Malan, *Autobiography and Family Record*, 1893, LDS Church Archives.
- ²⁵Jabez Woodard, *Autobiography and Diary*.
- ²⁶*Journal of Discourses* 2:141.
- ²⁷*Journal of Discourses* 5:342.
- ²⁸*Millennial Star* 12 (1850): 370–74; 13 (1851): 25–26, 89–90, 107–8, 186, 252–53, 301–2; 14 (1852–1853): 107–8, 282, 461–62, 555–58, 670–71; 15 (1854): 9, 61–62, 110–11, 155, 191–92, 204–6, 350–51, 457, 707; 16 (1855): 46, 53–58, 454–56; 17 (1856): 154–56, 490–91, 666–67; 18 (1857): 218–20, 634–36; 19 (1858): 655.
- ²⁹Daniel B. Richards, *The Scriptural Allegory* (Salt Lake City: Magazine Printing Co., 1931), 9–118.
- ³⁰George A. Smith, *The Rise, Progress and Travels of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Deseret News Office, 1869), 27 (Flake 7872).
- ³¹Flake 7873 and 7874.
- ³²[William J. Conybeare], “Il Mormonismo dall’ Edinburgh Review” in *Origini Europee — religioni-viaggi-studi etnografici*, vol. 5 of *Saggi e riviste* (Milano: G. Daelli e C., 1865), 159–239.
- ³³Conybeare, “Il Mormonismo,” 229–30. This article may have circulated in Italy much earlier since it was published in French in 1855. See W. J. Conybeare, *Le Mormonisme* (Lausanne, 1855) (Flake 2487).
- ³⁴Giorgio Tourn, *The Waldensians: The First 800 Years* (Torino: Claudiana, 1980), 199.
- ³⁵Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* (Hartford: The American Publishing Co., 1869).
- ³⁶George A. Smith and others, *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists: Comprising a Series of Letters* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Steam Printing Establishment, 1875), 100–169 (Flake 7871).
- ³⁷Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record*, 515–28.
- ³⁸Eliza R. Snow Smith, *Biography and Family Record*, 516; and George A. Smith, *Correspondence of Palestine Tourists*, 111.
- ³⁹*The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 8 vols. (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, n.d.), 4:16–17, 22, 59–60, 73.
- ⁴⁰Toronto Family Organization, comp., *Joseph Toronto: Italian Pioneer and Patriarch* (Salt Lake City, 1983), 25–26.
- ⁴¹*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1880* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 644–45.
- ⁴²*Foreign Relations of the United States, 1879* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), 601–4.
- ⁴³Samuele Mazzuchelli, *Memorie storiche ed edificanti d’ un missionario apostolico dell’ Ordine dei Predicatori fra varie tribù di selvaggi e fra i Cattolici e Protestanti negli Stati-Uniti d’ America* (Milano: coi tipi della Ditta Boniardi-Pogliani, 1846), 295–303.
- ⁴⁴Samuele Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs: Historical and edifying of a missionary apostolic of the order of Saint Dominic among various Indian tribes and among the Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America*, trans. [Sr. Mary Benedicta Kennedy] (Chicago: W. F. Hall Printing Co., 1915).
- ⁴⁵*The Memoirs of Father Samuel Mazzuchelli, O. P.* (Chicago: The Priory Press, 1967).
- ⁴⁶Sr. Mary Nona McGreal, *Canonizationis servi dei caroli Samuelis Mazzuchelli, O. P., Positio super vita, virtutibus et fama sanctitatis* (Romae, 1989), 196.
- ⁴⁷Mazzuchelli, *Memorie*, 296–97.
- ⁴⁸Mazzuchelli, *Memorie*, 300.
- ⁴⁹J. B. Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages, or the Rise, Progress and Cause of Mormonism* (New York: Platt & Peters, 1842) (Flake 9053).
- ⁵⁰See, for example, Turner, *Mormonism in All Ages*, 8, wherein the author writes that if Mormonism unites with “Atheism and Romanism, its natural allies, [it] will soon have power to disturb, not single states only, but the entire nation.”

⁵¹Antonio Caccia, *Europa ed America: Scene della vita dal 1848 al 1850* (Monaco: Presso Giorgio Franz, 1850), 414–19 (Flake 1054).

⁵²Caccia, *Europa ed America*, 416. The Church's practice of polygamy was criticized a year earlier in an article concerning various heretical religious practices ("La Libertà di fatto nella terra classica," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 4th ser., 1 [17 Feb. 1859], 516).

⁵³Francesco Cavalleri, *La religione Cattolica e la Società* (Torino: Giacinto Marietti, 1864).

⁵⁴"Il Mormonismo nelle sue attinenze col moderno Protestantismo," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 4th ser., 6 (3 May 1860): 391–413.

⁵⁵*La Civiltà Cattolica* (3 May 1860): 411–12.

⁵⁶*La Civiltà Cattolica* (3 May 1860): 404–5.

⁵⁷Luigi Rendu, *Il Proselitismo Protestante in Europa* (Firenze, 1865).

⁵⁸Rendu, *Il Proselitismo Protestante*, 43.

⁵⁹*Il Mormonismo e la donna* (1864); and Giuseppe Fovel, "I Mormoni," *Museo di famiglia* 6 (1866): 589–90. "I Mormoni" is a review of C. V. Waite's *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1866) (Flake 9505).

⁶⁰Journal History, 12 December 1851; Ellen B. Ferguson, "History of Music in Utah," *Woman's Exponent* 22 (1 September 1893): 1; and *Deseret News*, 14 June 1851.

⁶¹Count Leonetto Cipriani, *Avventure della mia vita*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1934). I am indebted to Leonard Arrington for the connection between Capone and Ballo.

⁶²Ernest Falbo, ed., *California and Overland Diaries of Count Leonetto Cipriani from 1853 through 1871* (Portland, Oreg.: The Champoeg Press, 1962).

⁶³Enrico Besana, "I Mormoni nel 1868," *La Perseveranza*, 11–13 February 1869.

⁶⁴Enrico Besana, "Note di viaggio di un Italiano: Le grandi praterie Americane e i Mormoni," *Giornale Popolare di Viaggi* 2 (1871): 60–64.

⁶⁵Richard Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1875) (Flake 1030).

⁶⁶Louis Simonin, *Il Far-West degli Stati Uniti: i Pionieri e i Pelli Rosse* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1876); and Louis Simonin, *Attraverso gli Stati Uniti dall'Atlantico al Pacifico* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1876) (Flake 7720).

⁶⁷William Hepworth Dixon, *La Conquista Bianca* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1877).

⁶⁸Alexander Graf Von Hubner, *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1879). Hubner's book actually appeared in Italian six years earlier as *Passeggiata intorno al mondo 1871* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1873), but this edition lacked the engravings which appeared in the Fratelli Treves edition.

⁶⁹Francesco Varvaro Pojero, *Una corsa nel Nuovo Mondo*, 2 vols. (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1878).

⁷⁰Gustavo Strafforello e Emilio Treves, *Dizionario universale di geografia, storia e biografia*, 2 vols. (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1878).

⁷¹Richard Burton, "Voyage à la cité des Saints, Capitale du Pays des Mormons," *Le Tour du Monde* 2 (1862): 353–400; Louis Simonin, "Le Far West Américain," *Le Tour du Monde* 1 (1868): 225–388; Louis Simonin, "De Washington à San Francisco à Travers le continent Américain," *Le Tour du Monde* 1 (1874): 161–240; and William Hepworth Dixon, "La Conquete Bianche," *Le Tour du Monde* 1 (1876): 113–92 and 2 (1876): 81–176.

⁷²Richard Burton, *Voyages du Capitaine Burton a la Mecque aux Grands Lacs d'Afrique et chez les Mormons . . .* (Paris, 1870); Louis Simonin, *Le Grand-Ouest des Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1869); and Louis Simonin, *A travers les Etats-Unis, de l'Atlantique au Pacifique* (Paris: Charpentier et cie, 1875).

⁷³Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861) (Flake 1027).

⁷⁴John Hyde, *Mormonism: Its Leadership and Designs* (New York: W. P. Fetridge & Co., 1857) (Flake 4164).

⁷⁵Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Philadelphia: Lippencott, Grambo & Co., 1852) (Flake 8359).

⁷⁶Frederick Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley* (Liverpool: Franklin D. Richards, 1855) (Flake 6381).

⁷⁷Bennett, *History of the Saints*.

⁷⁸Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City*, 2 vols. (London: W. Jeffs, 1861) (Flake 6867). This book was first published in French in 1860 as *Voyage au pays des Mormons* (Paris: E Dentu, 1860) (Flake 6866). It listed only Remy as the author.

⁷⁹Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi*, 37, taken from Bennett, 273. Various engravings in the Italian translation of Burton's *City of the Saints* first appeared in the French abridgement in 1862 in *La Revue Le Tour du Monde* ("Voyage à la Cité des Saints, capitale du pays des Mormons [1860]," *Le Tour du Monde* 2 [1862]: 353–400).

⁸⁰Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi*, 41, taken from Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 263.

⁸¹Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi*, 17, taken from Piercy, *Route from Liverpool*, 58.

⁸²Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi*, 85, taken from Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey*, 179.

⁸³Burton, *I Mormoni e la Città dei Santi*, 145, taken from Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey*, 142. As recently as 1988, two Italian magazines confused photographs of Amish from the motion picture *Witness* with Latter-day Saints. See "L'Animismo e le sette minori," *Oggi* 15 (1988):

188–89; and Robert Walsh, “Mormoni variazioni sullo stesso tema,” *La Presenza Cristiana* 36 (10 November 1988): 27–28.

⁸⁴An English translation of *Il Far-West degli Stati Uniti* and its French antecedent *Le Grand-Ouest des Etats-Unis* (Paris, 1869) was published in 1966 as *The Rocky Mountain West in 1867* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966).

⁸⁵*Attraverso gli Stati Uniti* was first published in French in 1875 as *A travers les Etats-Unis, de l’Atlantique au Pacifique* (Paris: Charpentier et Cie, 1875) (Flake 7720).

⁸⁶L. Simonin, “Da Washington a San Francisco: Attraverso il Continente Americano,” *Il Giro del Mondo* 20 (1874): 24–41.

⁸⁷*Attraverso gli Stati Uniti*, 67–68, 84.

⁸⁸William Hepworth Dixon, *La Conquete Blanche* (Paris, 1877).

⁸⁹*Il Giro del Mondo* 4 (6 July 1876): 90–96; (13 July 1876): 97–106.

⁹⁰Dixon, *La Conquete Blanche*, 184.

⁹¹Hubner, *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo*, 108, taken from Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 273, and Burton, *I Mormoni e la Citta’ dei Santi*, 37.

⁹²Hubner, *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo*, 109, taken from Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 263, and Burton, *I Mormoni e la Citta’ dei Santi*, 41.

⁹³William Hepworth Dixon, *La Nouvelle Amerique* (Paris: Librairie Internationale, 1869).

⁹⁴Hubner, *Promenade autor du Monde*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1874).

⁹⁵Varvaro Pojero, *Una corsa nel Nuovo Mondo* 2: 75.

⁹⁶Pojero, *Una corsa nel Nuovo Mondo* 2: 90.

⁹⁷Gustavo Strafforello and Emilio Treves, *Dizionario universale di geografia, storia e biografia*, 2 vols. (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1878).

⁹⁸Francesco Carega di Muricce, *In America, 1871–72*, 2 vols. (Firenze: Banco Annunzi, 1875).

⁹⁹Carega di Muricce, *In America* 2:188–89.

¹⁰⁰Carega di Muricce, *In America* 2:190.

¹⁰¹Edoardo Sonzogno, ed., *L’Esposizione Universale di Filadelfia Illustrata*, 2 vols. (Milano: Edoardo Sonzogno, 1877), 1:130–32; 2:418–19, 427, 442–43, 452–54, 460–62, 546–47.

¹⁰²*L’Eco Italia*, 8 January 1881.

¹⁰³*Joseph Toronto: Italian Pioneer and Patriarch*, 26.

¹⁰⁴Vigna dal Ferro, *Un viaggio nel Far West Americano* (Bologna: Stab. Tipografico Successori Monti, 1881), 29–38 (Flake 9476).

¹⁰⁵Vigna dal Ferro, *Un viaggio*, 29.

¹⁰⁶Vigna dal Ferro, *Un viaggio*, 34–35.

¹⁰⁷Vigna dal Ferro, *Un viaggio*, 33.

¹⁰⁸Carlo Gardini, *Gli Stati Uniti-Ricordi*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1887).

¹⁰⁹Gardini, *Gli Stati Uniti* 2:182.

¹¹⁰Gardini, *Gli Stati Uniti* 2:171.

¹¹¹Gardini, *Gli Stati Uniti* 2:139.

¹¹²Augusto Torlonia, *Undici mesi in viaggio* (Citta’ di Castello: Tipografia dello Stabilimento S. Lapi, 1892), 137–41.

¹¹³Giulio Fano, *Un fisiologo intorno al Mondo* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1899).

¹¹⁴Fano, *Un fisiologo*, 412.

¹¹⁵Guido Rossati, *Relazione di un viaggio d’Istruzione negli Stati Uniti* (Roma: Tipografia Nazionale di G. Bertero, 1900), 134–35.

¹¹⁶Emilio Teza, *Sopra un alfabeto dei Mormoniani* (Pisa: Tipografia Nistri, 1874) (Flake 8883).

¹¹⁷*The Deseret First Book* (Salt Lake City: Deseret University, 1868) (Flake 2817).

¹¹⁸Sebastiano Fenzi, *Gita intorno alla Terra dal gennaio al settembre dell’anno 1876* (Firenze: Coi Tipi Dei Successori Le Monnier, 1877) (Flake 3323a).

¹¹⁹Friedrich Anton Heller von Hellwald, *Die Erde und ihre Volker, ein geographisches Hausbuch* (Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1876; 2d ed., 1877–78) (Flake 3946a [entry for later edition]).

¹²⁰Gustavo Strafforello, *La Terra e l’uomo*, 2 vols. (Torino: Ermanno Loescher, 1878, 1880), 1:135–39.

¹²¹Strafforello, *La Terra* 1:136.

¹²²Strafforello, *La Terra* 1:136, taken from Bennett, *History of the Saints*, 273; Burton, *I Mormoni e la Citta’ dei Santi*, 37; and Hubner, *Passeggiata intorno al Mondo*, 108. Strafforello mentioned Latter-day Saints in at least two other books he wrote. In the first, *Storia popolare del progresso materiale negli ultimi cento anni* (Torino: Unione Tipografica, 1871), Strafforello claims that after the discovery of gold in California, Latter-day Saint emigrants were among the first to rush to Sutter’s camp to begin prospecting. In the second, *Letteratura Americana* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1884), Strafforello surveys American literature and cites J. H. Beadle’s book *Life in Utah; or, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870) (Flake 344) as a notable travel book and Artemus Ward’s book *I Feniani e i Mormoni* as a must-read because of the author’s characterizations of “the weaknesses and vices of his fellow citizens.”

¹²³See Strafforello, *La Terra* 1:20, 38–39.

¹²⁴Egisto Rossi, *Gli Stati Uniti e la concorrenza americana* (Firenze: Tipografia di G. Barbari, 1884).

- ¹²⁵Rossi, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 132 n. 1.
- ¹²⁶Salvatore Cognetti de Martiis, *Il socialismo negli Stati Uniti* (Torino: 1885).
- ¹²⁷Cognetti de Martiis, *Il socialismo*, 43.
- ¹²⁸Cognetti de Martiis, *Il socialismo*, 43.
- ¹²⁹Attilio Brunialti, "I Mormoni del'Utah," *Nuova Antologia* 98 (1 April 1888): 479–504.
- ¹³⁰Angelo de Gubernatis, "Brigham Young ed i Mormoni," *Nuova Antologia* 36 (October 1877): 492–94.
- ¹³¹See Francesco Racioppi, "La Costituzione dell'Utah," *Nuova Antologia* 148 (16 August 1896): 612–28.
- ¹³²See "Cronaca contemporanea," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 13th ser., 11 (2 July 1888): 125.
- ¹³³"L'Emigrante Italiano: Da Sherman alla città dei Mormoni," *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 15th ser., 1 (11 March 1892): 702–6.
- ¹³⁴G. Marinelli, *La Terra: Trattato Popolare Geografia Universale*, 7 vols. (Milano: Vallardi, n.d.).
- ¹³⁵Various books by foreign authors containing references to the Church were published in Italy after the turn of the century. See, for example, Arthur Conan Doyle, *La Guerra nel Sud-Africa* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1902); and Arthur Conan Doyle, *Un Duetto* (Firenze: Salani, 1909).
- ¹³⁶See, for example, Giulio Verne, *Il Giro del Mondo in Ottanta Giorni*, 4 vols. (Milano: Serafino Muggliani e c., 1876), 3:93–106. Verne's work appeared in at least eight subsequent editions in Italian between 1887 to 1917. See also, Arthur Conan Doyle, *Il Poliziotto Dilettante: Lo Scritto Rosso* (Firenze: A. Salani, 1908).
- ¹³⁷See Luigi Bacolo, "E Salgari spezzò la penna," *Gazzetta del Popolo* (16 March 1980): 5; and Michele Straniero, *I Mormoni* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1990), 91.
- ¹³⁸Romolo Bianchi, *L'evoluzione religiosa nella società Americana* (Cremona: Tip. Sociale, 1910).
- ¹³⁹*Biblioteca del Pensiero Moderno*, 182–98.
- ¹⁴⁰Bianchi, *L'evoluzione religiosa*, 182.
- ¹⁴¹Luigi Villari, *Gli Stati Uniti d'America e l'emigrazione Italiana* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1912).
- ¹⁴²Villari, *Gli Stati Uniti*, 208.
- ¹⁴³Editoriale, "Una valutazione cattolica dei 'Movimenti Religiosi Alternativi,'" *La Civiltà Cattolica* (15 July 1989): 111. See also Editoriale, "La sfida dei 'Movimenti Religiosi Alternativi,'" *La Civiltà Cattolica* (1 July 1989): 3–15. Since John Paul II became Pope in 1979, the ties between *La Civiltà Cattolica* and the Vatican have become considerably weaker.
- ¹⁴⁴See, for example, Vito Garretto, *Storia degli Stati Uniti* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1916), 314, 339; and Carlo Errera, *L'America Settentrionale*, vol. 6 of *Geografia Universale Illustrata* (sotto la direzione di Roberto Almaglia) (Torino: Unione Tipografia-Editrice Torinese, 1934), 407–8.
- ¹⁴⁵David Bosio, "Nos Vaudois dan L'Utah," *L'Echo des Vallées Vaudois* (11–13 September 1913).
- ¹⁴⁶See, for example, Luca Beltrami, "I Mormoni nelle memorie di un missionario milanese," *Il Marzocco* 11 (December, 1926); and Luca Beltrami, *Padre Samuele Mazzuchelli* (Milano, 1928), 55–57; Rosemary Crepeau, *Un Apotre Dominicain Aux Etats-Unis, Le Pere Samuel-Charles-Gaétan Mazzuchelli* (Paris: J. De Gigord, 1932), 201. See also W. W. Murphy, "Biography of Father Samuele Mazzuchelli," *The Republican Journal* (9 December 1909), 71–73.
- ¹⁴⁷Beltrami, *Padre Samuele Mazzuchelli*, 56 n. 1.
- ¹⁴⁸Arnoldo Cipolla, *Nell' America del Nord: Impressioni di viaggio in Alaska, Stati Uniti e Canada* (Torino: G.B. Paravia & C., 1925).
- ¹⁴⁹Arnoldo Fraccaroli, *Vita d'America* (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1928).
- ¹⁵⁰Irene di Robilant, *Vita Americana* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1929).
- ¹⁵¹The reference to cat killing is from Richard Braithwait's poem first published in 1636 in *Barnabae Itinerarium . . . (Barnaby's Journey . . .)* about a Puritan who hung his cat for having killed a mouse the previous Sunday. The poem achieved its greatest popularity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when it was published in five separate editions. It is possible, therefore, that Fraccaroli did not know the difference between Puritans and Latter-day Saints.
- ¹⁵²See, for example, "Mormoni," *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1934), 11:861–64; and "Mormoni," *Grande Dizionario Enciclopedico* (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1936), vol. 7.
- ¹⁵³Camillo Crivelli, *I Protestanti in Italia* (Isola del Livi: Macioce e Pisani, 1936), 10.
- ¹⁵⁴Camillo Crivelli, *Enciclopedia Cattolica* (Città del Vaticano: Ente per l'Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il libro cattolico, 1952), 8: 1417–19. As recently as 26 July 1991 a magazine supplement of one of the largest circulating newspapers in Italy published an article about a polygamist living in southern Utah. The author claimed that "the Mormons in Utah — but not all — are among the fortunate religions" which allow men to have more than one wife. See "L'Harem di Papá Joseph," *Il Venerdì di Repubblica* 181 (26 July 1991): 39–42.
- a. *Enciclopedia delle Religioni* (Firenze: Vallecchi, 1970): 4:837–39. This encyclopedia claims that Latter-day Saints are vegetarians and calls the Pearl of Great Price "La Pietra Preziosa" (The Precious Rock).

b. *Enciclopedia Pomba*, 6th ed. (Torino: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Tornese, 1974), 3:815. The worst mistake made in this publication is the claim that “Il loro culto pubblico é costituito di canti, musica e danze, predicazione, e comunione con pane e acqua” (Their public worship consists of songs, music, and dances, discourses and sacrament of bread and water).

c. *Grande Enciclopedia Vallardi* (Milano: Casa Editrice Dr. Francesco Vallardi, 1969), 10:700. The author of this article claims “Per poter poi essere annessi agli Stati Uniti (1896) i Mormoni rinunciarono almento apertamente alla poligamia” (To be admitted as a state [1896] the Mormons renounced, at least publicly, the practice of polygamy).

d. *Lessico Universale Italiano*, Di Lingua Lettere Atri Scienze e Tecnica (Roma: Istituto Della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1974), 14:261. The treatment of Latter-day Saints in this encyclopedia is polemic and sectarian. Although talking in a historical context, the authors claim that the doctrines of the Church are characterized by inferiority of women, an obligation to practice polygamy, baptism for adults, and a priesthood split for temporal and spiritual affairs. Although admitting that polygamy has been abandoned, the claim is made that Latter-day Saints pray for God to avenge the blood of their saints or martyrs.

¹⁵⁵See, for example, Gina Racca, “Per battezzarsi rischiano la polmonite”; and Giuseppe Prezzolini, “La Fede dei Mormoni,” *Il Borghese* (28 May 1954): 471–73 (Prezzolini was a significant figure in Italian journalistic history; he had a mild fascination with Fascism and wanted to establish a civil religion); and Elena Fava, “La drammatica storia dei Mormoni,” *Historia* (Giugno 1960): 60–65.

¹⁵⁶Recent favorable articles were written in Italy by Michele L. Straniero, “Salt Lake City, citta’ perfetta dei Mormoni,” *La Stampa* (24 August 1989): 7; and Michele L. Straniero, “Nel tabernacolo ascoltanolo sterminato coro dei Mormoni,” *Il Giornale della Musica* (September 1989): 13.

¹⁵⁷See, for example, Ermanno Rostan, *Chi Sono I Mormoni* (Torino: Editrice Claudiana, 1974) (Claudiana is the main Waldensian publisher in Italy); Nicola Tornese, *Le origini: Joseph Smith e le sue Visioni* (Napoli, 1980); Nicola Tornese, *L’uomo e il suo Destino* (Marigliano [Naples]: Istituto Anselmi, 1981); and Nicola Tornese, *Il concetto di Dio secondo i Mormoni* (Marigliano [Naples]: Istituto Anselmi, 1983). (Although the works by Tornese were published with ecclesiastical approval, such approval does not mean that the Roman Catholic Church approved of the content. It does mean that there were no statements in the book which were against the Catholic faith. Ecclesiastical approval is not required for scholarly works unless they are of a theological nature and are written by members of the Roman Catholic clergy.) In addition, see Robert Walsh, “I Mormoni,” in *I nuovi movimenti religiosi non Cattolici in Italia: L’ecclesiologia della chiesa e delle sette* (Torino: Leumann: Elle di Ci, 1987), 49–66; Robert Walsh, “Mormoni variazione sullo stesso tema,” *La Presenza Cristiana* 36 (10 November 1988): 27–28; Pietro Canova, *Un vulcano in Eruzione: Le sette in America Latina* (Bologna: Litosavera, 1987), 65–89; Giuseppe Rinaldi e Danilo Zanella, *Un mondo di religioni* (Padova: Gregoriana, 1988), 214–15; and Michele C. del Re, *Nuovi idoli, nuovi dei* (Roma: Gremese, 1988), 97–101; P. Claudio Truzzi, *Nuove religioni, sette cristiane, Testimoni di Geova* (Monza: Il Carmello Oggi, 1989), 67–73. See also Domenico Colombo, *Nuove religioni in Italia: un fenomeno che interpella i cristiani* (Leumann: Elle Di Ci, 1987). Some translations of scholarly works which were initially published outside Italy were also published in Italian in the 1960s including Thomas F. O’Dea, *I Mormoni* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1961); and Jacques Chastenet, *La conquista del West* (Milano: Club degli Editori, 1968), which originally appeared in French as *En a Vant Vers L’Ouest* (Paris: Librairie Academique Perrin, 1967).

¹⁵⁸Pier Angelo Gramaglia, *Confronto con i Mormoni* (Casale Monferrato [Alexandria]: Piemme, 1985). Whereas, until 1990, this was the only book written exclusively about the Church in Italy, a walk through a typical Catholic bookstore in that country reveals dozens of books written with ecclesiastical approval concerning the Jehovah’s Witnesses. This difference has occurred because the Jehovah’s Witnesses have a membership of over 300,000 in that country while the Latter-day Saint Church at about 14,000 is still relatively small in comparison.

¹⁵⁹Pier Angelo Gramaglia, *Confronto con i Mormoni* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1985).

¹⁶⁰See, for example, Massimo Introvigne, “Strange Saints: The Mormons in Nineteenth-Century Italian Literature” (Paper delivered at the 1989 meeting of the Mormon History Association, Oxford, England).

¹⁶¹Giovanni Stragliotto, *La mia testimonianza: perché un Cattolico diventa Mormone?* (Vicenza, 1980).

¹⁶²See, for example, Massimo Introvigne, *Il destino dell’uomo nella teologia dei mormoni* (Genova: Quadrivium, 1988); Massimo Introvigne, *Le nuove religioni* (Milano: Sugar Co., 1989); and Massimo Introvigne, *Le sette cristiane: Dai Testimoni di Geova al Reverendo Moon* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore S.P.A., 1989). See also Massimo Introvigne, Jean-Francois Mayer, and Ernesto Zucchini, *I nuovi movimenti religiosi* (Leumann: Editrice, 1989).

¹⁶³*I nuovi movimenti religiosi: Sette cristiane e nuovi culti* (Leumann [Torino]: Elle Di Ci, 1990); and *Le nuove rivelazioni* (Leumann [Torino]: Elle Di Ci, 1991).

¹⁶⁴Michele Straniero, *I Mormoni Leggenda e Storia, Liturgia e Teologia dei Santi degli Ultimi Giorni* (Milano: Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1990).

“Provoking the Brethren to Good Works”: Susa Young Gates, the Relief Society, and Genealogy

James B. Allen and Jessie L. Embry

Around the year 1918 Susa Young Gates, one of the Latter-day Saint Church's most influential women and one sometimes jokingly referred to as the “thirteenth apostle,”¹ was preparing a history of Latter-day Saint women. One chapter indicated that despite male leadership in the Genealogical Society of Utah, it was the women who were most responsible for making genealogy catch on within the Church, for women were doing more of both genealogical research and temple work than were the men. In a witty reminder of the special role she thought women were playing, Susa observed that “the old-time motto of the women's auxiliary committee of the Genealogical Society of Utah ran thus: ‘Let us provoke the brethren to good works, yet not provoke the brethren while we work.’ ” She may have been indulging in a bit of good-natured sarcasm when she allowed that the men of the priesthood “naturally bear off the heavier and more exacting responsibilities of directing, guiding and presiding over the labors performed by women,” but there was no denying that it was really the women who were doing the most to bring genealogical work into prominence in Latter-day Saint life.² What follows is the story of the early contribution of women, particularly of Susa Young Gates, to genealogical work among the Latter-day Saints. The story is significant not just for what it says about the history of genealogy, but also for what it says about the nature of some Latter-day Saint women in the early twentieth century and their relationship to the Church.

Much of Susa Young Gates's work took place in the Progressive Era in American history, when the pressure for women's suffrage reached its peak and in 1920 at last achieved its goal. Many

James B. Allen is Lemuel Hardison Redd, Jr., Professor of Western American History, Brigham Young University, and Jessie L. Embry is Oral History Program Director at the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University.

American women were excited about what the vote could mean with respect to even broader political, economic, and social equality. Among the Latter-day Saints, however, total religious equality was not yet a question, for women generally accepted the fact that Church leadership was in the hands of the male-only priesthood and showed no inclination to change that fact. At the same time, they were hardly cowed by the priesthood; they were not reluctant to vigorously seek what they considered were necessary changes in programs and policies. With respect to genealogy, at least, Susa and her friends boldly suggested new directions, worked to achieve what they believed the Church needed most, and goaded their brethren when they thought the men lax or derelict in their genealogical responsibilities. These women enjoyed an equality of spirit and responsibility, and, with few predetermined bounds on their activities, they set about to achieve what they felt were some long-needed new directions for genealogical work. In a sense they set their own bounds, which they saw as the farthest perimeters to which their faith and perseverance could carry them. For a while they even seemed to control the direction genealogical activity took in the Church, but their willingness to relinquish that control demonstrates also their recognition that such programs ultimately should be directed by priesthood leaders. Their success is a remarkable tribute to what the Latter-day Saint women, who were also active in all phases of the national women's movement, could accomplish within the Church.

Genealogical research was a natural and important outgrowth of the revelations received and doctrines taught by Joseph Smith.³ One of the angel Moroni's early messages, in fact, foretold the coming of Elijah, in fulfillment of Malachi's prophecy, to "plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers."⁴ In April 1836 Elijah appeared in vision to Joseph Smith in the Kirtland Temple and, according to the faith of the Saints, opened to the Church the spirit and responsibility of seeking after the dead. The longing for such a doctrine, at least for some Saints, already existed, and from that time on, the "Spirit of Elijah" seemed to spread like seeds in the wind among them.

The great ancestor hunt was not unique to Latter-day Saints, however, for the genealogical spirit caught hold of many people in the nineteenth century. The American Antiquarian Society was founded in 1812; at least eleven state historical societies existed before 1845; and each of these groups included genealogy among its concerns. Beyond that, many of the most prominent American families had long taken an interest in their ancestors — the first

published genealogy in America appeared in 1771⁵ — although by 1915 there were still only about three thousand published family histories. Then a flood tide seemed to hit, and in less than thirty years another sixteen thousand titles were added to the list.⁶

Long before the Latter-day Saints actually organized their own society, many individuals and family groups were promoting genealogy, and Church publications urged upon their readers the need for genealogical research. Several members of the Council of the Twelve Apostles, including Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, and Wilford Woodruff, set the example. Especially prominent was Elder Franklin D. Richards, who was also Church historian and general church recorder from 1889 to 1899. His extensive work was known far outside Utah (in 1899 he accepted an invitation to join the New England Historic and Genealogical Society). He collected a large personal library of genealogical publications that eventually became the basis for the first Church-owned genealogical library.

Genealogical activity was promoted in a variety of ways among lay members of the Church. Church leaders encouraged those immigrating to Utah to bring information on their friends and relatives, the dead as well as the living who might not accept the gospel in this life. Those who were already in Utah wrote letters to relatives in an effort to obtain names and dates. Others returned to their homelands, sometimes as “genealogical missionaries,” to search records and visit relatives. Although few, if any, were officially called as missionaries, those interested in finding information about their ancestors were invited to come to Salt Lake City to be set apart by a General Authority. They were each given a missionary card and a clergy railroad discount card. Franklin D. Richards, who set apart many of these missionaries, also encouraged them to share the gospel with their living ancestors. Between 1885 and 1900 at least 178 Saints served on genealogical missions. While most were middle-aged or older retired men, a few young men and women and some couples served as well. John Adams Wakeham, for example, was set apart for a genealogical mission in 1891 and returned to his native New England. There he visited distant relatives and a member of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society to learn more about his ancestors. He also helped friends with farm work and attempted to talk with them about the Church.⁷

By 1894 several avid genealogists were advocating a Church-sponsored organization, and on 1 November 1894 the First Presidency and Council of the Twelve approved the articles of incorporation of the Genealogical Society of Utah; appropriately, Franklin D. Richards was named the first president of the new organization. On 22 November the society became a legal state

entity. In 1944 its name was officially changed to the Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, though for public purposes it still used the name Genealogical Society of Utah. In 1975 it became known as the Genealogical Department of the Church, and in 1987 the name was changed to the Family History Department.

The articles of incorporation defined benevolent, educational, and religious goals for the new society. Its benevolent goal was to establish and maintain a genealogical library. Its educational goal was to disseminate genealogical information. Its religious, and overriding, purpose was to acquire records of the dead so that the saving ordinances (baptism, the temple endowment, and the sealing of families for eternity) could be performed vicariously for them in the temples. The founders dreamed of one day providing a network of paid genealogical agents who would do research for others. These agents would work outside of Utah under the direction of the Society. Unfortunately, early efforts to establish the agent program were not highly successful, as many people preferred to either hire private researchers or do the work themselves.

Few people, however, were well trained in the necessary skills, and as the genealogical impulse quickened, the need for a training program became apparent. It was in this area that the women of the Church began to lead out. At their head, provoking both men and women to good works, was Susa Young Gates, an enthusiastic, incredible woman who, when she set her mind on something, usually accomplished it.⁸

A daughter of Brigham Young, Susa Young Gates was respected both nationally and internationally. She was prominent as a suffragist, a prolific writer and editor, a publisher, a public speaker, an educator, a genealogist, and the mother of thirteen children. She was a leader in the Relief Society and the Young Ladies' Mutual Improvement Association (YLMIA) and founder of *The Young Woman's Journal*. She represented the YLMIA seven times at national meetings of the National Council of Women. For three years she chaired the press committee of the national organization, and in 1899 she was a speaker at the International Quinquennial held in London. Two years later she was the sole delegate of the National Council of Women at a meeting of the International Council in Copenhagen, Denmark.

Susa's intense commitment to genealogy and temple work was lifelong. When the St. George Temple was dedicated in 1877, she served as official stenographer, and she became the first woman to be baptized there for the dead. She was also official stenographer at the dedications of the Logan, Salt Lake City, and Cardston temples.



Susa Young Gates (1856–1933)

She helped the Young family compile a thirteen-volume genealogical record containing twenty thousand names. Later, in order to avoid duplication of temple work, she directed the preparation of an index to the Young family records and had a copy deposited in each temple.⁹

Sometimes women like Susa Young Gates were needed to infuse new ideas, inspire the men and, in effect, “provoke the brethren” into filling their religious responsibilities. For example, her son-in-law, Elder John A. Widtsoe of the Council of the Twelve, was once a director and then president of the Genealogical Society of Utah. He first met Susa in Boston in 1892 when he was a student at Harvard University and she was there gathering Young family genealogy. He later confessed that it was Susa “who turned [his] own interest in the direction of genealogy.”¹⁰

For Susa Young Gates, genealogy had more than the usual spiritual significance. In 1901 she was taken seriously ill while returning from the Copenhagen conference. Confined for several weeks at the home of a friend in Geneva, she was finally able to travel after receiving a blessing from the missionaries. But her condition remained critical and “she was ready to die,” recalled John A. Widtsoe, “or at least we thought so.” Then came the miracle. Francis M. Lyman, a member of the Council of the Twelve and President of the European Mission, was asked to give her a blessing. He was so certain she would die that the blessing began to take the form of an admonition not to fear death. Suddenly, however, he stopped, and, as Susa recalled later, waited for nearly two minutes before he continued: “There has been a council held in heaven, and it has been decided you shall live to perform temple work, and you shall do a greater work than you have ever done before.”¹¹

Though Susa became well enough to travel, she did not fully recover at once. The doctors at home were convinced that she had little chance to live, but she clung stubbornly to life and even protested loudly when a patriarch came to give her a blessing. “I don’t want him to come and dedicate me to the Lord,” she cried. “I don’t want to die. I want to live — to live to do temple work!” Replied the patriarch, “Well, Sister, if you want to live to do temple work, you shall live.” Horribly emaciated and weighing only eighty-five pounds, she continued to fight for life; when she went to the temple, she had herself carried there in a chair. Gradually she recovered, and from then until her death in 1933, she was constantly involved in temple and genealogical work. She not only paid one-tenth of her income to the Church as tithing, but she also deducted another ten percent for genealogical purposes.¹²

Joseph Christenson, secretary of the Genealogical Society of Utah, was aware of Susa's great interest in her ancestors and temple work and was instrumental in making her aware of the Society's library. One day in 1904, shortly after she moved from Provo to Salt Lake City, he asked her, "Sister Gates, why don't you go over to the Genealogical Library and hunt out the names of the Young family?" Susa replied that she did not even know there was such a thing in Salt Lake City.¹³ While this response undoubtedly confirmed fears already expressed by the officers of the Society that few people knew of the library and even fewer were using it, this was probably the last time Susa Young Gates would be caught unaware of something important in the area of Latter-day Saint genealogy.

After discovering the genealogical library, Susa was dismayed to find it so full of rich material and yet used so ineffectively. So far as she was concerned, research was in chaos, for as someone later wrote, "No one knew where to begin or how to continue, and, indeed, no one tried except the Library attendant who worked a little in the books for the benefit of a few clients."¹⁴ As Susa later recalled, "I felt that I must do something more, something to help all the members of the Church with their genealogy and temple work. There was practically no book of lessons in genealogy in existence. Beginners were forced to blunder into record keeping without guide or compass; there were no classes in schools or printed instructions to enlighten them."¹⁵ Her efforts to correct this lack continued throughout her life and included editing a weekly newspaper article on genealogy; organizing and teaching classes under the auspices of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, the Genealogical Society, and the Relief Society; writing genealogical manuals; arranging genealogical conventions; and planning and implementing programs to help Latter-day Saints gather the names of their ancestors and do temple work for them. All of these activities were interwoven and interdependent upon each other.

In these activities a frequent companion was Elizabeth Claridge McCune. Elizabeth, wife of mining entrepreneur Alfred W. McCune, was also involved in Church and community affairs. As a member of the YLMIA General Board, she was active in the National Council and International Council of Women. She was a trustee of the Utah State Agricultural College and served as a member of the Relief Society General Board. In addition to her genealogical work with Susa, she also gathered her own genealogy while on a trip to England in 1896 and was a worker in the Salt Lake Temple.¹⁶ Genealogical classwork was so important to both Susa and Elizabeth that when they began to work out the details they went to Elizabeth's father, Patriarch Samuel Claridge

of the St. Joseph (Arizona) Stake, and “received a remarkable prophetic blessing.”¹⁷

Susa’s organizational leadership in genealogy began within the Daughters of Utah Pioneers (DUP), which she helped found in 1901. This hereditary organization had a natural genealogical interest and urged its members to collect genealogies. In 1904 Susa was asked to become president, but, ever on the alert to promote her cherished genealogical agenda, she accepted only on condition that the organization inaugurate a program for more effectively training the women in genealogy and encouraging them in temple work. The society agreed, and Susa was installed in April 1905.¹⁸ She wasted no time in getting started; her first two activities through the DUP were a weekly newspaper column and the establishment of genealogy classes.

Joseph Christenson, who had referred Susa to the library, suggested that she ask the *Deseret Evening News* to run a department on genealogy.¹⁹ Susa approached the newspaper, and the *News* accepted her offer to write weekly genealogical articles. On 1 January 1907 her new section first appeared. A year later the *Herald-Republican* added a similar weekly column, which Susa also produced.²⁰ Published each Saturday, it carried genealogical news, genealogical data on various Church leaders, and other items of interest. It even found its way into the libraries of genealogical societies outside Utah.

The DUP was responsible for the newspaper articles for the first year and a half. It received inquiries and suggestions, and Susa prepared the material for publication. On 21 July 1908, however, the board of the Genealogical Society passed a resolution “requesting that the articles on Genealogy now appearing in the *Deseret News* under the auspices of the DUP be published hereafter under the direction of the Genealogical Society and that a committee of sisters to assist in the work be appointed.”²¹ Joseph Fielding Smith, secretary of the board, wrote to Susa explaining the contents of the resolution and asking the sisters to accept the “call.”²²

Susa readily agreed to the Genealogical Society’s request, but her reasons were part of a set of larger concerns. For one thing, she believed that the column had become so significant that it should be part of the Church’s official genealogical organization.²³ For another, she was in the midst of a serious disagreement within the DUP over how far its genealogical activities should range. Some, including Susa and Elizabeth, wanted to subdivide into groups with special hereditary interests in great Church historical epochs, such as Daughters of the Founders of the Church, Daughters of Kirtland, Daughters of the Mormon Battalion, Daughters of the Pioneers

from Great Britain, and so on. They also wanted the DUP to become a Church organization rather than a state society. They saw its increasing secularization as a threat to their plans for temple work, and when their suggestions for reorganization were rejected, they took the matter to Church leaders. At that point, Anthon H. Lund, a member of the First Presidency and president of the Genealogical Society, invited them to bring their work over to the Society.²⁴ Almost immediately Susa resigned as DUP president and shifted all her genealogical programs to the Society’s newly organized Women’s Committee, which she chaired. She also encouraged all the women she had been working with to join the Genealogical Society of Utah.²⁵ Her committee represented the first active involvement by women in that organization.

Significantly, through its newspaper column, its classes, and other projects, the DUP was doing at that time as much as, if not more than, the Church itself to stimulate genealogical work among the Latter-day Saints. But such activity could not long remain outside the pale of Church sponsorship, and the shift in 1908 was a classic example of how the Church has sometimes adopted programs that have been established and conducted successfully outside its bounds.²⁶

Transferring sponsorship of the newspaper department made no difference in the way it was handled. Susa continued as editor and took charge of all publishing details. When asked for a history of the column, she explained, “I am the only one who can hope to give you anything like a connected story of the work done in the . . . two papers.”²⁷

The genealogical department continued in the *Deseret Evening News* for many years, though in 1918 it was threatened with extinction. The wartime scarcity of paper led the management of the *News* to cut down on the size of the Saturday paper, and genealogy was one of the features scheduled for elimination. The dauntless Susa was outraged. On 26 August with the approval of the Board of Directors of the Genealogical Society, she sent a thousand circulars to Relief Societies throughout the Church, calling upon the women to send letters of protest to the Church-owned newspaper. “Sometimes business men are more interested in finances, and city dwellers are more interested in society than in topics pertaining to our spiritual advancement,” she wrote with righteous indignation. But, she urged, “the right of petition is always ours and the women in the Church may well take advantage of this right to convince our Deseret News Management that we are vitally interested in the work of genealogy and temple work generally.”²⁸

As Susa hoped, a number of women soon wrote to the newspaper expressing their concern. At the end of September, however, the *News* countered by sending a form letter to all the Relief Societies that responded, explaining that the department had not been discontinued; it had only been condensed and would appear less frequently because of the paper shortage. The letter added that the *News* would publish matters “of the greatest interest to its readers, and that it is the best judge of what should and should not appear in its columns in these days of stress and government regulations.”²⁹ A stamped envelope was enclosed with the letter and the sisters were asked to deliver the message to whoever had told them that the genealogical articles would no longer appear. The sisters dutifully flooded Susa Young Gates with letters.³⁰

Dismayed with the attitude of the *News*, and particularly with what she considered its lack of candor in not admitting that it had planned to shut down the column, she was unwilling to take undeserved criticism. In a letter to Joseph Fielding Smith on 17 October, she said she wanted the *News* to know she had obtained his approval before she mailed the letters to the Relief Societies and explained, “I think I would like to clear my own skirts . . . for the *Deseret News* letter would indicate that I was both untruthful and out of harmony with the powers [that] be.” She added, “However, I do not care very much about it and am willing to do whatever you think best.”³¹

As another possible way to lean on the paper, on 29 August Susa wrote a strongly worded letter to the board of the Genealogical Society. In the letter she vehemently protested the loss of the column, reminding the brethren of its inestimable value in providing communication between genealogists and in making genealogy “a settled part of our daily life and communication.” Further, she lamented, “if this department ceases, and if the Relief Society genealogical classes should be discontinued, as some people wish they were, it might so cripple our genealogical interests that the people’s temple activities would suffer irreparable loss.” In addition, she said, apparently convinced that the name of a male editor connected with the Society might carry more weight than hers, “for some time I have felt that the department should be turned over to your Society and the name of the Secretary, Elder Joseph F. Smith, Jr. placed there in lieu of my own. . . . [A]nd although this seems to be a strange time in which to turn over the department to your Society, I now formally do so and beg of you to resurrect it in the columns of the *News* and thus serve the people who greatly need that help.”³² In a letter to an officer of the Sons of the Revolution in Los Angeles, Pierson W. Banning, who wrote her asking what he

could do to save the newspaper section, Susa said to write directly to the *News* because “there are always wheels within wheels” and commenting straight to the paper would have more influence.³³

Although there is no evidence that Susa responded directly to the *Deseret Evening News*, whatever pressures were applied by others apparently had an effect on the management’s view of what was newsworthy. The genealogy column was absent for a few weeks in August, but it began again as a regular feature in September, even as the controversy continued to rage. Nephi Anderson, prominent writer and genealogist, eventually replaced Susa as editor.³⁴

Susa’s development of the newspaper section was typical of her involvement in genealogy. She initiated the section at the suggestion of a friend and priesthood holder. Once the suggestion was made, she personally approached the paper and made the necessary arrangements. When the section was threatened, she turned first to the men who led the Genealogical Society, whom she saw as her priesthood leaders in the matter, for permission to write to the women. She then asked the Relief Societies to help her in a fight to continue the articles. She next encouraged the men to take over the department in reality as well as nominally because she felt they would have more influence. Furthermore, she saw the column as their responsibility as priesthood leaders and felt that the final decisions should be up to them.

Susa followed the same pattern in managing genealogical classes. As president of the DUP, she obtained the use of a room for classes in the historic Lion House, then being used by the Latter-day Saints University. Formal classwork began in the fall of 1906.³⁵ The classes were approved by officials of the Salt Lake Temple, especially Duncan McAllister, temple recorder, avid genealogist, and personal friend. Susa directed these meetings and asked both men and women to give the lessons. Such genealogical stalwarts as Duncan McAllister, Joseph Christenson, Susa Young Gates, Elizabeth McCune, and Joseph Fielding Smith were among the first lecturers. One of the lectures, Elder Smith’s “Salvation Universal,” was eventually printed in pamphlet form and circulated widely in the Church.³⁶

The classes were so successful that the DUP was encouraged to continue them on a regular basis, and beginning in the fall of 1907, weekly classwork was offered. The women in charge were so surprised when sixty people showed up for the first weekly class that they had to postpone instruction in order to move to larger accommodations. In addition to weekly classes, a special class was conducted on 7 October for the benefit of those

who had come to Salt Lake City for the Church's semiannual general conference.³⁷

The following year the Genealogical Society absorbed the genealogical programs of the DUP. At the first meeting of the Women's Committee, 4 September 1908, Joseph Christenson told the members that their task was to arouse greater interest in genealogical work and increase membership in the Society, "not slackening in their labors until a sufficiently large membership had been secured which would enable the Society to purchase every genealogical book now published or to be published."³⁸ This was an ambitious charge, and the women were equally ambitious in pursuing it. They took full advantage of the already well-established structure of the Church by writing the stake presidents to ask permission to speak in the various wards on the subject of genealogy and temple work.³⁹ Combining genealogical and other historical interests, they held a series of balls and other social activities commemorating historical events and memorializing Church leaders.⁴⁰ They continued the lessons and lectures begun under the auspices of the DUP and beginning in 1910 published a yearbook that contained information about meetings and classes. The result of all this activity so impressed the Genealogical Society that the January 1910 issue of its magazine reported a great awakening in the two years past and acknowledged that one of the chief factors was the Women's Committee.⁴¹ Four years later the First Presidency also complimented the women: "The sisters in charge of that work [classwork] have labored with zeal and efficiency and have accomplished wonders, not only in the direction mentioned, but in arousing interest in it throughout the Church, and greatly increasing the membership of the Society."⁴²

The new committee was originally designated the Women's Auxiliary Committee, but in 1909, apparently wanting to emphasize the fact that genealogy was not just women's work, the women asked for a change. They wanted to be called the Historical Division of the Genealogical Society of Utah. The idea was approved, but during the life of the committee both designations seemed to be applied interchangeably.⁴³ In 1910 the Society's board again made some changes in its organization. The board decided that the work of the women should be subdivided and that the committee itself should be superseded by six committees. Although the new committees were named, in actuality the Women's Committee remained intact and active until its work was absorbed by the Relief Society in 1912.⁴⁴

There was good reason for transferring the classes from the Genealogical Society to the Relief Society. Officially reaching into

every ward of the Church, this auxiliary was in a much better position to promote genealogy among the women than was a small organization such as the Genealogical Society, which had no branches and no specially designated leadership at the local level, where the work had to be popularized. The Women’s Committee knew that convincing the Relief Society to adopt the genealogical lessons would be a giant step toward achieving the committee’s goal of genuine Church-wide participation.

The move took time, for there were questions in the minds of some Relief Society leaders as to whether their organization should adopt any uniform course of study. Some stakes and wards had prepared their own courses of study, and it seemed inappropriate to interfere with local autonomy by imposing something from above. Several discussions took place in 1906 and 1907 at the Relief Society General Board meetings, but all motions to have Church-wide lesson plans lost. Not until the end of 1907 did the board finally compromise by deciding that it would prepare lesson outlines but that their use by the stakes would be optional.⁴⁵

Even the President of the Church could not force the issue when it was first discussed. On one occasion, President Joseph F. Smith overheard an interesting conversation about the classes between his wife, Julina (a member of the Relief Society General Board), President Bathsheba W. Smith of the Relief Society, Isabel W. Sears, and Susa. He injected himself into the conversation remarking, “Why Sisters, you ought to put that work into the Relief Society.” The women laughingly assured him that such a “Herculean task” was not possible even for them. He repeated his suggestion twice more, but when the women made a tentative effort to introduce the idea to the Relief Society, they met with no success.⁴⁶ The problem was not genealogy per se but only the continuing question of whether Church headquarters should impose any classwork upon local Relief Societies. The Relief Society board, a highly independent group, was seldom dictated to, though after 1911 its complexion began to change when Susa and Elizabeth McCune were appointed as members. Local organizations, meantime, also began taking the initiative, and in October 1911 the Relief Societies of Ogden joined together and requested the Genealogical Society to send someone to provide instruction for them.⁴⁷

Resistance gradually weakened, and early in 1912 the Women’s Committee of the Genealogical Society wrote to the Relief Society, officially requesting that the latter take over genealogical classwork. The board agreed, and on 20 April 1912 the first genealogical class under the auspices of the Relief Society was begun in Ogden. Although attendance was strictly voluntary, fifty

people showed up. Susa was there to organize the class, the Salt Lake City class was there to visit, and Annie Lynch, secretary of the Women's Committee, was designated as the teacher.⁴⁸

Disappointingly, sustaining the first great blush of interest was difficult; out of the initial fifty, only ten people continued for the full sixteen lessons. By the middle of 1915, however, the Ogden Stake reported that 369 people were actively working on genealogy, a total of 5,939 genealogical visits had been made, and 30,777 names had been collected.⁴⁹ As the work expanded from Ogden to other stakes, the Relief Society accomplished more among the Latter-day Saints than the priesthood, the DUP, or the Genealogical Society had ever done.

Requests kept coming in, and in December the Women's Committee of the Genealogical Society proposed that a corps of instructors be sent throughout the Church. Susa and Elizabeth McCune both could afford to travel, so they began to stump the Church, preaching the gospel of genealogy. They visited all the Latter-day Saint communities in Canada and traveled throughout southern Utah in the summer of 1913 carrying letters of recommendation signed by Anthon H. Lund and Joseph Fielding Smith. On the latter trip they preached genealogy, held classes, and wrote to the Society urging it to open even more classes.⁵⁰

All these classes were still voluntary, according to the desires of the individual stakes and wards, but Susa and her friends were working for the day when the Relief Society General Board would require genealogical classes to be a regular part of the Relief Society program. In the meantime, Susa urged the women of other stakes to write the Genealogical Society requesting help in setting up genealogical work. She anticipated that eventually the Society would correspond with every stake in the Church.⁵¹ By the fall of 1913, classes had extended to several additional stakes. In Salt Lake City, special genealogical classes were being held for the general boards of the Relief Society and the YLMIA.

In some ways the effort to promote Relief Society genealogy classes was part of a larger reform movement within the Church. Beginning with the priesthood, a general revitalization effort had been taking place since about 1907. In 1909 regular lesson manuals for priesthood meetings were adopted, and from there the idea spread to other Church organizations. A correlation committee under the direction of Apostle David O. McKay attempted to correlate the programs of the various organizations; representatives from the Relief Society were on that committee.⁵² Finally, in 1914 the Relief Society became the last Church auxiliary to inaugurate regular Church-wide lessons. In that year the *Relief Society*

Magazine began publication and carried outlines for monthly lessons on four different topics. The second weekly meeting of each month was devoted to genealogy. At long last Susa and her friends saw their ambition fulfilled, and for the next seven years the women of the Relief Society would spend at least one week a month studying genealogical techniques.

The women took just pride in what they were accomplishing. By 1915, it was reported, nearly 700 ward organizations and over 30,000 women were studying genealogy. Relief Society leaders recommended that special committees be appointed in each ward. The 1915 reports showed many wards had fully organized genealogical activities. Only a few wards gave completely negative or discouraging reports; in one case the person compiling the report noted sarcastically, “Everybody asleep in Beaver.”⁵³

These figures did not mean, of course, that everything ran smoothly or that everyone agreed with all that was happening. In November 1917 Susa informed the board of the Genealogical Society that some branches of the Relief Society “felt discouraged concerning the somewhat difficult and technical lessons given on Surnames for the past two years . . . [and] others have felt almost justified in setting aside these lessons for the more attractive and really essential work which we are now doing for the Red Cross.” She also discovered that the Relief Societies in Utah Stake had “gathered the impression that they were to drop their own genealogical lessons and confine their genealogical studies to the outlines just prepared by your society.” Practically demanding a decision from the board of the Society, she asked, “Will you kindly indicate by letter just what you would like . . . to be undone? We are quite willing to continue our lessons or discontinue them.” On behalf of the Society, Joseph Fielding Smith replied in no uncertain terms. “We feel that it would be a deplorable thing should you, for any cause, discontinue the work in this direction. For we consider the work in the interest of the salvation of the dead . . . as the most important labor with which we have to do. We therefore pray you that your efforts do not slacken, for we hope to see the spirit of temple work and record making grow, until it shall find a permanent place in the hearts and lives of all the Latter-day Saints.” Susa published his reply in the *Relief Society Magazine*, asking the sisters to “resume your studies with renewed zeal and determination.”⁵⁴ The classes went on.

A natural outgrowth of the lessons sponsored by the Genealogical Society’s Women’s Committee was the preparation of the first genealogical lesson manual. Susa and others were disturbed by the fact that nowhere was there a well organized, step-by-step

printed manual on how to go about research. Especially after the committee began to organize and present lessons around the state, they felt they had the expertise to produce a manual. Susa prepared most of the material.

The first lessons were published in the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* beginning in October 1911, but the women were not satisfied and wanted them published as a book. The board was reluctant, for its financial resources were limited, and it was unwilling to gamble on a publication venture. Taking matters into their own hands, therefore, the women raised the money independently, and after being edited by Nephi Anderson, the lessons were published in 1912 as a forty-five page book, *Lessons in Genealogy*. Vindication of the women's optimism came quickly, for within a year the first edition was sold, expenses were met, and a second edition was issued.⁵⁵

The publication of this little book evoked some interesting commentary in a German magazine devoted to women's suffrage. The author, Peter Von Gebhardt, made various favorable observations about the Church and its practices, then praised the "excellent little book" in glowing terms. "We ask if the German woman also could not become active in the field of practical genealogy," he continued, "and it would be well if the American Lesson Book could find imitation among us."⁵⁶

Another important book published by the Relief Society, with the approval of the Genealogical Society, was Susa's *Surname Book and Racial History*. Prepared originally for the use of students in genealogy classes and for other members of the Relief Society, three thousand copies were printed and one was sent to every known genealogical and historical library in America and Europe. It was well received; complimentary letters poured in from both continents, and newly organized societies as well as many individuals requested copies.⁵⁷

The administration of genealogical classes and the preparation of manuals, then, had followed a pattern similar to that of the newspaper column: they were suggested by a priesthood leader, originally conducted by the DUP, and eventually transferred to the Genealogical Society. An additional step was the transfer to the Relief Society, but in all the stages the women sought and obtained the advice and approval of priesthood leaders.

By this time the women of the Relief Society, under the continuous prodding of Susa Young Gates and her associates, had spearheaded a more intensive genealogical program among the Latter-day Saints than many people had thought possible. But they were not content until they could expand their impact even further,

and the next step was the inauguration of semiannual genealogical conventions in Salt Lake City.

In the Relief Society General Board meeting of 4 September 1913, Jeanetta Hyde proposed that a series of genealogical lessons be given for interested people attending the forthcoming October general conference of the Church. It was actually too late to plan such an activity, but the board liked the idea and during the conference held a special genealogical reception for stake representatives. By April the women were ready with a full-scale, three-day convention following the regular general conference meetings, and five hundred delegates from sixty-five stakes were present. President Anthon H. Lund represented the First Presidency of the Church in opening the conference, but beyond that the conference was fully a women's affair, and the women conducted all the sessions. Two meetings, consisting of instruction on genealogical methods and temple work, were held each day. Emmeline B. Wells, president of the Relief Society, made a significant observation on the impact of women on genealogical work when she noted that "the work of the Relief society is so closely connected with that of the Genealogical society that membership in the one practically implies interest in the other."⁵⁸ For the rest of the decade, the two societies continued to cooperate in sponsoring genealogical conferences or lectures at general conference time.

For many women, the highlight of the decade was the International Congress of Genealogy in July 1915 in connection with a world's fair in San Francisco. The women of the Relief Society began planning for it at least a year in advance, though at first they received little official encouragement from Church leaders. When Susa asked the members of the board of the Genealogical Society about helping the California group send out notices, Joseph Fielding Smith replied that the board was not interested. Nor did it feel the need to appoint a committee to cooperate with the California group, for the board did not see that such an action would result in any great prestige to the Society.⁵⁹ Susa and her friends felt differently, however, and despite the priesthood's lack of interest, they became very much involved in both the planning and the advertising.

Both the Relief Society and the Genealogical Society of Utah were invited to send delegates to the meeting. Once they decided to take part, the women made sure that their participation was no small thing. Susa obtained permission from the Relief Society General Board to invite every stake genealogical committee in the Church to send one or more delegates to California. Plans were made to

charter a special train from Salt Lake City. Circulars were printed and sent out, and the *Relief Society Magazine* zealously promoted the conference, telling the women that if they were frugal they could finance the entire week's excursion for fifty dollars.⁶⁰

The women responded enthusiastically. On 22 July a special Oregon Short Line train of fourteen cars left Salt Lake City with nearly two hundred fifty excursionists aboard. They reached San Francisco the next day and on Saturday, 24 July, attended a special Utah day at the fairgrounds. There a number of dignitaries spoke, including several California officials, Utah's governor William Spry, and Latter-day Saint Church President Joseph F. Smith. The preconference highlight, however, was the day-long meeting of the Genealogical Society of Utah on 27 July, the day before the three-day international congress met. There was considerable outside interest in what the Latter-day Saints were doing, and the meetings were well attended.⁶¹

When the International Congress of Genealogy met the following three days, the Latter-day Saints played a prominent role. There were 106 official delegates from 66 invited organizations, and of these, 22 were from the Genealogical Society of Utah and 26 from the Genealogical Extension Division of the Relief Society.⁶² In addition, the many Latter-day Saint visitors, especially women, from the intermountain states swelled the attendance. As if to emphasize the growing significance of the Latter-day Saints in genealogical work, the Congress appointed Joseph Fielding Smith and Susa Young Gates to a number of permanent committees. In addition, it authorized the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* to publish its proceedings, which was done in the October 1915 and January 1916 issues. Special bronze medals were presented to Anthon H. Lund as president of the Genealogical Society of Utah and to Emmeline B. Wells as president of the Relief Society.⁶³ The Latter-day Saint genealogists, and especially the women, were making their influence felt.

As the second decade of the century progressed, it was the women of the Church, largely through the Relief Society, who were chiefly responsible for popularizing genealogy and who carried the major burden of both research and temple work. They led out in developing genealogical classes, instructional manuals, improved research methods, and other means of stimulating genealogical and temple activity. For example, when the Relief Society started the classes on genealogy, they introduced an index program to encourage women to gather information on their families. The Relief Societies distributed cards on which the women were asked to record the names and the dates and places of birth and marriage

of their ancestors. After the cards were completed, the local Relief Societies were to collect them and turn them into the General Board. The cards were to become a basis for an index of family names at the Genealogical Society.⁶⁴ The women distributed the index cards until about 1917 when Church leaders asked them to discontinue the practice in order to shift the Relief Society’s focus to increasing membership in the Genealogical Society. The Relief Society dutifully agreed and did not feel responsible for index cards distributed by the brethren. As Susa Young Gates wrote to Maud B. Roskelley, “If the index cards have been distributed by the agents of the Genealogical Society, we would have no right to pick them up.”⁶⁵

About the same time, the Relief Society began what soon became a Church-wide tradition of temple excursions. Temple work for the dead, after all, was the primary reason for their interest in genealogy, and by 1916 all the women of the Church were being encouraged to spend at least one day a year in one of the temples doing “official work for the dead.” “Official work” meant doing templework for those people on the Relief Society “charity lists” — that is, lists of names furnished to the Genealogical Committee by those who were unable to go to the temples themselves. Arrangements were also made for women who lived long distances from the temples to donate money for the purpose of paying others to do temple work. In addition, the Relief Society encouraged those far from temples to organize annual temple excursions.⁶⁶

Although the index cards and temple excursions were two new programs begun by the Relief Society, by 1917 Susa felt that the local women should not initiate new programs without the support of the Genealogical Society, and that all genealogical questions in the wards should be referred to the stake president, not to the Relief Society.⁶⁷ In 1918 she told the sisters, “You will never get anywhere by going at it alone, or by trying to be a law unto yourself. . . . Our motto is: It is better to be united on an inferior plan than divided over a superior one.”⁶⁸

The Relief Society played its role well, but by 1920 it was perhaps inevitable that another change should come. The Genealogical Society, governed directly by the priesthood, was also attempting to organize committees in all the wards and stakes, and there were obvious questions about the propriety of the two groups conducting overlapping activities. The Genealogical Society proposed, therefore, that it take over completely the responsibility for assisting in research, giving genealogical lessons, and collecting index cards, while the Relief Society should continue to promote annual temple days and excursions for women. The Relief Society

could also continue lessons so long as they were theological and not practical in nature. In the process, however, the women of the Church were reminded that, despite the changes, they should not “slacken your efforts, . . . but hold up the hands of the brethren and continue in the good work of filling our temples.”⁶⁹ The Relief Society agreed, and for one year (1921) the women conducted classes on the theological basis of temple ordinances for the dead.⁷⁰ That year Emmeline B. Wells was replaced by Clarrisa Smith Williams as Relief Society president, and the General Board was reorganized. Although Susa was retained on the board, she was taken off the lessons committee and consequently did not have as much influence on Relief Society decisions as before.⁷¹ The classes on genealogy were phased out completely.

The ease with which Susa abandoned her genealogical classes and the related projects to which she had given years of effort may be partially explained by the fact that she saw her administrative involvement in genealogy as a temporary assignment. She started the genealogy classes to deal with what she saw as a lack of knowledge within the Church. With the support of the priesthood leaders, she taught classes to both men and women, but she felt more comfortable working directly with the women and moved in that direction when it was possible. She depended upon the Genealogical Society for support and gave her full assistance to its plans even when doing so meant abandoning her own. Throughout it all, she saw genealogy as a priesthood assignment.

Nevertheless, Susa Young Gates continued to be involved in genealogy. In 1921 the Genealogical Society officers asked her to serve on the activities and studies committee, directed by her son-in-law, John A. Widstoe. She accepted the call but said, “If you wish some active work and help from women in the Genealogical movement, I would suggest that you create again the Women’s Committee.”⁷² She explained that the sisters she had worked with in the past were trained genealogists; they had developed study programs and activities for the Relief Society, Young Ladies, and the Primary Association, and they had planned programs and lessons for the Genealogical Society.⁷³ The Women’s Committee was not formed again, but a number of women served with Susa on the activities committee, which was responsible for the genealogical conventions sponsored on a Church-wide basis. The women’s duties, however, seem to have been limited to providing refreshments and organizing the musical numbers. They were generally a support to the conventions which were planned and conducted by men. The Society organized no new activities especially for women.

By the end of 1920 genealogical activity among the Latter-day Saints was again fully under the auspices of the Genealogical Society of Utah.⁷⁴ During the previous two decades, genealogy work had evolved through several stages: from a mainly male-oriented missionary work, through a variety of activities sponsored and dominated by women, to a return to the direct and active control of the priesthood. It was often the women, such as Susa Young Gates, to whom even priesthood leaders wrote for advice on how to improve their organization and activities. Female genealogists stumped the Church, giving special short courses and preaching the gospel of ancestor hunting, and they staffed the library of the Genealogical Society. The Relief Society trained the women, the women took their responsibility seriously, and, it appears, they took it so well that sometimes their husbands and sons defaulted. The women tried valiantly to provoke the priesthood to good works in genealogy, but in the meantime the women carried the major burden themselves. They nevertheless saw their supervisory assignments as temporary, for genealogy work was ultimately the administrative responsibility of the priesthood. The women's work of more than a decade, however, provided the Genealogical Society with much new expertise and a vast new clientele.

NOTES

Sources located in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, are used by permission.

¹Rebecca Foster Cornwall, "Susa Young Gates: The Thirteenth Apostle," in *Sister Saints*, ed. Vicky Burgess-Olson, Studies in Mormon History, vol. 5 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978): 63.

²Susa Young Gates, untitled manuscript in folder entitled "Women and Genealogy," Susa Young Gates Collection, Utah State Historical Society, 30–31; hereafter cited as Gates, "Women and Genealogy."

³The following brief review of early genealogical activities in the Church is based on James B. Allen and Jessie L. Embry, "Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1894–1987," unpublished manuscript prepared originally for the Genealogical Department of the Church, copy in the possession of the authors. Other works on the history of the Genealogical Society include Archibald F. Bennett, "The Genealogical Society of Utah," *Improvement Era* 38 (April 1935): 225–26; Archibald F. Bennett, "Genealogy Work: Its History, Purpose, and Destiny" (Paper delivered to Seminary and Institute Faculty, Brigham Young University, 2 July 1958), copy on file in the Archives Division, Church Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives); Archibald F. Bennett, "The Growth of the Temple Index Bureau," *Improvement Era* 39 (April 1936): 218–21; William Raymond Brace, "The Utah Genealogical Society" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1956); Jessie L. Embry, "Missionaries for the Dead: The Story of the Genealogical Missionaries of the Nineteenth Century," *Brigham Young University Studies* 17 (Spring 1977): 355–60; Susa Young Gates, "Genealogy in the Relief Society," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 7 (January 1916): 41–45; Merrill S. Lofthouse, "A History of the Genealogical Society of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to 1970" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971); Kahlile Mehr, "Preserving the Source: Early Microfilming Efforts of the Genealogical Society of Utah 1938–1950" (Master's thesis, Brigham Young University,

1985); Charles W. Penrose, "The Genealogical Society of Utah," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 7 (January 1916): 8–11; and Mark E. Peterson, "The Genealogical Society," *Improvement Era* 59 (November 1956): 808–9.

⁴Joseph Smith — History 1:38–39. See also Malachi 5:5–6.

⁵This was a twenty-four page book entitled *A Genealogy of the Family of Mr. Samuel Stebbens and Mrs. Hannah Stebbens, his wife, from the year 1707 to the year 1771*. For a catalogue of early family histories in the United States, arranged chronologically, see William H. Whitmore, *The American Genealogist*, 2d. ed. (Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868). The first edition of the work (1862) was called *Handbook of American Genealogy*. Other editions were subsequently published.

⁶Frederick Adams Virkus, *The Handbook of American Genealogy*, 4 vols. (Chicago: The Institute of American Genealogy, 1943), 4: Preface.

⁷For more on this unique kind of missionary work, see Embry, "Missionaries for the Dead."

⁸See Carolyn W. D. Person, "Susa Young Gates," in *Mormon Sisters*, ed. Claudia L. Bushman (Cambridge: Emmeline Press, 1976): 199–223; and Cornwall, "Susa Young Gates."

⁹"Susa Young Gates," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 24 (July 1933): 98–99; and Person, "Susa Young Gates," 211.

¹⁰John A. Widtsoe, "The Opening of Our New Home," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, 25 (April 1934): 56.

¹¹"Susa Young Gates," 98–99.

¹²See Widtsoe, "The Opening of Our New Home"; "Susa Young Gates," 97–100; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson Memorial Association, 1936), 1:626–29; and Person, "Susa Young Gates," 211.

¹³Untitled manuscript, 4 pp., in Relief Society Genealogical Programs folder, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives, n.d., 1.

¹⁴Untitled manuscript in Relief Society Genealogical Programs folder, 2.

¹⁵"Susa Young Gates," 99.

¹⁶Susa Young Gates, *Memorial to Elizabeth Claridge McCune: Missionary, Philanthropist, Architect* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1924), 26–27.

¹⁷Gates, "Women and Genealogy," 12.

¹⁸Gates, "Women and Genealogy," 11.

¹⁹Gates, "Women and Genealogy," 11. This manuscript says that the column began in 1905, but the date given above is correct.

²⁰Susa Young Gates to Pierson W. Banning, 27 March 1916, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²¹*Deseret Evening News*, 8 August 1908, 23.

²²*Deseret Evening News*, 8 August 1908, 23. Joseph Fielding Smith (1876–1972) was the son of Joseph Fielding Smith (1838–1918), who was President of the Church at this time. The father was usually identified as Joseph F. Smith and the son as Joseph F. Smith, Jr. Later, however, the son adopted the convention of being called Joseph Fielding Smith, and he is usually identified that way. Though the early records dealt with here identify him as Joseph F. Smith, Jr., we have adopted the more well-known convention.

²³*Deseret Evening News*, 8 August 1908, 23.

²⁴Untitled manuscript, 4 pp., Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives, 4.

²⁵Gates, "Women and Genealogy"; and Susa Young Gates, "Report of the Genealogy Extension of the Relief Society," Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²⁶Other examples are the Sunday School movement in the nineteenth century and the Boy Scout program in the early twentieth century.

²⁷Susa Young Gates to Pierson W. Banning, 18 March 1916, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²⁸Susa Young Gates circular letter, addressed "Dear Sister," 26 August 1918; and Susa Young Gates to Joseph F. Smith, Jr., 17 October 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

²⁹*Deseret Evening News* to Elwood Ward, Utah Relief Society, 30 September 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³⁰Susa Young Gates to Joseph Smith, Jr., 17 October 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³¹Susa Young Gates to Joseph F. Smith, Jr., 17 October 1918.

³²Susa Young Gates to the President and Board, Genealogical Society of Utah, 29 August 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³³Susa Young Gates to Pierson W. Banning, 6 September 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

³⁴Though Susa suggested on 29 August 1918 that Joseph Fielding Smith become the editor, in the same letter she also suggested Anderson.

³⁵"Report of the Genealogical Extension Work of the Relief Society," Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives; and Gates, "Women and Genealogy," 12.

³⁶Gates, “Women and Genealogy,” 12-14.

³⁷Gates, “Women and Genealogy,” 12-14.

³⁸Gates, “Women and Genealogy,” 14.

³⁹Minutes of the Genealogical Society, 17 November 1908, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁰Following through on what some women wanted to accomplish through the DUP, for example, they memorialized certain events and movements in Church history in a series of public meetings in 1911 and 1912. See list in an announcement in *Deseret Evening News*, 16 September 1911, 14. The list included pioneers from various periods in Church history, from Zion’s Camp, and from various immigrant pioneer groups.

⁴¹“The Genealogical Society of Utah,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 1 (January 1910): 40.

⁴²“Tribute to the Genealogical Society of Utah,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 5 (January 1914): 42, from “A Christmas Salutation,” *Deseret Evening News*, 20 December 1913, 12–13.

⁴³See Minutes of the Genealogical Society, 16 March 1909, 108-9; Circular letter from Anthon H. Lund, “To Whom It May Concern,” 29 April 1909, Susa Young Gates Collection, Utah State Historical Society; and “The Genealogical Society of Utah,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 1 (January 1910): 40.

⁴⁴See report, “The Biennial Meeting of the Genealogical Society of Utah,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 1 (April 1910): 137–38; *The Deseret Evening News*, 6 April 1910; and Minutes of the Genealogical Society, 15 March 1910, 126–27. The six committees were on (1) increasing memberships and subscriptions to the magazine, Benjamin Goddard, chairman; (2) meetings and social gatherings, C. S. Martin, chairman; (3) historical and genealogical papers, Osborne J. P. Widtsoe, chairman; (4) town and family histories, Joseph S. Peery, chairman; (5) collecting published records and relics, Thomas A. Clawson, chairman; and (6) an executive committee consisting of Heber J. Grant, Joseph Fielding Smith, and Joseph Christenson.

⁴⁵Relief Society General Board Minutes, 19 October and 2 November 1906 and 6 December 1907, LDS Church Archives.

⁴⁶Undated and untitled seven-page manuscript, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives. This manuscript, written about 1916, is a draft of an article by Susa Young Gates, “Genealogy in the Relief Society,” that appeared in *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 7 (January 1916): 41–45. The above story did not appear in the final publication. In Gates, “Women in Genealogy,” an allusion also is made to this meeting. In the first manuscript it is dated 1908, while here it is dated in 1910.

⁴⁷“Genealogical Activity in Ogden Stake,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 7 (January 1916): 46–47.

⁴⁸“Genealogical Activity,” 46-47.

⁴⁹“Genealogical Activity,” 46-47.

⁵⁰“Genealogists Abroad,” *The Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 5 (1914): 125-33.

⁵¹Relief Society General Board Minutes, 13 April 1913, 44.

⁵²Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 152.

⁵³Report filed in Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives. The 1915 date is presumed from internal evidence.

⁵⁴Susa Young Gates to Anthon H. Lund and the Genealogical Society, 20 November 1917, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives; Susa Young Gates, “Genealogy,” *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (August 1918): 475; and Joseph F. Smith, Jr., to Sister Susa Young Gates and members of the Genealogical Committee, General Board of the Relief Society, reproduced in Gates, “Genealogy,” 475–76.

⁵⁵The manual contained lessons on the following topics: Material and Sources of Information; Approximating Dates; Methods of Recording; Heirship in Temple Work; Numbering; Work in the Library; Some Standard Works; What the Country Genealogist Can Do; Family Organizations; Diagramed Pedigrees Reduced to Family Groups; Instructions Concerning Temple Work; Making Out Temple Sheets. See Gates, “Women in Genealogy”; and “Susa Young Gates,” 99.

⁵⁶Gates, “Women in Genealogy,” 18–19, apparently quoting a translated version of the article.

⁵⁷Gates, “Women in Genealogy,” 23.

⁵⁸*Deseret Evening News*, 7 April 1914, 2.

⁵⁹Joseph Fielding Smith to Susa Young Gates, 22 July 1914, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives, box 3, folder 4.

⁶⁰*Relief Society Magazine* 2 (May 1915): 239. See also various documents in Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives, box 3. Minutes of the Relief Society General Board, 9 March, 9 June, and 1 July 1915; and Gates, “Women and Genealogy,” 24–25.

⁶¹James Adam Barr, Director of Congresses, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, “International Congress of Genealogy,” *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 6 (October 1915): 157-64.

⁶²Barr, “International Congress,” 157–64.

⁶³Barr, “International Congress,” 157-64.

⁶⁴Genealogy Lesson Department in *Relief Society Magazine* 4–7 (1916–1920).

⁶⁵Susa Young Gates to Rebecca N. Cutter, 18 January 1918, and Susa Young Gates to Maud B. Roskelley, 4 February 1918, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁶⁶See the genealogy sections in the *Relief Society Magazine* 2 (December 1915): 550–52; 3 (February, March 1916): 113–14, 171–72.

⁶⁷Relief Society General Conference Minutes, *Relief Society Magazine* 4 (June 1917): 325.

⁶⁸Relief Society General Conference Minutes, *Relief Society Magazine* 5 (December 1918): 676.

⁶⁹“Notice to Genealogical Committees, Both Stake and Ward,” *Relief Society Magazine* 7 (December 1920): 731.

⁷⁰“Theology and Testimony,” Theological Lessons Department, *Relief Society Magazine* 8 (January 1921): 55–57; and (February 1921): 114–19.

⁷¹Cornwall, “Susa Young Gates,” 79.

⁷²Susa Young Gates to Anthon H. Lund and General Board of the Genealogical Society, 14 October 1920, Susa Young Gates Papers, LDS Church Archives.

⁷³Susa Young Gates to Anthon H. Lund, 14 October 1920.

⁷⁴See Minutes of the Relief Society General Board, 14 October 1920; Minutes of the Genealogical Society, 15 October 1920; and Minutes of the Committee on Activities and Lesson Work, 8 November 1920, in Susa Young Gates Collection, Utah State Historical Society.

Advocacy and Inquiry in the Writing of Latter-day Saint History

David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson

“The more we understand individual objects, the more we understand God.”

— Spinoza

“Ethical truth is man’s answer to the progress of his knowledge.”

— Paul Ricoeur

INTRODUCTION

Our epigraphs suggest that knowledge and spirituality are not mutually exclusive, but rather are essential concomitants in understanding the significance of life and living it fully. Recent debate in Latter-day Saint circles, however, seems most often to stress the incompatibility of spiritual faith and historical knowledge, whether the emphasis be on the supposed lack of faith in Latter-day Saint historiography or on the purported lack of history in Latter-day Saint apologetics.¹ However, the debaters often seem to rely on different underlying assumptions, to utilize different historical forms, to address different audiences, and to argue along intellectual lines which lie in different dimensions. In short, each faction seems to defend a different definition of history and of its function. The situation is manifestly unproductive, and more than a few onlookers have expressed impatience with it. Thomas G. Alexander, a leading practitioner of the so-called New Mormon History and one of the central figures in the ongoing debate between professional historians and apologists, has recently declared it to be “imperative that we begin building bridges” between spiritual faith and historical knowledge.² The present article attempts to assist in the work of construction.

David B. Honey and Daniel C. Peterson are assistant professors of Asian and Near Eastern Languages, Brigham Young University.

A new approach may lend fresh perspectives if it comes from beyond the debate. This essay does just that, in that neither author is a professional historian nor active apologist. Both of us are philologists who work with written sources of all kinds. Since we have had the need to consult Arabic and Chinese historical documents and, on occasion, to translate and annotate them, we have had to learn something of the proper methodologies of historical research and of the possibilities and limitations of the modern discipline of history. Because we are practicing believers in the Latter-day Saint faith, we have also read and reflected on the important literature devoted to defending that faith. The following observations can thus be proffered from a neutral quarter, as it were, without either side feeling compelled to take us so seriously as to be offended if our reflections are not found persuasive. Much of what we say is not new, but the theoretical background to the debate offered here has not previously appeared in print with sufficient breadth or emphasis in the context of Latter-day Saint historiography.

HISTORICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The chief concern of those who would understand the philosophy of an epoch, according to the historian of Greek philosophy W. K. C. Guthrie, should be to isolate the fundamental assumptions which underlie the various “intellectual positions” being advocated in it.³ “These assumptions,” explained Guthrie, “are ‘that groundwork of current conceptions shared by all men of any given culture and never mentioned because it is taken for granted as obvious.’”⁴ Latter-day Saint historians and those who read their works have never been especially good about clarifying the assumptions that underlie their historical endeavors; nor do many of those who find some of this work objectionable seem to understand that their own unspoken assumptions predispose them to a negative assessment of Latter-day Saint historical scholarship.

However, a recent work of Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, is helpful for assessing the value of twentieth-century Latter-day Saint history because the authors are careful to clarify their subjects’ assumptions.⁵ For instance, we are told that B. H. Roberts’s assumptions are those of “Romantic historiography,” which involved “responding emotionally ‘to the past’” and “compared history to drama and sought to present it dramatically.”⁶ Also, Andrew Love Neff assumed that the “principal purpose of well-written Mormon history . . . was ‘to show why and how the Mormon Pioneers functioned in a political, economic, social, and religious way as they

did.’”⁷ Further examples include Fawn Brodie, who assumed that Joseph Smith’s claims were spurious (“her job,” the authors point out, “was therefore to find the mundane level of explanation”), and Dale Morgan, who opted for “naturalistic explanations” in interpreting the Latter-day Saint past.⁸ As final instances, Arrington’s personal assumptions are aired as well as those of other scholars, such as Richard Bushman, Jan Shipps, and Charles S. Peterson, who were more sympathetic to the spiritual factor in Latter-day Saint history.⁹

In examining Bitton and Arrington’s analyses, we should first ask ourselves what their own underlying assumptions are. Being professionally trained historians (a frequent phrase of theirs), Bitton and Arrington assume the outlook of their profession. Historiography has developed from sixteenth-century French practitioners into its modern form,¹⁰ a development that has seen historiography evolve from an earnest but essentially amateurish pastime into a disciplined science. No longer is special pleading, specious handling of sources, selective inclusion of data, or emphasis on style over substance to be tolerated in historiographical circles.¹¹ Modern Latter-day Saint historians “are often unsatisfied with the narrative and inspirational histories produced in previous generations. Accustomed to more rigorous standards of documentation, often interested in different approaches, these people — and thousands of others who may not have had the specialized training but who share the attitudes,” the authors conclude, “constitute an audience for Mormon history that did not exist before the war.”¹²

We will examine Bitton and Arrington’s assumptions, especially the assumption that the modern Latter-day Saint historian is automatically motivated and guided by the historiography of inquiry.

HISTORICAL FORMS

The fundamental tasks of the typical historian are often compressed into three main spheres of activity. (Later we will say more about the inadequacy of this description.) First, historians search for “facts”; that is, they *research*. Second, after selecting certain facts for special consideration, they judge the facts’ reliability and importance, or *evaluate*. Third, they organize and synthesize the facts to reconstruct past events or to solve problems, or *interpret*. In this description the differences in the subjective processes of evaluation and interpretation are what distinguish various historical forms from each other.

One modern model of history that is useful for this discussion recognizes three such historical forms: exemplar, evolutionary, and functional-structural. According to Traian Stoianovich, a historian of modern French historiography, exemplar historiography is a “guide to action.” Its function is to “select the relevant example (*paradeigma, exemplum*), in the didactic sense of being illustrative of what the society, through the historian, desires to inculcate and what it wants to warn against.”¹³ The second paradigm, evolutionary historiography, “examine[s] the particular with the object of discovering the general, or universal, laws of human development, but . . . also focuse[s] on the particular aspects of change for their own sake.”¹⁴ The third paradigm, functional-structural historiography, continued Stoianovich, “embraces problem-solving and puzzle-solving.”¹⁵ The weaning of historical inquiry from the composition of narratives to the investigation of problems was introduced and adopted as a historical paradigm by yet another group of Frenchmen: Lucien Febvre, Marc Bloch, and their *Annales* group.¹⁶ This movement made possible the flourishing of many types of history — economic, technological, social, and the like — as different investigative techniques were developed to answer newly posed questions.¹⁷

In examining the historical assumptions of Bitton and Arrington, we find that the modern form of historical inquiry followed by professionally trained historians did develop out of sixteenth-century France and that it avails itself of certain quasi-scientific techniques in order to insure accuracy and clarity of presentation. But the framework of Bitton and Arrington’s inquiry, tracing the development of Latter-day Saint historiography up to its present form (the third, problem-solving paradigm) and “trying to understand the general pattern and some of the changing standards of historical writing,”¹⁸ presupposes the obsolescence of the first paradigm. Indeed, the authors barely allow the parallel existence of the exemplar paradigm, assigning to it the pious preservation of primary sources and the creation of popular works.¹⁹ But the exemplar paradigm of historiography cannot be dismissed lightly. It happens to have been the earliest historical form (antedating even the doughty French) and has strong advocates in both secular and religious spheres even in the twentieth century.

EXEMPLAR HISTORIOGRAPHY

The purpose of the exemplar paradigm is to advocate a point. From early on in classical antiquity it determined the content of historical works.

The earliest western example is Herodotus, the traditional “father of history.” He stated that he composed his narrative “so that the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvelous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.”²⁰ His subject was the *klea andron*, the “famous deeds of men,”²¹ yet his historical assumption, or, we may say, his theoretical framework, was based on the conventional morality of the Greeks of his time and therefore did not need to be — and hence was not — stated explicitly. (At the least, it was clearly not emphasized.)²² His assumption was defined by Hugh Lloyd-Jones as follows:

Herodotus was not merely a great collector of facts but a great historian, one who saw history not simply as a mass of events and genealogies, but as a process whose meaning he made a sustained attempt to understand. He interpreted history in terms of the outlook upon human life common to educated persons of his place and time. His work is pervaded by all the characteristic features of the archaic Greek outlook; notably a conviction of the all-powerfulness of the gods and the insignificance of man, and a belief that the gods maintain the universal order of justice by chastising not only mortals who offend against each other but also mortals who infringe by word or action their own peculiar prerogatives.²³

The chief moral lesson exemplified by Herodotus’s stories is the “perils of pride.”²⁴ Hence Greek historiography started out with a moral element. However, with the passage of time, that moral element loomed ever larger, and Greek historical writing grew more and more tendentious. By the end of the fourth century, it had become frankly judgmental; historians even turned to lecturing their audiences and to pronouncing praise or blame on the conduct of individual men or the public policies of cities.²⁵

Not only history but all of Greek literature (and other cultural forms including drama and music) held an overarching application to moral development through education. In the three volumes of his *Paideia*, Werner Jaeger exhaustively examined Greek literature from this point of view.²⁶ His goal was to trace the “concept of *arete* (virtue or goodness) and its semantic evolution from Homer to Plato” to see “why the Greeks themselves saw their spiritual world so ‘unhistorically,’ namely as the cosmic structure of unchanging norms, and not as a merely temporal course of events.”²⁷ Even the goal of philosophy, according to Socrates, was itself moral: the attainment of *arete* through knowledge would bring man into alignment with the “cosmic structure of unchanging norms,” or Platonic ‘*ideas*’.²⁸

Another equally early instance of exemplar historiography is found in the East. Traditional Chinese scholarship produced exemplar history almost solely:

Practically speaking, exemplar history to the Chinese historian meant that he included in his narrative only those facts (personalities and events) which served to illustrate, either positively or negatively, the ethical norms and principles he supported. The moral message in the Chinese histories appears in the earliest one to survive, the archival court chronicle of the state of Lu, the *Ch'un ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), and was of course based upon orthodox Confucian conceptions of behavior within an idealized society, as taught by — or read into — the Confucian classics. This moral message permeated historical understanding, and indeed has been a prime motivation for writing and criticizing history.²⁹

The Chinese form of exemplar historiography can be compared with the classical Greek tradition, but only rather loosely. Both provided models of conduct, encouraging the moral and discouraging the immoral. But, while exemplar historiography maintained a unitary form in China, in the West it branched off over time into various divisions — narrative, biography, and hagiography. (Biography and hagiography remained the bastion of moralized history and eventually began to be recognized for what they finally did become: pious and reverent mythology. The narrative branch became progressively etiolated, spiritually, until it was finally harnessed to purely scientific inquiry by the industrious French.) Chinese exemplar historiography further differs from the western tradition in the striking fact that it is still the official historical form, innocently promulgated by the powers that be today. Of course, the party has replaced the moral element with a Marxist one, but the party's intent is still advocacy: the verification and description of the dialectical materialist view of history as time marches from one ineluctable stage of history to the next. The discernment of the justification of history through the signs of periodization has thus become the modern People's Republic of China equivalent of the hoary Confucian concern for interpreting the will of Heaven by means of omens and oracles.³⁰

In Islamic historiography, as well, the exemplar paradigm has dominated since the very beginning of the tradition. As M. G. S. Hodgson expressed it, Muslim civilization had (and continues to have) “a persistent sense of the moral importance of historical events.”³¹ “Even more than usually in the Irano-Semitic traditions,” he wrote, “Islamic piety reflected a strong historical consciousness.”³² The Qur'ān itself stresses the lessons and warnings embodied in the history of former times and frequently refers to the

experiences of past nations and peoples in order to emphasize the spiritual and ethical precepts that could be learned from them. Further, the Qur'ān indicates that the words of the Prophet Muḥammad were divinely inspired and that his life provided a model for other Muslims to emulate. Thus it is not surprising that succeeding generations of learned Muslims, lacking either a living prophet or a papal magisterium, considered it a duty to devote their attention to the words and deeds of Muḥammad and that those words and deeds came to be not merely sources of spiritual guidance, but also precedents applicable to jurisprudence, administrative questions, and the affairs of daily life. And before long, when it became clear that the life of one man, even if that man were Muḥammad, could not supply sufficient material for the guidance of a wide and varied empire, his associates — the so-called Companions — also came to be regarded as paragons of wisdom and virtue, paradigms for emulation.³³

Reports (*ḥadīth*) of what the Prophet and his companions had said and done, as well as of what they had left unsaid or had forbidden to be done, were assiduously gathered from all corners of the vast Arab empire. They were carefully sifted, and the chains of transmitters by which the *ḥadīth* had reached the collector's ears were minutely examined. Were all of the transmitters honest? Were they marked by suspicious partisan bias? Could they really have met each other so as to have effected the purported transmission? (Where did they live? Were they contemporaries?) These questions all required tools of historical analysis, making it virtually impossible in the earliest Islamic centuries to distinguish history from *ḥadīth* scholarship.³⁴

“An understanding of history was necessary,” wrote Hodgson, “if only because the divine revelation had itself been historical — through prophets sent to given peoples at given times — and the Islamic community, in which the godly life was to be lived, was a historical community.”³⁵ But there was a yet more pressing reason for an expansion of the scope of Islamic historiography: eventually, as new questions arose and the finite resources of *ḥadīth* proved insufficient, the majority of Muslim scholars allowed that the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the learned within the Islamic community could be a source of legal precedent and authority. Thus, the experiences of learned Muslims came to be viewed as revelatory: “In its broad lines, history was an expression of the will of God.” This belief led, naturally, to an even wider study of the past and gave that study a deeply religious hue.³⁶

The great traditionalist and jurist 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr (d. 712 A.D.) is a clear example of this attitude. 'Urwa, whom A. A. Duri

called “the forerunner of historical writing” among the Arabs and A. Guillaume called “the founder of Islamic history,” was characterized by an asceticism and a religiosity which were intimately related to his love of learning. And such interests and attitudes were widely shared. Al-Zuhrī (d. 742 A.D.), for instance, who founded the historical school of Medina, was basically a scholar of *hadith*. Among the theological and juridical materials he gathered were items that were more purely historical, and a mastery of all of these materials led, for him, to *‘ilm*, or “knowledge.” Such mastery not only filled social and spiritual needs but was, he thought, an act of faith.³⁷

The great ideological battles of the first centuries of Islam were fought in terms of historical scholarship. Who should have succeeded the Prophet Muhammad as political leader of the nascent Arab empire? Should leadership of the community remain within the Prophet’s family alone? One’s answer to these questions depended very much upon historical considerations, such as whether or not one accepted the story that during an encampment at the pond of Ghadīr Khumm, Muhammad had appointed ‘Alī as his successor. Most of the factions of the empire evolved out of such politico-historical disputes. Partisans of the ‘Abbāsīd dynasty chronicled its activities in such a way as to make its claimed messianic nature clear and drew upon older Islamic patterns to do so.³⁸ “For the Muslim historian,” Tarif Khalidi wrote, “Muslim history was of immediate relevance to the legal and theological disputes of the community.”³⁹ The situation continues to be so today. For example, the persisting disagreement between Shī‘ites and Sunnīs is firmly rooted in events of the seventh century A.D. Even events and personalities of the present day are habitually assimilated to events and figures of the remote past. Thus, Jimmy Carter and the late Shah of Iran are routinely depicted in Shī‘ite iconography as the two chief villains in the martyrdom of the sainted grandson of Muḥammad, and Israel is frequently compared to the Latin Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem.

Sometime in the early ninth century A.D., when a distinct discipline of historiography had begun to arise out of the study of legal and theological *ḥadīth*, the discipline still retained its didactic intention. History, wrote A. A. Duri, summarizing the views of the classical Arab historians, “provides examples enabling the individual to live a better life and serving to enlighten the ruling authorities; history was thus important for a proper education.”⁴⁰ At the very least, “the administrator . . . wanted guidance in the increasingly complex affairs of state, and history itself was often the only guide to precedent.”⁴¹ Three of the

major figures of Islamic historiography should serve to illustrate this point.⁴²

Almost certainly the greatest of classical Arabic historians was Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923 A.D.). His historical work has been held in the highest repute not only by Muslims of all periods, but also by western orientalisists.⁴³ Al-Ṭabarī was a legal theorist, a historian, and author of “the most substantial of all Qur’ān commentaries.”⁴⁴ Given these interests, he predictably “sought to elucidate the will of God in his history.”⁴⁵ He followed the Qur’ānic treatment of the struggle between righteousness and iniquity in the pre-Islamic period and clearly felt that the chief value of studying ancient nations was didactic. From such study, one could come to understand the workings of God and see “how he exalted the virtuous and humbled the evil.”⁴⁶ But al-Ṭabarī’s didactic approach to history was not limited to his treatment of the pre-Islamic era or of pagan unbelievers. For he was also

concerned with tracing the success and failure of the various communities that had been summoned to follow God’s will, and particularly the triumphs and backslidings of the Muslim community. Moreover, he was, as befitted a Shar‘ī [“legal”] scholar, concerned above all with the responsible behaviour of individuals, not with the workings of institutions as such or even, primarily, with the splendour of kings. He produced a record of the personal decisions of Muslim souls in the series of choices which had faced the Muslim community.⁴⁷

For al-Ṭabarī, history “was an expression of divine will and he wrote it accordingly. His history is thus the counterpart to his Qur’ān commentary: just as the latter elucidates the will of God through His words, the former elucidates the will of God through the activities of mankind.”⁴⁸ It cannot, however, be overstressed that al-Ṭabarī’s commitment to exemplar historiography did not mean he was not honest or scrupulous in his use of sources. “The main characteristic of the *Annals*,” declared D. M. Dunlop, “is undoubtedly the effort which has been made to attain to historical truth.”⁴⁹

Another Arabic historian, Al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 956 A.D.), wrote two major works — the *Murūj al-Dhahab* (*Meadows of Gold*) and the *Tanbīh* (*Admonition*) — which are still extant and which are generally considered to be “masterpieces of Arabic historical writing.”⁵⁰ His wide travels and fascinating narratives, sometimes reminiscent of Ripley’s “Believe-It-or-Not,” have led many western readers to think of him as “the Herodotus of the Arabs.”⁵¹ Like al-Ṭabarī, al-Mas‘ūdī sought lessons in history. He felt that he could detect in the ebb and flow of events the rules for causing a society to prosper or fall into ruin. A recurrent theme is how nations

of the past, who had religious truth and wisdom, had relapsed into infidelity and barbarism. In order to counteract such a tendency, al-Mas'ūdī used history to illustrate tenets of his own Shī'ite sect of Islam, as well as elements from the political philosophy of al-Fārābī (d. 950 A.D.).⁵² "The wise man," al-Fārābī said, "who contemplates the course of human events will discover the wisdom (*ḥikma*) to be found therein."⁵³

Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406 A.D.) has been described as "a personality *très réaliste*," not given to idealism, and has sometimes been called the founder of sociology because of his attempts to identify the social laws undergirding historical change.⁵⁴ (These laws, and the cycles of social bloom and decay with which he illustrates them, go considerably beyond al-Mas'ūdī's treatment of similar issues. Intriguingly, they resemble the Book of Mormon's cyclical view of history in several important ways.) Ibn Khaldūn, too, had a practical interest in his subject; he hoped to use the principles which he could detect operating in the past to predict, and thus to control, the future. And, surprisingly in someone who has often been considered a cynic, he claimed divine inspiration in his discoveries.⁵⁵

In many ways, Islamic historians were simply carrying on the historical emphasis which is characteristic of the "Abrahamic" tradition of which their religion is such an important part. This emphasis was operational already in the remarkable chronicles of the Hebrew Bible and sharply distinguishes Judaism, Christianity, and Islam from the relatively ahistorical religious and cultural traditions found elsewhere on the globe. Memory and forgetting are major themes throughout the Bible, and the result of the efforts of the Hebrew and Christian writers was, as Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi aptly remarked, "not theology, but history on an unprecedented scale."⁵⁶

Once Israel settled in Canaan, the danger was always great that the people would forget their heritage and thus lose their identity.⁵⁷ The Hebrew Bible repeatedly warns against this danger, but "the biblical appeal to remember," Yerushalmi observed, "has little to do with curiosity about the past. Israel is told only that it must be a kingdom of priests and a holy people; nowhere is it suggested that it become a nation of historians. Memory is, by its nature, selective, and the demand that Israel remember is no exception."⁵⁸ "Like most primitive peoples," the skeptical Michael Oakeshott remarked with no little condescension, "the past had meaning for them only in so far as it was seen to be their past; their concern was with its life, not with its deadness; for them it was a saga, it was (in fact) a mythology, an effort to make actual and impressive their beliefs

about their present world and about the character of God.”⁵⁹ We shall return later to this matter of historical selectivity.

In medieval Jewry, there was much meditation and writing on the meaning of Jewish history, but very little actual historiography. Indeed, the only kind of historiography generally accepted was that concerning the “chain of tradition,” the rabbinic personalities that transmitted law and doctrine to the present. (This approach is obviously similar to the tradition of *ḥadīth* scholarship in Islam.)⁶⁰ Throughout the medieval period, historiography remained peripheral, and the main ways of remembering the past in Judaism were ritual and liturgical, with all the “scientific” limitations that such means imply. The relevant past was the distant, or formative, past, which provided the archetypes and patterns for understanding even current persecutions and events.⁶¹ Individual Jews identified themselves with their ancestors and in doing so recapitulated the past.⁶² This “schematology” clearly reveals a concern for meaning as opposed to mere historical curiosity.⁶³

It is only in the sixteenth century that we see something truly historiographical (in the modern sense) taking an important place among Jews. But even then, there was a defensiveness about the writing of history which continued until the late eighteenth century, and transcendent meaning was sought by many observant Jews in a historical cabalism rather than in the new, comparatively secular, records of the Jewish past.⁶⁴ Yerushalmi argued that this new history was probably foreign, a product of assimilation, evidence of Jewish lack of confidence, and remarked that, while history continued to hold little interest for many, it assumed great importance for a distinct few, becoming indeed “the faith of fallen Jews.”⁶⁵

Michael Oakeshott would have us refuse the name “history” to the kinds of writing we have surveyed from ancient Greece, classical and modern China, formative and classical Islam, and ancient and medieval Judaism. “Whenever,” he declared, “the past is regarded as a storehouse of political wisdom, as the authority for a body of religious beliefs, as a mode of expressing a philosophical system, or as the raw material of literature, wherever the past is seen in specific relation to the present, that past is not the past in history.” Instead, it is what he calls “the practical past,” a past that is scanned for practical guidance to right action and correct belief in the present. “The practical past,” he announced, “is a past alien to that in history.” “History is the past for the sake of the past.”⁶⁶

But to follow Oakeshott would be to redefine the word “history” so as to allow the legitimacy only of Stoianovich’s third paradigm. It would be to arbitrarily dismiss the overwhelming bulk of historical works as they have been produced over much

of the globe and throughout much of human history. For as we have seen, exemplar historiography has both a wide distribution and a rich heritage. Not only does it dominate Chinese and classical Greek historical writing, but it is the preeminent mode of historical thinking in the two “Abrahamic” traditions of Islam and premodern Judaism. These traditions are closely related, in their use of history and other areas, to Mormonism. However, there is a closer tradition, one of which the Latter-day Saints feel themselves to be communicant members: in the West, the main survival of the exemplar tradition of advocacy, excluding the realms of political propaganda and biography, is the unbroken chain of Christian literature commencing with the Gospels. Oakeshott is correct in observing that while “Christianity seems, almost from the beginning, to have provided a new incentive for studying the past, . . . it provided no incentive whatever for studying the historical past.” Rather, the emphasis from the very beginning was on what Oakeshott termed, as we have seen, “the practical past.”⁶⁷ The unique form and purpose of the Gospels were superbly summarized by Werner Kummel as follows:

In the Synoptic Gospels we meet for the first time a new and distinctive literary genus. Viewed as a literary form, the Gospels are a new creation. . . . The aim of the Gospels is not recollection about Jesus nor glorification of his miracles — these form only one aspect among others of the Gospels’ content — but the main concern is rather to evoke faith and to strengthen it. Jesus’ words and deeds are brought together from out of his life and reproduced in the form of a simple narrative in order to show to the early Christian church the ground of its faith and to provide firm support in its mission for preaching, instruction, and debate with its opponents.⁶⁸

Christian historiography ever after — whether apologetic, hermeneutic, or elegiac — has taken, if not for a specific topic then at least as the underlying assumption, *the* event in human history that the Gospels narrated: the creation, incarnation, and consummation of Christ. Therefore, the Christian theology of history, “a history of fulfillment and salvation,” according to Karl Löwith, was and is ultimately eschatological because it concerns the future, *our* future in the Kingdom of God as determined by our relationship with the agent of *the* event in history, Christ:

According to the New Testament view, the advent of Christ is not a particular, though outstanding, fact within the continuity of secular history but the unique event that shattered once and for all the whole frame of history by breaking into its natural course, which is a course of sin and death. The importance of secular history decreases in direct proportion to the intensity of man’s concern with God and himself.⁶⁹

It is within the framework of this unabashedly teleological view of history that Latter-day Saints function *qua* Latter-day Saints. They view reality, define epistemology, choose modes of explanation, decide issues, and judge conduct on the basis of immediate moral applications and ultimate eternal consequences within the framework of the “gospel plan.”⁷⁰ In doing so, they clearly follow the scriptures.

Given their religious commitment, it is not surprising that many Latter-day Saint historians, modern, scientific, and otherwise, choose at times (usually when addressing the Latter-day Saint public) to adopt the paradigm of exemplar historiography. Their concern on such occasions is not to solve a puzzle, to answer a question, or to identify the historically anonymous (the concern of other historiographic paradigms), but, as with the Gospels, to inculcate faith and motivate to good works.⁷¹ With Paul, they say, “For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. . . . And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man’s wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power. That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God” (1 Cor. 2:2, 4–5). They, like Paul, seek to convert and to motivate through testimony, not to persuade through logic or to teach bald, abstract facts. But because of different factors, they adopt different methods depending on their purpose, audience, and personal abilities.

The experience of Paul offers an early example of the necessity of choosing a method to match the audience. He and other early missionaries often changed their approaches from place to place because “the Jew required a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom” (1 Cor. 1:23). The “sign” of a borne testimony appropriate for Jewish auditors was often replaced, as a preliminary step, by the “wisdom” of a polished speech that incorporated rhetorical devices, philosophical terminology, and literary allusions a Greek audience would appreciate.⁷² Latter-day Saint historians will likewise adjust their medium depending on the audience; Sunday School classes are likely to require a different presentation than even institute or BYU religion classes. But the purpose in each case is the same: to teach the commandments and Church responsibilities, to edify, uplift, and comfort, and to inspire to action through various approaches such as sharing a faith-promoting experience from the past or present, relating an illustrative story or interesting sidelight, presenting a doctrinal exposition, or — the *sine qua non* of gospel scholarship and teaching — inviting the guidance and witness of the Holy Ghost. As an example of this type of historical writing, Richard O. Cowan’s book *The Church in the Twentieth Century*

serves well: “Even though the Lord has worked through fallible human beings and institutions,” Cowan declared in his introduction, “I am convinced that his hand can be seen, not only in specific incidents where inspired guidance was obvious, but also in the overall progress of his kingdom during the present century. Thus we do not need to look only to past ages for examples of divine direction or assistance.” Cowan expressed the hope that his readers would find not only information in his volume, but “inspiration.” Nevertheless, he insisted that his type of advocacy historiography does not involve surrendering the canons of professional historiography: “Even though I have written from the perspective of faith,” he said, “I have also wanted to follow high standards of historical scholarship. I do not believe that one necessarily excludes the other.”⁷³

We agree. Historians of the exemplar paradigm, even if they elect to apply this method in the nonscientific setting of didactic religious consumption, are employing an honorable approach with hoary roots in antiquity, an approach that, as we have seen, continues to be utilized today. In fact, this model was dominant among American historians as recently as the early nineteenth century. And when “scientific historians” began to displace their predecessors of the early nineteenth century (such as George Bancroft, William Lothrop Motley, William H. Prescott, and Francis Parkman) and, indeed, to feel something akin to contempt or disdain for them, “the issue was certainly not one of scholarship.” The older scholars had been assiduous gatherers of evidence, careful in their analysis, diligent in their documentation. Instead, the disagreement involved “the moral posture of the historian.” The older historians had felt that they “had an urgent message to deliver to the general reading public.” They made no effort to attain “authorial invisibility,” and their works were characterized by “explicit moralizing” and “overt partisanship.” Their critics complained that everything came to the reader as interpreted by the historian and that the reader was thus at his or her mercy. The facts were selected and arranged according to the notions of the historian.⁷⁴ (As we shall see later, the second charge was something of a red herring, since “facts” are *always* “selected and arranged according to the notions of the historian.”)

Hegel categorized what we term exemplar historiography as the “pragmatic” species of the “reflective kind of history” and mused on its contemporary use as follows:

Disgusted by such reflective histories, readers have often returned with pleasure to a narrative adopting no particular point of view. These certainly have their value; but for the most part they offer only

material for history. We Germans are content with such. The French, on the other hand, display great genius in reanimating bygone times, and in bringing the past to bear upon the present condition of things.⁷⁵

Like the French of yesteryear, Latter-day Saints are particularly animated by faith-promoting stories from the past. But in light of the nature of the exemplar paradigm, if Latter-day Saints who practice it leave out less-than-desirable episodes, tell only one side of the story, or are incomplete in their treatment, their actions do not imply that they are somehow dishonest or bad historians. Given the didactic basis of their theoretical framework, irrelevant aspects may be justifiably ignored.⁷⁶ In ignoring such aspects, they follow in the footsteps of earlier Jewish exemplar historians, whose selectivity has been noted previously.

Unfortunately, modern scientific historians take a more narrow view of their discipline and often seem to think that their particular approach is the only viable one within the field. Examples abound of such historians criticizing exemplar historiography from the unfair, and ultimately irrelevant, perspective (for the purpose of the author) of Troian Stoianovich's third paradigm. For instance, Bitton and Arrington summarized the *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Period I*, edited by B. H. Roberts, as "a story of God's dealings with His people. How people dressed, what they ate, how things went in their family, the preoccupations of their secular life, were unimportant. There was no search for political, economic, social, or psychological causes of events. The central themes were the dramatic tensions between the Church and the world, between God and his Church."⁷⁷ Thomas Alexander, a veteran practitioner of the third paradigm, acknowledged that the "Venerative Scholars," his classification of Latter-day Saint exemplar historians, pose questions and use methodologies different than his own brand of history; yet he then criticized them for having been "unwilling to probe the difficult areas," an aspect of history that is utterly irrelevant to their didactic task, which he himself described as "the need to reaffirm the faith of Latter-day Saints for whom they are writing."⁷⁸ James Clayton did not concede that any historical paradigm exists other than some ideal "historical craft," the essence of which is violated by the one-sided history we have characterized as exemplar historiography.⁷⁹ We must stress that we agree with the learned historians that exemplary writing is unsatisfactory from the point of view of third-paradigmatic tasks and that one problem with "teaching only what is uplifting," to cite Clayton again, may be that "this approach leaves people unprepared to face the realities of life."⁸⁰ But these are tangential problems which concern the applicability of exemplary historiography, not

the central concern of its separate existence and function within the discipline of history. The point is, therefore — and this is crucial — that both types of historiography have a purpose, an audience, and an application for life. The existence of the exemplar mode of historiography should therefore be acknowledged, and its practitioners left free to write for audiences of their own choosing.

For all these reasons, advocates deserve full participation in Latter-day Saint scholarship, even if their products may not always be useful for third-paradigmatic historical goals. At the very least, they deserve serious and even-handed treatment in any discussion of Latter-day Saint historiography — especially in such a work as *Mormons and Their Historians*. (Its title does, after all, imply that some attention will be paid to the relationship between Latter-day Saints, laity as well as intellectuals, and historians — that is, unless it is understood that the historians included represent only developmental stages in the evolution of one single, unitary historiographical form. But such narrow treatment would be itself a form of special pleading and would need to be frankly acknowledged.)

THE THIRD PARADIGM

But what of Latter-day Saint historians who adopt the equally honorable, more “scientific,” and less tendentious paradigms of modern historiography? Do they merit inclusion under the rubric “Mormon historian” (apart from the trivial sense of “historian whose personal religion is Mormonism”)? Can they serve the kingdom even if their methodological framework, being secularly based, rejects that of theological history?

Our answer is yes. The crux of the issue seems to us to be a question not of which historiographical model is best or right in some cosmic sense, but of which is immediately applicable and suitable for the task at hand. If an inquiry historian opts to address a different audience than does the advocacy historian, his method and his paradigm will naturally differ as well.

The task of the third paradigm, it will be recalled, is to solve particular problems.⁸¹ No attempt, generally, is made by those operating within this paradigm to relate the solution or bit of data to an overriding view of reality or to the purported meaning of history.⁸² Rather, the third-paradigmatic historian seeks to set his solution within a framework of “objectivity,” relating it to other similar data in order to see what pattern or construct is discernible. However, as Peter Novick has pointed out, “‘historical objectivity’ is not a single idea, but rather a sprawling collection of assumptions,

attitudes, aspirations, and antipathies. At best it is what the philosopher W. B. Gallie has called 'an essentially contested concept,' like 'social justice' or 'leading a Christian life,' the exact meaning of which will always be in dispute." Novick nonetheless attempted to recapitulate the principal elements of the idea of "historical objectivity." Among these, he said, is "a sharp separation between knower and known. . . . Historical facts are seen as prior to and independent of interpretation. . . . Whatever patterns exist in history are 'found,' not 'made.'" The historian is to purge himself of preferences and biases, of partisanship.⁸³

The notion that the historian consults all the facts and then lets them form a hypothesis within his or her mind is widespread, and we have already alluded to it above. It suggests that the historian's first role is to recall, rather than to think; that he or she is primarily a receptive, rather than a constructive agent; that, in Michael Oakeshott's memorable phrase, "he [or she] is a memory, not a mind."⁸⁴ "What is important to the serious student," wrote Melvin T. Smith, who appears to hold some such view, "is that interpretation and uses of data/facts follow their acquisition. Historians should not have the big answers before they have the evidences for them."⁸⁵ While there is something to be said for this position, it can easily mislead.

Michael Oakeshott powerfully questioned the "naïve" notion that history begins with the collection of data, of isolated facts, which are then scrutinized before any theory is developed. "If we consider what is in the mind of the historian as he collects his material," he argued, "we shall find, in place of this supposed miscellaneous assortment of 'facts', first, a homogeneous system of ideas or postulates, in terms of which he is conscious of whatever comes before him. The collection of materials is certainly not the first step in history." Furthermore, Oakeshott contended, the mind of the historian

contains not only a system of postulates, but also a general view of the course of events, an hypothesis, governed by these postulates. No historian ever began with a blank consciousness, an isolated idea or a genuinely universal doubt, for none of these is a possible state of mind. He begins always with a system of postulates (largely unexamined) which define the limits of his thought, and with a specific view of the course of events, a view consonant with his postulates. And whenever the historian imagines himself actually to *begin* with the collection of materials, he is suffering from an illusion.⁸⁶

Indeed, Oakeshott has argued on a more general level that there is no such thing anywhere, in any discipline or even in everyday life, as pure sensation, prior to judgment and thought:

In thought there is nothing analogous to the painter's colours or the builder's bricks — raw material existing apart from the use made of it. Sensation implies consciousness, consciousness implies judgment, and judgment is thought.⁸⁷

There is no knowledge of 'things' apart from concepts. . . . To see, to touch, to taste, to hear, to smell is, always and everywhere, to judge and to infer.⁸⁸

Fact is what has been made or achieved; it is the product of judgment. . . . [It] is not what is given, it is what is achieved in experience. Facts are never merely observed, remembered or combined; they are always made. We cannot 'take' facts, because there are none to take until we have constructed them.⁸⁹

It seems clear, following Oakeshott, that neither the original witness nor the historian sifting the records of such witnesses is in a privileged position, transcending normal human experience and simply responding to the facts "as they are." "We perceive only that which we, in some sense, recognize, that which has some meaning or significance for us," Oakeshott wrote.⁹⁰ "The historian's business is not to discover, to recapture, or even to interpret; it is to create and to construct."⁹¹

Leonard Arrington recognized this point in 1968 when he wrote that the historian

invests the narrative with meaning by consciously selecting from the sources what he thinks important, by interpolating in the reports of the participants and observers things which they do not explicitly say, and by rejecting or amending what he regards as due to misinformation or mendacity. Above all, he puts his sources in the witness-box, and by cross-examination extorts from them information which in their original statements they withheld, either because they did not wish to give it or because they did not realize they possessed it. In other words, the Latter-day Saint historian, like other historians, must read contemporary accounts with a question in his mind, and seek to find out, by inference and otherwise, what he wants to find out from them. Every step in his research depends on asking a question.⁹²

Arrington's comments, although they implicitly presuppose the historiography of inquiry as the only valid model, are essentially correct. As Oakeshott maintained, "Before a 'recorded' event becomes an 'historical' event, a judgment must have been interposed."⁹³ And it is not only historians, or even social scientists and scholars in the humanities, who are under the necessity of making judgments at the very beginning of their enterprise and who consequently fall prey to the human condition of subjectivity. "About thirty years ago," Charles Darwin wrote in a letter of 1861, "there was much talk that geologists ought only to observe and not

theorize; and I well remember someone saying that at this rate a man might as well go into a gravel-pit and count the pebbles and describe the colours. How odd it is that anyone should not see that all observation must be for or against some view if it is to be of any service!”⁹⁴ “Even within the stricter traditions of scientific theory proper, there is some room for differences of national, local, and even personal style,” wrote Stephen Toulmin. In cosmology, to a large degree, theories “depend . . . on the earlier backgrounds and presuppositions that the writers *bring to* this task.”⁹⁵ William Barrett showed convincingly that even mathematics and symbolic logic, surely the most purely “objective” of all disciplines, bear the marks of their cultural context.⁹⁶

The reality is that all historians, whether they be (in our terminology) of the advocacy school or adherents of the third paradigm, come to their materials with questions and hypotheses, with preconceived notions, or with positions seeking support. Their presuppositions blind them, it is true, to some of the possibilities of their data. But it is both humanly impossible and undesirable to think without presuppositions, since only our preexisting questions and hypotheses allow us to see anything in the data at all. The nineteenth-century American historian Francis Bowen wrote:

A naked record of facts must be untrustworthy; it will be not merely incomplete, but deceptive. It will give rise to undue impressions, and create false judgments. . . . It is impossible to write history without seeking, either avowedly or stealthily, or unawares, to verify some hypothesis, or establish some theory, which furnishes a reason and a guide for the selection and arrangement of materials. . . . The facts have no connection with each other, and the story has no unity, unless some doctrine lies at the bottom to which they are all, more or less, related.⁹⁷

Nelson Blake was entirely correct when he declared that “without imagination the historian could not see any patterns of meaning in past occurrences.”⁹⁸

One serious attempt to define “historical objectivity” while taking into account the many varied factors at play in the historian’s own mind can be found in the words of historical economist Immanuel Wallerstein. He asserted that “the scholar’s role is to discern, within the framework of his commitments, the present reality of the phenomena he studies, to derive from this study general principles, from which ultimately particular applications may be made.” Wallerstein described the limitations of the framework of objectivity as follows: “‘Truth’ changes because society changes. At any given time, nothing is successive; everything is contemporaneous, even that which is past. And in the

present we are all irremediably the products of our background, our training, our personality and social role, and the structured pressures within which we operate. . . . Objectivity,” he concluded, “is honesty within this framework.”⁹⁹

For Paul Ricoeur, not only objectivity, but also truth itself has a strictly delimited application in historical research because historians do not engage in vain attempts at embracing abstract, infinite, ultimate truth. Instead they engage in grasping concrete, finite, ephemeral answers. Therefore, “truth,” to Ricoeur, consists in the ethical “fulfillment of my task as a workman of history.”¹⁰⁰ Truth then consists of consistently truthful actions, of complete honesty within the limitations of human possibilities in a framework of self-imposed scholarly procedures. It is a function of the historian’s work, not the product of his research. Michael Oakeshott used a similarly limited application of the word *history*. Rather than the usual sense of “the notional grand total of all that has ever happened in the lives of human beings,” he used it in the original Herodotean sense of “an inquiry.” “An historically understood past,” he concluded, “is, then, the conclusion of a critical enquiry of a certain sort; it is to be found nowhere but in a history book. And it may be specified only in terms of the procedure of this enquiry.”¹⁰¹ Hence, “historical understanding” is the understanding or view reached through the historical means of investigation, not an all-encompassing understanding of history-as-reality.

The recognition that whatever views we have on the past are ephemeral (Wallerstein’s “changing truth”) as more data are discovered and that different perspectives necessitate constant revision of the theories, is a frequent theme of Hugh Nibley.¹⁰² This honesty within the framework of what a historian knows, what he seeks to learn, and how far what he learns may be utilized is then one assurance that he generally poses little if any threat to the advocate historian who preaches eternal truths. It mitigates against dogmatism and keeps the inquirer ever open to research and reinterpretation.

Beside these explicit methodological limitations on the objectivity and Rankean accurateness of historical views of things “as they really are” — a phrase that has misled American historians for generations — lie implicit logical features which impose subjective limitations.¹⁰³ We may condense Paul Ricoeur’s conclusions as follows:

The feature of the judgment of importance selects certain facts for treatment based on the subjective judgement of the historian as to what is important.

The feature of the popular conception of causality undermines the effort to separate and serrate forces in history such as causes, motivations, opportunities, conditions, fields of influence, and the like, because the network of causality is not understood nor its separate levels distinguished.

The phenomenon of historical distance makes it necessary for the historian to insert himself in historical time with the anachronistic language of his own time; such a projection of imagination involves subjectivity.

The last feature, that history ultimately tries to explain and understand men, utilizes a subjective sympathy for men and their ideals in the attempt to both explain and encounter them.¹⁰⁴

It is true that some methodologies have subjective features built into them because their practitioners use preexisting, purposely selected frameworks — ideological, economic, econometric, social, sociological, materialistic, psychological, feminist, geographic, demographic, and the like — which guide the search for data. But these methodologies seek specific answers and are honorable endeavors, unless they exceed the limitations of their approaches and attempt instead to work towards a political agenda or to reinterpret all historical events from their particular, narrow points of view.¹⁰⁵ Apart from these tendentious enterprises, third-paradigmatic historiography need not be hamstrung by the question of objectivity if it recognizes objectivity as impossible, even in theory. This acknowledgment is not too much to ask since the issue has been well aired; the problem of bias in historians has been argued about since antiquity.¹⁰⁶ Thomas Alexander pointed out that the topic of objectivity is already passé in historical circles, so often has it been debated, and contended that the New Mormon Historians are certainly aware of its implications. Ideally they work within this awareness.¹⁰⁷

But the nature of the historian's work is more important for ensuring that the inquirer poses no threat to the task of the advocate historian than are the methodological and logical limitations imposed on the historian's work. If the inquirer properly conceives the character and tools of his discipline, he will gladly surrender the domain of spiritual questions to those who wield spiritual research tools, for he is concerned with the mundane (and usually with only a small corner of that) approached through his admittedly mundane methodologies. Hence, he would be foolish indeed to pronounce spiritual conclusions in all but a very few conceivable but highly improbable cases. (And even then, he would be temporarily stepping out of his role as a third-paradigmatic historian.) He will recognize that economic-historical inquiry yields answers of an

economic character, that social history results in socially-oriented historiography, and that secular methodologies will seldom, if ever, produce or even confirm theophanies. Gertrude Himmelfarb admirably summed up the crux of this issue as follows:

The traditional historian has no . . . disdain for the ephemeral or the existential. He lays no claim to certitude, has no blinding revelation, no arcane knowledge (“no gnosis”) that penetrates to the “underlying realities” beyond the “capricious,” “delusive,” “contingent,” “provisional,” realm of events. Indeed, it is just this mundane realm that he prefers to dwell in, that he accepts as reality. And his explanations of these events are as contingent and provisional as the events themselves. Having no grand theory or methodology to unite all of history, to create a “total history,” he is content to try to understand the past as best — and as imperfectly — as it can be known. This may be a modest aspiration, but not an unworthy one.¹⁰⁸

Elder Boyd K. Packer’s pronouncement that “the mantle is far, far greater than the intellect” should not cause concern for any Latter-day Saint historian who accepts the framework of theological history as a matter of religious faith, regardless of which methodology and its concomitant framework he uses for the moment to address a particular historiographical issue.¹⁰⁹ The only point of dispute may be in just which areas and just how far spiritual prescience should be applied to secular subjects, for the investigation of which the Lord has provided intellectual tools.

By dividing inquiry into intellectual “existential judgments” and spiritual “propositions of value,” William James has attempted to defuse the difficulty in addressing this interface. While not wholly satisfactory, his attempt is a significant one:

In the matter of religions it is particularly easy to distinguish the two orders of question. Every religious phenomenon has its history and its derivation from natural antecedents. What is nowadays called the higher criticism of the Bible is only a study of the Bible from this existential point of view. . . . These are manifestly questions of historical fact, and one does not see how the answer to them can decide offhand the still further question [of value]. . . . You see that the existential facts by themselves are insufficient for determining the value; and the best adepts of the higher criticism accordingly never confound the existential with the spiritual problem.¹¹⁰

Such a distinction in reality posits two different models of history that lie in different dimensions. These may be characterized in terms borrowed from Ricouer: the “system” model strives for an overarching systematization or summation of historical meaning; the “singularities” model focuses on individual items in history. James’s distinction is also reminiscent of the ancient debate

between poetry and history: poetry (including drama), according to Aristotle, is concerned with the universal in establishing truths; history on the other hand speaks merely of the particular and the transient.¹¹¹ Modern variations of this debate include the following oppositions: myth versus reality, science versus religion, religion versus history, faith versus reason, reason versus revelation, and the like. They are all concerned with processes of knowledge that lie on different planes and deal with practical applications that exist in different spheres. Hence they cannot compete but only complement each other. At the very least their interactions are usually irrelevant, not mutually exclusive.

Problems with accepting historical works that focus on the secular, “singularities” dimension of history do occur among the faithful laity if they expect only exemplar historiography from their historians. Ecclesiastical authorities do, of course, have the right to guide the reading consumption of their membership when the goal is moral action, not intellectual enlightenment. And conflict almost certainly does break out when well-intentioned historians transcend the secular frameworks of their writing in an attempt to pronounce on spiritual matters.

An example of the problems that occur when the purpose of third-paradigmatic historiography is forgotten by readers comes from a work of D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magical World View*.¹¹² At the outset Quinn clearly stated his own belief in the theological framework of the Latter-day Saint faith.¹¹³ He explained that even if the sources he treated are unusual, he does not believe that his analysis “disparages Joseph Smith’s integrity or prophetic claims.”¹¹⁴ His intent, he stated, “has simply been to sketch in broad strokes the outline of a topic that I believe merits the careful, cautious scrutiny of Mormons and non-Mormons alike. For if we hope to begin to understand fully the origins of Mormonism, we cannot ignore the environment and world view of its first adherents or of the place and meaning of magic.”¹¹⁵ Quinn therefore posited a set of questions that he desired to investigate; the success of his investigation should be judged on methodological grounds, that is, on how well he acts the historian of the third paradigm. The fact that his work is unsuitable for exemplar historiography, that is, that it does not seek to build faith and motivate to good behavior, does not necessarily mean that for Latter-day Saints it is not a good work of history. On the other hand, Quinn cannot complain should ecclesiastical leaders refrain from recommending his work for internal consumption. His task is third-paradigmatic, generally irrelevant to reaching religious and behavioral goals.

It is only when the lines between inquiring into a historical question and advocating a religious point are blurred either by the writing of an author or by the interpretation of a reader that controversy arises. An instance of this is on page xxi of Quinn's book, where he stated that, if his interpretations prove valid, they will "of course require that Mormons and non-Mormons try to understand Joseph Smith and early Mormonism in a different light." To us, a different light means a new perspective from which to view the early Church, one which can be combined with other perspectives — economic, social, religious, and political — to approach as comprehensive an understanding of the past as is possible. But if Quinn's "different light" is understood in the sense not merely of a "different interpretation," but as a new and reductionist "explanation" of the origin of the Church, controversy is the inescapable result. However, given the third-paradigmatic character of Quinn's writing, that controversy is inappropriate if it focuses chiefly upon the book's consequences for an advocacy-historiographical position on the Church. The only justifiable first line of criticism for a third-paradigmatic work of Latter-day Saint history is not on the question of whether or not it promotes orthodoxy or righteousness, but rather on scholarly grounds — which have indeed, in Quinn's case, provided sufficient grist for the mill even if they can probably never be final.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, most of the fireworks sparked by this book seem instead to have resulted from ignorance of the purpose and applicability of this third-paradigmatic historical work.¹¹⁷ Significantly, Quinn responded that both Latter-day Saint insiders and outsiders have misunderstood his book because of their unstated assumptions about history.¹¹⁸

Obviously, there are conceivable historical discoveries which might threaten the basis of a religious community, as well as that of an advocacy historiography. Paul Tillich is reputed to have said that it would not matter for his theology if conclusive proof were found tomorrow that Jesus of Nazareth never existed — but few other Christians would feel the same way. Similarly, if it could be demonstrated that Joseph Smith was not in New York between 1815 and 1825 but was actually marauding as a pirate along the Barbary Coast, this discovery would have weighty implications for the claims of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. So, likewise, would the discovery *in situ* of an Arabian stela inscribed with an account of the tree of life, followed by the signature of one "Nephi, son of Lehi." But such discoveries are highly improbable, and it appears likely that historical studies on this side of the veil will have to continue to make do with somewhat less than decisive

evidence as to the truth or falsity of Joseph Smith's revelations. Still, Mormonism is a religion of marked historical character, with strong historical claims which do not, in principle, lie beyond empirical test. Latter-day Saint "theologians" have generally tended to be "historians" — as in the cases of B. H. Roberts and Joseph Fielding Smith, and their best and most prolific thinking and writing have tended to be historical. Hugh Nibley and Richard L. Anderson, among others, have shown that the issues between Latter-day Saints and critics of the Church will be fought largely on historical grounds.¹¹⁹

THE INQUIRER-ADVOCATE DEBATE IN PERSPECTIVE

Writing over twenty years ago, Leonard Arrington cited the novelist and Zionist Maurice Samuel as asserting that the "authentic Jew" is "the one who understands and is faithful to his own personal and social identity. One who, in short, accepts his history." Arrington thought that it would be possible to define the "real" Latter-day Saint in analogous terms:

Are we authentic Latter-day Saints (i.e., real Mormons) unless we receive messages from our collective past? And who but the historian is prepared to relay authentic messages from the past? Our individual and collective authenticity as Latter-day Saints depends on the historians telling the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about our past. This includes the failures as well as the achievements, the weaknesses as well as the strengths, the individual derelictions as well as the heroism and self-sacrifice.¹²⁰

At first glance, Arrington's statement may seem unobjectionable, and, indeed, there are elements of truth in it. But does our authenticity as Latter-day Saints really depend upon receiving "authentic messages from the past" rather than from living prophets? Is "historical authenticity" the essential criterion or is righteousness? Have we no avenue to God except through the past? And to the extent that the past is still a very important factor in the spirituality of the Latter-day Saints, which past is the significant one? That of the professional historians or that of the scriptures? Though he almost certainly does not intend it to do so, doesn't Arrington's principle of "authenticity" tend to set historians in the place of the prophets and apostles?¹²¹ But if Arrington seems merely to have expressed himself somewhat incautiously, Lawrence Foster, a non-Mormon, appears to claim the mantle forthrightly and in distinctly religious terms:

The Truth that Joseph Smith saw is still powerful though largely hidden even from faithful Latter-day Saints. Historians, at their

best, have the opportunity of trying to recapture that Truth, at least in part. Such historical writing, far from threatening true religious understanding, provides one of the very few ways that it may, to a degree, be achieved. Good history and good religion go together, in Mormonism as in all faiths. Crushed and crushed again, Truth will rise ever with renewed strength and power. This, at least, is my faith.¹²²

It is clear to us that such claims far exceed the natural limits of the third paradigm. “Scientific historiography” can no more define “true religious understanding” (much less deliver it!) than a yardstick can assay gold. While it is manifestly true that communities are constituted, at least to a large degree, by their shared memories, the question here must be whether “scientific” historiography is capable of serving as the basis for a community of memory. An affirmative answer seems highly doubtful. When speaking of third-paradigmatic history or the historiography of inquiry, which he calls “Socratic or interpretive history” — a less adequate description, we think, since all history is necessarily interpretive — Leonard Arrington spoke wisely, it appears to us, when he said:

It must by its very nature be a private and not a Church venture. Although this history is intended to imbue the written record with meaning and significance, the Church cannot afford to place its official stamp of approval on any “private” interpretation of its past. Interpretations are influenced by styles and ideas of the times, not to say the personalities and experiences of historians, and the Church itself ought not to be burdened with the responsibility of weighing the worth of one interpretation as against another.¹²³

The more systematic and comprehensive approach characteristic of “scientific” historiography has not necessarily been an unmixed blessing to the world at large, as Hans Meyerhoff noted:

A situation has developed which is quite paradoxical in human terms: The barriers of the past have been pushed back as never before; our knowledge of the history of man and the universe has been enlarged on a scale and to a degree not dreamed of by previous generations. At the same time, the sense of identity and continuity with the past, whether our own or history’s, has gradually and steadily declined. Previous generations *knew* much less about the past than we do, but perhaps *felt* a much greater sense of identity and continuity with it.¹²⁴

Harold Bloom reminded us of something we have already noted — “the uniquely selective nature of Hebrew memory, which calls for a particular kind of acting rather than for any curiosity about the past.”¹²⁵ And, indeed, Jewish collective memory is

“drastically selective,” in stark contrast to the all-inclusive tendency of modern historical scholarship. What seems to have been preserved in medieval Jewish memory is that which teaches behavioral ideals and proper belief. All else was pruned away.¹²⁶ (Among other things, to borrow Thomas Alexander’s already-cited complaint about Latter-day Saint exemplar historiography, medieval Jewish collective memory exhibits no interest in “probing the difficult areas.”)¹²⁷ “The notion that everything in the past is worth knowing ‘for its own sake,’” wrote Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, “is a mythology of modern historians, as is the lingering suspicion that a conscious responsibility toward the living concerns of the group must result in history that is somehow less scholarly or ‘scientific.’ Both stances lead, not to science, but to antiquarianism.”¹²⁸ (In other words, they lead to Michael Oakeshott’s favored “past for the sake of the past,” alluded to above.)¹²⁹ Yerushalmi’s opinion of hypothetical historian-priests is clear: “While memory of the past was always a central component of Jewish experience, the historian was not its primary custodian.”¹³⁰ Yerushalmi added, “Historiography, I will continue to insist, cannot be a substitute for collective memory, nor does it show signs of creating an alternative tradition that is capable of being shared.”¹³¹

There is another, yet deeper, reason why historiography of the third paradigm cannot serve as the basis for a religious community. Yerushalmi illustrated this in the case of contemporary Judaism:

There is an inherent tension in modern Jewish historiography even though most often it is not felt on the surface nor even acknowledged. To the degree that this historiography is indeed ‘modern’ and demands to be taken seriously, it must at least functionally repudiate premises that were basic to all Jewish conceptions of history in the past. In effect, it must stand in sharp opposition to its own subject matter, not on this or that detail, but concerning the vital core: the belief that divine providence is not only an ultimate but an active causal factor in Jewish history, and the related belief in the uniqueness of Jewish history itself.

It is the conscious denial, or at least the pragmatic evasion, of these two cardinal assumptions that constitutes the essence of the secularization of Jewish history on which modern Jewish historiography is grounded.”¹³²

But Jewish history is extremely resistant to secularization, because of its very nature, and Jewish “collective memories” were and are a function of “shared faith.”¹³³

Only in the modern era do we really find, for the first time, a Jewish historiography divorced from Jewish collective memory and, in crucial respects, thoroughly at odds with it.¹³⁴

The detachment of the modern historian from the group and its memory . . . his growing desire for scientific objectivity seems to demand that he distance himself ever more from the living concerns of the group and, indeed, from his own subject matter.¹³⁵

What Yerushalmi says of Judaism is manifestly true of the Church as well. Thus, when Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton introduce a survey of Latter-day Saint history aimed at non-Latter-day Saint readers with a claim of neutrality — “we have sought to understand as scholars of any faith or no faith would seek to understand”¹³⁶ — we can well understand the two on methodological grounds, but we can also reject such historical writing as the basis for a community of faith.¹³⁷ Secularized historiography and secularized historians accomplish a great deal by bracketing transcendent questions, but their accomplishments are not pure gain, and to leave such questions out of account is to pay a considerable price.¹³⁸ It will simply not do to rejoice, as one prominent non-Latter-day Saint historian did a few years ago at a meeting of the Mormon History Association, that we can now, having set aside the issue of the Church’s truth-claims, get on with really important questions like the economic status of early Latter-day Saint converts or the sociology of the Nauvoo ward. These may be important questions, but they are not — if the history of religious and philosophical thought is any indication — *the* important questions. They are not the questions that the early Latter-day Saints themselves would have seen as important. (With a few historians of Mormonism, one gets the feeling that the ultimate questions are no longer important because they have already been tacitly answered in the negative.)

Furthermore, secular, third-paradigm historiography, while it can contribute mightily in many areas of inquiry, seems forbidden by its very nature from grasping what is most important, most essential, in religion and religious experience. Leonard Arrington described the historian’s task as “creatively re-thinking the thoughts of the participants [in any given event] in the context of his knowledge.”¹³⁹ However, the historian’s knowledge will always be different from the knowledge possessed by the participants themselves, and while it may in some ways be superior, it will always, from other angles, be relatively deficient. C. S. Lewis gave this point striking expression:

Each of us finds that in his own life every moment of time is completely filled. He is bombarded every second by sensations, emotions, thoughts, which he cannot attend to for multitude, and nine-tenths of which he must simply ignore. A single second of lived time contains more than can be recorded. And every second of past

time has been like that for every man that ever lived. The past (I am assuming in the Historicist's favour that we need consider only the human past) in its reality, was a roaring cataract of billions upon billions of such moments: any one of them too complex to grasp in its entirety, and the aggregate beyond all imagination. By far the greater part of this teeming reality escaped human consciousness almost as soon as it occurred. None of us could at this moment give anything like a full account of his own life for the last twenty-four hours. We have already forgotten; even if we remembered, we have not time. The new moments are upon us. At every tick of the clock, in every inhabited part of the world, an unimaginable richness and variety of "history" falls off the world into total oblivion. Most of the experiences in "the past as it really was" were instantly forgotten by the subject himself. Of the small percentage which he remembered (and never remembered with perfect accuracy) a smaller percentage was ever communicated to even his closest intimates; of this, a smaller percentage still was recorded; of the recorded fraction only another fraction has ever reached posterity. *Ad nos vix tenuis fama perlabitur aura*. When once we have realized what "the past as it really was" means, we must freely admit that most — that nearly all — history . . . is, and will remain, wholly unknown to us. And if *per impossibile* the whole were known, it would be wholly unmanageable. To know the whole of one minute in Napoleon's life would require a whole minute of your own life. You could not keep up with it.¹⁴⁰

The inability of the historian to fully know another human being or to fully understand another person's experiences, is especially apparent with regard to the transcendent. "We can understand Joseph Smith," remarked Klaus Hansen, "only if we can get inside him, so to speak, and experience what he experienced."¹⁴¹ But if this point is true, only those who have experienced spiritually something of what Joseph Smith experienced can ever even begin to understand him — and this sort of experience is by definition off limits to secularizing historians who write as if they have "any faith or no faith."¹⁴² Michael Oakeshott, who recognizes only secular, third-paradigmatic historiography as "history," put it this way: "The so-called 'authorities' (better called 'sources') of history are frequently not themselves the product of historical thought and require to be translated into the categories of history before they are used. What is a 'miracle' for the writer of any of the gospels cannot remain a miracle for the historian."¹⁴³ (This statement obviously does not deny that historians of the third paradigm may well have flourishing spiritual lives in their private capacity. But in their role as neutral-inquiry historians, their own spirituality is irrelevant.) Lawrence Foster ranked Joseph Smith's theophanies and angelophanies as "among the most powerful religious experiences on record" and declared that they are to be taken with the utmost

seriousness.¹⁴⁴ But however seriously he may take them, Lawrence Foster cannot possibly understand Joseph Smith's religious experiences in the way Joseph himself understood them, for this is the same Lawrence Foster who said that many converts to the Church in the years following World War II "are simply looking for authoritative answers to questions which, by their very nature, have no authoritative answers."¹⁴⁵ Joseph Smith, on the other hand, emerging from the Sacred Grove, seemed to have felt that he had indeed received "authoritative answers," as have many of his followers in the nearly two centuries that have followed. (We seem to have a clear illustration, here, of the kind of prehistorical, even theological, assumptions brought to historical inquiry by "scientific" scholars no less than by advocates. Can such assumptions fail to influence the product?)

Having criticized third-paradigm "scientific" history, we do not want to leave the impression that we see exemplar or advocacy historiography as without flaw. However, those flaws should be abundantly clear, since exemplar historiography in and out of the Latter-day Saint community has long been accused — and often with justice — of special pleading, dishonesty, self-indulgence, manipulation of sources, and general unreliability. We would not wish to appear to favor subjectivism and irrationality in the writing of history, nor to deny that history even of the advocacy model can be judged good or bad on nonsubjective grounds.¹⁴⁶ (Which is to say that we reject an absolutizing removal of history from faith just as we repudiate the complete removal of faith from history.) For if exemplar historiography cannot be condemned for failing to answer questions it has not asked, it can nonetheless be judged according to many of the same criteria against which the historiography of inquiry is to be measured (since, as we have been at pains to demonstrate, the two paradigms are neither fundamentally opposed nor essentially unlike). Is the advocate honest "within the framework of his commitments"? Does the evidence he adduces support his claims? Is there other evidence which does not? Is the account coherent? (As Michael Oakeshott pointed out, "the criterion of truth is coherence."¹⁴⁷)

Exemplar historiography and the historiography of inquiry need each other. The latter keeps the former honest, while the former supplies the meaning which the latter is manifestly unsuited to provide on its own.¹⁴⁸ They are complementary, alike and yet different. We have found that what separates the advocate from the inquiry historian is the purposes behind their historiographical tasks and the frameworks adopted to accomplish them. Just as they may

frequently share the same texts and research methodologies, so, too, do they share other, psychological motivations.

Both groups share the common need for faith. The inquirer's faith assures him of the importance of the view he so painstakingly constructs of the past, a view that is acknowledged to be ephemeral at best and partial or flawed at worst.¹⁴⁹ The advocate's faith assures him that, while the breadth of eternal reality can ultimately accommodate all historical facts, however uncomfortable for the moment, mortal vision cannot possibly hazard a summation of, let alone encompass, the breadth of this reality.¹⁵⁰

Both groups share the common sense of mission. The inquirer strives to serve the present on the plane of intellectual understanding by unfolding the past. The advocate strives to serve the present on the plane of spiritual cultivation by unfolding the past.

Both groups share in subjectivity, which is an inescapable element of the human condition. Oakeshott has caricatured claimants to historical objectivity as saying that, for them, the historical past is

the direct presentation of the objective life of the universe, uncompromised by experience and unmodified by interpretation. In the "pageant of history" we perceive naked reality, unencumbered with the generalities of philosophy and the abstractions of science, passing before our eyes. We see the whole, of which the present is but a part; the detailed whole, from which science abstracts a mere aspect and of which philosophy grasps a mere outline.¹⁵¹

Today, such smug self-satisfaction is certainly open neither to the exemplar historian nor to the representative of the third paradigm, if indeed smugness was ever a tenable position at all. The advocate self-consciously seeks in the historical record for signs that signify the fulfillment of God's plan. Wittingly or unwittingly, the inquirer selects features of life important to his own culture and himself and builds models of their influence on the past.¹⁵² "Every true history," said Benedetto Croce, "is contemporary history," since it inevitably addresses the questions which are most important to the historian and to the audience for which the historian is writing.¹⁵³ One reason Peter Novick recently suggested that the old Mormon historians are actually more objective than the new is their willingness to lay bare their biases and to work objectively within the framework of their commitments, while the New Mormon Historians, he felt, ignoring the protestations of their profession, frequently seem to lay claim to a scientific objectivity vitiated by their own unacknowledged assumptions.¹⁵⁴ At any rate, in light of their own claims and Novick's recent reminders — as well as those of Gertrude Himmelfarb and

others — it is certain that inquirers can no longer charge advocates with a subjectivity which leaves the inquirers utterly untouched.¹⁵⁵ No such privileged scholarly class exists.

Both advocates and inquirers share in a common search for what they perceive as “truth.” The inquirer searches for it on the secular level of attempting to explain and encounter man. The advocate searches for it on the spiritual level in the attempt to explain and encounter God in man. But ultimately, as Ricoeur pointed out, “the truth does not contradict itself; falsehood is legion. The truth brings men together, falsehood scatters them and sets discord among them.”¹⁵⁶ Historians are false to their profession if they do not recognize its limitations and work within its ranges of possibility. Likewise, advocates err if they dogmatically refuse to grant the testimonies of inquirers or to allow for the existence of historians who utilize intellectual tools which the Lord has not only sanctioned but sanctified. (That there are historians without faith is indisputable. That there are also secular, third-paradigmatic historians of deep personal religious belief is also beyond question.)

Finally, both groups can share the common hermeneutical work of interpreting and relating the past of Mormonism to contemporary belief and practice. The inquirer can help maintain the integrity of the sources by promoting time-tested rules of research that mitigate the worst excesses of subjectivity. As Robert Morgan and John Barton pointed out,

specialists make their contributions, and the historians’ call to respect the integrity of the past commands a double respect: their charge that we do not force the texts to say what suits our immediate interests is a call for truthfulness which demands unqualified assent; and their suggestion that we are more likely to learn from the past if we respect its integrity is also an appeal to our long-term investment in knowing the human past, over the quick buck to be made by turning its monuments to our immediate advantage.¹⁵⁷

Thomas Alexander correctly noted that, “far from undermining faith, intelligent description and analysis of historical contexts may actually strengthen it [faith] by adding greater clarity and understanding.”¹⁵⁸ James Clayton concluded that even if history has revealed some religious excesses and abuses, it has likewise recorded man’s fundamental need and expression of religion. It has also been history that has preserved religion’s role in civilization.¹⁵⁹ And James Allen reminded us that continual study of history is part of the gospel mandate of acquiring intelligence, including historical knowledge, “line upon line.”¹⁶⁰ But inquiring historians should never forget that history, if it is applied to religious concerns,

is but one tool of the task of hermeneutics, since, again quoting Morgan and Barton, who echoed James, “it leaves unanswered all the important questions about the value of historical knowledge relative to other legitimate and often more pressing human concerns.”¹⁶¹

Suggestions from contemporary Latter-day Saint historians on how they can contribute to both their profession and their faith abound. Richard Bushman, seeking perhaps to link secular and theological approaches to historiography, urged Latter-day Saint historians to utilize the tools of their training to pose new questions that have originated from gospel insights. An example is how God has intervened in history; particular approaches may include the history of salvation, the history of revelation, or the history of Providence. All in all, since any framework has built-in subjective features, he encouraged Latter-day Saints to go ahead and develop their own religion-inspired frameworks to better understand the secular history of the past.¹⁶² Ronald K. Esplin encouraged Latter-day Saints to write better history, to wield more effectively the tools of the trade, and to address uncomfortable issues fairly but accurately. Even though he glossed over the differences between exemplar and other historical paradigms, he did recover somewhat by concluding that Latter-day Saint history should be written “in many ways. Audience, subject, purpose, and individual perspective will continue to influence how our history is written, and we must resist any tendency to exclude all but one brand of history as unscholarly, unfaithful, or inappropriate.”¹⁶³ In 1971 Robert Rees suggested that the incipient New Mormon Literature join forces with the emerging New Mormon History to “establish a climate of historical and creative writing that will open our past in new and exciting ways”:

The new Mormon historian in uncovering and interpreting more and more historical data (though most remarkably in the new ways of approaching his materials) can provide the literary artist with the raw materials out of which plays, poems, stories and novels will be written. And the literary artist, by resurrecting the past through the imagination, can provide the historian with a view that will help him to penetrate the myths and misconceptions which prevent us from seeing our past and therefore from seeing ourselves.¹⁶⁴

His approach was recently reiterated by Dominick LaCapra for the entire field of historiography. LaCapra argued that the profession needs to get away from models of historiography that imitate too closely “ideal” scientific models; these models, he said, ignore the imaginative interplay of a rhetorical engagement with the texts of the historical past.¹⁶⁵

We cannot suggest specific approaches. We stress, simply, that various approaches do exist. Among these, both exemplar historiography and third-paradigmatic historiography are honorable yet distinct disciplines that serve different purposes. They need not ultimately conflict, but can and should both be utilized at various times to enlighten the intellect, strengthen the spirit, and enrich all aspects of our lives.

NOTES

¹Louis Midgley has been the most vociferous defender of the faith from the inroads of “revisionist” historiography, as he terms it. See his “Faith and History,” in *To Be Learned Is Good If . . .*, ed. Robert L. Millet (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987), 219–26; and “The Challenge of Historical Consciousness: Mormon History and the Encounter with Secular Modernity,” in John M. Lundquist and Stephen D. Ricks, eds., *By Study and Also by Faith: Essays in Honor of Hugh Nibley on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, 27 March 1990*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., and Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1990), 2:502–51. Also consult David Earl Bohn, “No Higher Ground: Objective History Is an Illusive Chimera,” *Sunstone* 8 (May–June 1983): 26–32. Thomas G. Alexander is a prominent, vocal advocate of the need for professionalism over apologetics in Latter-day Saint historical endeavors. Consult, among others, his “Historiography and the New Mormon History: A Historian’s Perspective,” *Dialogue* 19 (Fall 1986): 25–49. See also D. Michael Quinn, “On Being a Mormon Historian,” November 1981, unpublished paper, copy in the author’s possession.

²Alexander, “Historiography and the New Mormon History,” 45. M. Gerald Bradford contended that Alexander has failed as a bridge-builder (“The Case for the New Mormon History: Thomas G. Alexander and His Critics,” *Dialogue* 21 [Winter 1988]: 143–50).

³W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greek Philosophers: From Thales to Aristotle* (1950; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 11. Guthrie cited Cornford, who cited Whitehead’s “intellectual position.”

⁴Guthrie, *Greek Philosophers*, 11, citing Cornford. See Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*, rev. ed. (1971; reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 32, 40–41, for the same sentiments with regard to the study of Greek poetical, historical, and religious texts.

⁵Davis Bitton and Leonard J. Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press), 1988.

⁶Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 84.

⁷Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 96.

⁸Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 88, 114, 117. Dale Morgan himself stated his own assumptions in various places. None of these methodological confessions found place in *Mormons and Their Historians*, but at least the following one deserved inclusion: “I think he (Joseph Smith) was a man subjected to a singular environmental pressure, and that his behavior must be interpreted as the effect of this pressure upon distinctive psycho-physiological components of his character” (John Phillip Walker, ed., *Dale Morgan on Early Mormonism: Correspondence and a New History* [Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986], 44; see the discussion of Morgan’s approach in the preface by William Mulder [2–3]).

⁹Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 131–32; see 151–52 for Bushman, 155–56 for Shippis, and 161 for Peterson. In their affectionate acceptance of Shippis as an “inside-outsider,” Bitton and Arrington fail to note that in the “thoroughly reworked” first chapter of her dissertation that appeared as “The Prophet Puzzle: Suggestions Leading toward a More Comprehensive Interpretation of Joseph Smith” (*Journal of Mormon History* 1 [1974]: 3–20, cited by the authors on p.186 n. 9), her evaluation of the Prophet is much less sympathetic from a mainstream Latter-day Saint perspective than their analysis of her dissertation chapter would lead one to believe.

¹⁰Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, xi.

¹¹Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 87–88, 127–29.

¹²Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 129. Another, albeit minor, assumption of the authors is the incompatibility of literary style with the production of history (see 124–25). Personally, we enjoy a history book written with flair. Witness the eminently accurate but admirably organized and written biography of J. Reuben Clark by Frank Fox. Will and Ariel Durant come to mind as modern exponents of the narrative approach to history who have a positive gift for coining a well-turned phrase. Theodore S. Hamerow cautions modern historical practitioners to “learn to write better. . . . We

should master the techniques of the social sciences, but we should not forget our roots lie deep in the literary tradition of our civilization" (*Reflections on History and Historians* [Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987], 4); see the remarks of Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Classical Survivals: The Classics in the Modern World* (London: Duckworth, 1982), 62–63. Peter Gay, *Style in History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974), may be read for enjoyment and profit on the importance personal literary style plays in conveying the "matter," not just "manner," of the historian.

¹³Traian Stoianovich, *French Historical Method: Annales Paradigm* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 26. See the brief introduction to the history of exemplar historiography by Astrid Witschi-Bernz, "Main Trends in Historical-Method Literature: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, Beiheft 12, Bibliography of the Works in the Philosophy of History 1500–1900 (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1972), 51–54. An extended treatment by the historian who coined the phrase "exemplar history" is George H. Nadel, *Studies in the Philosophy of History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 49–73.

¹⁴Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, 29. It was this development that occurred with the sixteenth-century French historiographers. See Donald R. Kelley (alluded to by Bitton and Arrington on p. xi), *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law, and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970). And, of course, Ranke's insistence on focusing on the particulars of history to discern the general laws in the development of nations further carried this historical paradigm toward its fullest flowering. On this point, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 163–90; and Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present* (1968; rev. ed., Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983), 63–89.

¹⁵Stoianovich, *French Historical Method*, 38. See David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), xv: "The logic of historical thought . . . is a process of *adductive* reasoning in the simple sense of adducing answers to specific questions, so that a satisfactory explanatory 'fit' is obtained. . . . History is, in short, a problem-solving discipline." See also page xii.

¹⁶Peter Burke, ed., *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, trans. K. Folca (London: Kegan Paul, 1973), xii, xv, 36. We hate to break up the symmetry of the French connection, but in 1916 Frederick Teggart anticipated the French group in pointing history toward the solving of problems. See, for instance, his *Prolegomena to History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), 14, 15; and his *Rome and China: A Study of Correlations in Historical Events* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), vi. Of course, neither the French nor Teggart could have redirected history towards the specific problems they targeted had the new social scientists of the late nineteenth century not developed new conceptual categories that looked beyond national frameworks of analysis (White, *Metahistory*, 175).

¹⁷William Todd's philosophical study of history attempts to clarify the questions that the different types of history ask (part I) and the various methods used to answer them (part 2). See his *History as Applied Science: A Philosophical Study* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1972). New approaches which have flourished or since developed are introduced in Theodore K. Robb and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The New History: Studies in Interdisciplinary History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982).

¹⁸Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, xii.

¹⁹Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*. See Leonard J. Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," *Dialogue* 3 (Summer 1968): 58–59, for a fairly gentle but not fundamentally dissimilar dismissal.

²⁰Herodotus I.1 (trans. A. D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library ed.).

²¹On this point, see Charles William Fornara, *The Nature of History in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), 96–97. Thucydides, says Fornara, further narrowed the scope of history to include only those deeds that were done in war (96–97).

²²Consult Henry R. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus*, American Philological Association, Monograph 23 (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1966), 308.

²³Lloyd-Jones, *Justice of Zeus*, 58–59. Timothy Long, *Repetition and Variation in the Short Stories of Herodotus*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Band 179 (Athens: Hain Verlag, 1979), 176–92, analyzes Herodotean narrative from the perspective of the narrative of tragedy to show that the same moral assumption — the tragic pattern of retribution — undergirds both types.

²⁴See Aubrey De Selincourt, *The World of Herodotus* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982), 60, both for the phrase and for Herodotus on pride. See Aeschylus, *The Persians*, 820–40, for the speech made by the ghost of Darius on the fatal lesson from the war with Greece of "presumptuous pride."

²⁵Summarizing Fornara, *The Nature of History*, 107–8.

²⁶Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. Gilbert Highet, 2d ed., 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965–1986).

²⁷Werner Jaeger, introduction to his "*Scripta Minora: 'An Intellectual Bibliography,'*" reprinted in *Five Essays*, trans. Adele M. Fiske (Montreal: Mario Casalini, 1966), 42–43.

²⁸On this point, see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Socrates* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 130–39. An exhaustive study of the moral application of Greek philosophical inquiry is Werner Jaeger,

The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948). For comparative purposes, see Frederick Eby and Charles Flinn Arrowood, *The History and Philosophy of Education, Ancient and Medieval* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1940), for the moral element in the world view and education of the Egyptians, Hebrews, Romans, and medieval society.

²⁹David B. Honey, "Prolegomena to Chinese Historiography on the Nomads: Traditions and *Topoi*," (Master's thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1984), 15. The most substantive study of Chinese exemplar historiography remains that of Michael C. Rogers, *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History*, Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations, no. 10 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968). Chinese education, like that of the Greeks, was dedicated to shaping moral character. For instance, Confucius considered a man well learned if he was filial, loyal, and trustworthy (*Lun-yu* 1.14; see 1.7).

³⁰Of course, the problem of bringing a preexisting framework to bear on the selection of data is not particular just to the Chinese brand of Marxist historiography, but is endemic to the entire enterprise; an engaging entre into the subject is Gertrude Himmelfarb, "The 'Group': British Marxist Historians," in *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belnap, 1987), 70–93. On Chinese Marxist historiography, see *inter alia*, Arif Dirlik, *Revolution and History: The Origins of Marxist Historiography in China, 1919–1937* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978); A. Feuerwerker, *History in Communist China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); and Harold Khan and Albert Feuerwerker, "The Ideology of Scholarship: China's New Historiography," *China Quarterly* 22 (April–June 1965): 1–13.

³¹Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, vol. 1 of *The Classical Age of Islam* (1958; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 351.

³²Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:362. Hodgson observed that there were two main types of piety in Islam, one mystical and the other "kerygmatic, focused on history" but correctly judged that the predominant element was "the kerygmatic component, when ultimacy is sought in irrevocable datable events, in history with its positive moral commitments." This predominance held true especially during the crucial "High Caliphal period." See Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:362–64. Apart from the "kerygmatic" and *Ṣūfī* (mystical) tendencies within Islam, there existed also a small but brilliant philosophical viewpoint, heavily influenced by Hellenism, "in which not the moral judgments of history but the rational harmonies of nature were the source of inspiration" (410). See Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:410–43, for a brilliant discussion of this alternative religious position. Michael Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), observed that "The Greeks, for the most part, did not call upon the past to give added force and reality to the creations of their religious imagination; they called instead upon a present sensibility to nature and life, to things which could be touched and seen and heard" (104).

³³See A. A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing among the Arabs*, ed. and trans. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 20–23, 29.

³⁴Tarif Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Mas'ūdī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), xiii, 24.

³⁵Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:352.

³⁶Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 40–41, 74, 157. For a justification of the principle of *ijmā'* as a theme in the work of al-Zuhri and an illustration of its actual use, see Duri, 116.

³⁷Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 120; see also 77–78, 94–95, 111; and A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishaq's Sirat Rasul Allah* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1967), xiv.

³⁸See Jacob Lassner, *Islamic Revolution and Historical Memory: An Inquiry into the Art of Abbāsīd Apologetics* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1986); also, for the specific case of al-Ya'qūbī (d. 897 A.D.), see Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 67.

³⁹Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, xiii; see also 114.

⁴⁰Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 74. For the date of origin of a separate discipline of history within Islamic society, see Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, xiii–xiv.

⁴¹Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, xiv.

⁴²For a competent survey of some of the major Arab historians, consult D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 70–149.

⁴³Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, 89–90, 128. A multivolume translation of al-Ṭabarī's world history is currently in process of publication by the State University of New York Press.

⁴⁴Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:352.

⁴⁵Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 150.

⁴⁶Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 83 and 83, n. 3.

⁴⁷Hodgson, *Venture of Islam* 1:352.

⁴⁸Duri, *Rise of Historical Writing*, 159.

⁴⁹Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, 92.

⁵⁰Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, 114.

⁵¹For the comparison to Herodotus, see Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 353.

⁵²Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 53, 55, 68, 80.

⁵³Cited by Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography*, 32.

⁵⁴Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, 140–41, 149. His great theoretical work, the *Muqaddima*, or “Introduction” (i.e., to his chronicle of world history), has been translated into English: Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, Bollingen Series 43, 2d ed., 3 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967).

⁵⁵Dunlop, *Arab Civilization*, 139, 141, 145. Dunlop’s claim, on page 149, that Ibn Khaldūn is “the great, perhaps the only, example of the pragmatic historian among the Arabs,” can be accepted only in a certain very restricted sense.

⁵⁶Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982; New York: Schocken Books, 1989), 5–9, 13, 108–12. Much the same thing, significantly, can be said of the Book of Mormon, as any good concordance (e.g., under “remember”) will show in a few moments. Also similar to the Book of Mormon (think of the large plates of Nephi) is the fact that writers of Bible times also appear to have produced secular records, from which the quest for transcendent meaning was essentially absent (see Yerushalmi, 15).

⁵⁷See Kenneth Barker, ed., *The NIV Study Bible: New International Version* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 325.

⁵⁸Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 10. One might profitably compare this comment to exhortations to the Latter-day Saints to study the scriptures and to keep personal histories.

⁵⁹Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 104.

⁶⁰Islamic historiography as a whole was rejected by eastern Jewry with contempt.

⁶¹See Kenneth H. Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1846* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 183–84, for a rather irritated complaint against nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints for doing precisely the same thing.

⁶²Compare the “objectively” ahistorical attitude of Nephi in the Book of Mormon (1 Ne. 19:23), as well as the endowment ritual of the Latter-day Saint temple. See, too, Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return: or, Cosmos and History*, trans. Willard R. Trask, Bollingen Series 46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971).

⁶³Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 31, 33–34, 36–45, 50–51, 66. Medieval *Memorbücher* are not, strictly speaking, historiography, although they contain material useful to modern historians. Rather, they listed the names of those deceased Jews for whom communal prayers were to be offered. In this sense, they were functionally analogous to Latter-day Saint genealogical records (see Yerushalmi, 46).

⁶⁴Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 58, 60, 73, 83.

⁶⁵Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 85–86. Mark P. Leone, in his *Roots of Modern Mormonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), has argued that the twentieth-century Church is dependent and has been effectively colonized. It would be interesting to think his thesis through in the context of the New Mormon History.

⁶⁶Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 105–6. On pages 156–58, Oakeshott denied that any moral or practical utility is to be found in the past or in its study. His position is not fundamentally wrong, we would say, if one understands by “history” only history of Stoianovich’s third paradigm.

⁶⁷Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 105.

⁶⁸Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. Howard Clark Kee, rev. ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 37. Compare the same sentiments in the Latter-day Saint edition of the Bible, “Bible Dictionary,” sub “Gospels.”

⁶⁹Karl Löwith, *Meaning in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 192–93. See also Paul Ricoeur, “Christianity and History,” in *History and Truth*, trans. Charles A. Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), 81–97. An interesting parallel to the centrality of Christ in the Christian view of history is the central role in secular history played by the fall of Rome. On this, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Excellent Empire: The Fall of Rome and the Triumph of the Church* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987), 3–12; and Peter Bondanella, *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

⁷⁰A good recent exposition of Latter-day Saint belief as it relates to questions of history, belief, and knowledge is Robert L. Millet, ed. *To Be Learned Is Good If . . .* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1987).

⁷¹See, among many possibilities, Ezra Taft Benson, *The Gospel Teacher and His Message* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1976); and Boyd K. Packer, “*That All May Be Edified*”: Talks, Sermons, and Commentary (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1982).

⁷²Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belnap Press, 1961), 6–12. On this point compare the following sermons: St. Peter used simple testimony to counter the refined rhetoric of Simon Magus in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* I; in contrast, to Augustine the style of Bishop Ambrose was almost as eloquent and polished as the earlier lectures of the Manichean Faustus, yet it was the truths Ambrose taught, not his style, that converted Augustine; see *Confessions* V.

⁷³Richard O. Cowan, *The Church in the Twentieth Century* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1985), ix–x.

⁷⁴Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 44–46. Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 142, rejected moral judgment as an element of historiography, for “the unity of history implies a world of positive events in which such negative concepts as ‘evil,’ ‘immoral,’

'unsuccessful,' 'illogical,' etc., have, as such, no place at all. Historical explanation, consequently, involves neither condemnation nor excuse." Here, as elsewhere, "history" for Oakeshott is the third paradigm. No other approach exists.

⁷⁵Hegel, *Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree, vol. 46 of *Great Books of the Western World* (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952), 155–56. Consult further Hamerow, *Reflections on History and Historians*, 209–16; and Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision-Makers* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).

⁷⁶Peter Novick, citing Michael Polanyi, points out that "suppression of evidence" is in fact an essential step in the application of a "viable tradition" of interpretation, not, we may add, merely an editorial right to be exercised. See the treatment in Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 527.

⁷⁷Bitton and Arrington, *Mormons and Their Historians*, 11–12.

⁷⁸Alexander, "Toward the New Mormon History: An Examination of the Literature on the Latter-day Saints in the Far West," in *Historians and the American West*, ed. Michael P. Malone (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 359–60.

⁷⁹James L. Clayton, "Does History Undermine Faith?" *Sunstone* 7 (March–April 1982): 34.

⁸⁰Clayton, "Does History Undermine Faith?" 35.

⁸¹We use the term *third paradigm* synecdochically for both the second and third paradigms since the former leads to the latter and hence can be conveniently subsumed under it.

⁸²We accept the rough division of labor between so-called metahistory, the type that seeks to "interpret" the past according to a philosophical or ideological view of reality, a "meaning" in history (such as produced by Toynbee or Marx), and those historical modes that attempt solely to "explain" history. Hayden White to the contrary, we would still separate the two and include exemplar historiography under metahistory and place the various explanatory modes within the wide rubric of third-paradigmatic historiography. We would do so because the differences between their overall functions, or purposes for being written, are more important than the similarities they share in methodology and in the dependence on subjectivity. White's views are presented in "Interpretation in History," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 51–80.

⁸³Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 1–2. Novick notes that the question of "historical objectivity" is not merely a matter of philosophical epistemology, on which historians have not thought very clearly, but "an enormously charged emotional issue" and that historians writing on the history of historiography have not proven notably value-neutral. His observations certainly ring true of the situation in Latter-day Saint historiography (11–13).

⁸⁴Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 92.

⁸⁵Melvin T. Smith, "Faithful History/Secular Faith," *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 70.

⁸⁶Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 97; see generally, 96–98, 125.

⁸⁷Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 19; see also 11, 13–14, 16, 18, 26–28, 48–49, 59–60, 93.

For this point applied specifically to history, see 108–9.

⁸⁸Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 51; compare 93.

⁸⁹Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 42.

⁹⁰Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 16.

⁹¹Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 93.

⁹²Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," 59.

⁹³Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 91.

⁹⁴Cited by Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 35. However, as Novick demonstrates on pages 35–36, and in note 22 on page 36, Darwin dissimulated, deceived, and lent public support to a "crude inductionism," which he himself privately mocked.

⁹⁵Stephen Toulmin, *The Return to Cosmology: Postmodern Science and the Theology of Nature* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 15; italics in the original.

⁹⁶William Barrett, *The Illusion of Technique: A Search for Meaning in a Technological Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1979), 3–117.

⁹⁷Cited by Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 35.

⁹⁸Cited by Robert A. Rees, "'Truth Is the Daughter of Time': Notes Toward an Imaginative Mormon History," *Dialogue* 6 (Autumn–Winter 1971): 17. Thomas G. Alexander recognized this point when he said that "the study of products of the human mind require[s] creative imagination and intuition for their interpretation." See his "Historiography and the New Mormon History," 32; see also 38.

⁹⁹Immanuel Wallerstein, *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 1 of *The Modern World System* (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 9.

¹⁰⁰Ricoeur, "Christianity and History," 8.

¹⁰¹See Oakeshott, *On History and Other Essays* (Oxford: Basil Blackwall, 1983), 1–4, 33.

¹⁰²Compare the view of Goethe: "History must from time to time be rewritten, not because many new facts have been discovered, but because the participants in the progress of an age are led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner." Quoted in Teggart, *Prolegomena to History*, 26; see also Febvre, *A New Kind of History*, 31. And Dominick LaCapra reminded us that a *new reading* of materials is just as important for progress as the discovery of new materials (*History and Criticism* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985], 20). See Nibley's remarks in his debate with Sterling

M. McMurrin in "Do Religion and History Conflict?" in *Great Issues Forum*, series 2: Religion, no. 5 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, Extension Division, 1959), 22–39.

¹⁰³According to Georg Iggers, the view of Ranke as the prototypical nonphilosophical historian who was concerned solely with the facts was a myth adopted by American historians out of ignorance of the meaning of his German terminology and the cultural context of Germany during the time he worked. Iggers summed up Ranke's position as follows: "Despite Ranke's concern with the critical examination of sources, perhaps no German historian of the nineteenth century . . . paid as much attention to the theoretical foundations of his historical practice as did Ranke. Moreover, no one succeeded as completely in integrating his concept of the historical process and his theory of knowledge with his political views." Iggers continued by stressing the importance of Ranke's theoretical framework for guiding his historical research: "In his . . . lectures on the methods and scope of historical study . . . he stresses the role of history as a guide to philosophical truths. Through history he seeks to uncover the metaphysical realities underlying the state which could provide the basis of a conservative theory of politics." Hence, even the so-called father of objective history had ideological parameters that guided his research and writing and, according to Iggers, was very clear in stating them (Iggers, *The German Conception of History*, 64–65, 72; see also Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 25, 28).

¹⁰⁴Ricoeur, "Christianity and History," 25–29.

¹⁰⁵Even though Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, took much of the "New History" to task for methodological failings and excesses, she did stress that each method is valid in its sphere and each should allow for the existence of other approaches to cover different aspects or dimensions of the past. Unfortunately, the burden of her book is that most practitioners of these methods regard their scholarly vision as being the only "true" interpretation of the past.

¹⁰⁶See T. J. Luce, "Ancient Views on the Causes of Bias in Historical Writing," *Classical Philology* 84 (January 1989): 16–31; and M. I. Finley, "How It Really Was," in *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (New York: Elisabeth Sifton and Penguin, 1987), 47–66.

¹⁰⁷Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History," 36–39; see also Kent E. Robson, "Objectivity and History," *Dialogue* 19 (Winter 1986): 89. Melvin T. Smith, in his "Faithful History/Secular Faith," *Dialogue* 16 (Winter 1983): 65–71, seems to be an exception to Alexander's generalization: of people who want to be both good Latter-day Saints and good historians, Smith said, "Such individuals generally agree that objectivity is a critical quality of good history, and that such quality is very difficult to come by." Indeed, he said, in religious matters "objectivity is almost impossible" (66, 69).

¹⁰⁸Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, 46. David Hackett Fischer is also worth quoting at length on this point: "There are many objective truths to be told about the past — great and vital truths that are relevant and even urgent to the needs of mankind. But there is no whole truth to be discovered by a simple method of induction. Every true historical statement is an answer to a question which a historian has asked. Not to The Question. Not to questions about everything. But to questions about something" (*Historians' Fallacies*, 5).

¹⁰⁹Boyd K. Packer, "The Mantle Is Far, Far Greater Than the Intellect," *BYU Studies* 21 (Summer 1981): 259–78. The view that an intellectual approach automatically reveals the religious commitments and faith of a historian confuses the difference between a tool and a value system. One is selectively employed in research; one governs one's daily actions and outlook on life. Hence, Richard Bushman can honestly and rightfully claim that he utilizes the secularly based methodologies of modern history in his professional activities without abandoning his religious practices (Smith, "Faithful History," 65–71). Alexander, "Historiography and the New Mormon History," 29–30, is an instance of the confusion engendered by equating methodology with religious values.

¹¹⁰William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Collier Macmillan, 1961), 23–24.

¹¹¹See Aristotle, *Poetics* IX. See discussion in M. I. Finley, "Myth, Memory and History," in *The Use and Abuse of History* (New York: Viking Books, 1987), 11–13.

¹¹²D. Michael Quinn, *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987).

¹¹³Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, xx.

¹¹⁴Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, xxi.

¹¹⁵Quinn, *Early Mormonism*, xxi, 228.

¹¹⁶See, for instance, Stephen Ricks and Daniel Peterson, "The Mormon as Magus," *Sunstone* 12 (January 1988): 38–39; Jon Butler, "Magic and the Complexities of Mormon History," *Sunstone* 12 (January 1988): 36–37; and Stephen E. Robinson, review of *Early Mormonism and the Magic World View*, by D. Michael Quinn, *BYU Studies* 27 (Fall 1987): 88–95.

¹¹⁷Kristine Wilson, "Folk-magic Book Arouses Controversy," *The Daily Universe*, 22 October 1987, 7, included comments from critics who are alarmed that the book tried to reinterpret the story of the Church, as well as from defenders of the book who point out that it deals with only one narrow aspect of Church history.

¹¹⁸See Quinn's response to the review of Ricks/Peterson and the Yale historian Jon Butler, "Mormonism: Without Parallel, or Part of a Context," *Sunstone* 12 (January 1988): 40.

¹¹⁹To say nothing of Jerald and Sandra Tanner. Melvin T. Smith is pretty much on his own in seeming to argue for a divorce of faith from history. See his "Faithful History/Secular Faith," 65–71. "Mormonism," said Lawrence Foster, "more than most contemporary religions, has refused to accept a religious-secular dichotomy at all." To see spiritual truths as wholly separate from mundane, material reality, is utterly foreign to the restored gospel ("A Personal Odyssey: My Encounter with Mormon History," *Dialogue* 16 [Autumn 1983]: 92).

¹²⁰Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," 65.

¹²¹This is what happened in Judaism, where "the scribes and Pharisees [came to] sit in Moses' seat" (Matt. 23:2). The "horizontal tradition" replaced the "vertical." Then rabbinic theological history was replaced, at least in part, by secular historiography. In Islam, too, if the brilliant analysis of Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), is correct, the religious authority of Prophet and caliphs was seized by the (historically-oriented) Muslim learned classes in a kind of revolution (*apostasía*). In mainstream Christianity, which was and is considerably more Hellenized than either Judaism or Islam, philosophical theologians, rather than historians, tended to supplant the prophets and apostles. This process is quite correctly known among Latter-day Saints as "the Great Apostasy."

¹²²Lawrence Foster, "A Personal Odyssey," 98. It is clear throughout his essay (87–98) that Foster, while friendly and sympathetic, is neither value- nor theology-neutral.

¹²³Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," 60.

¹²⁴Quoted by Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 79; italics in the original. On the importance of community memory, see Wendell Berry, "The Work of Local Culture," in his collection of essays, *What Are People For?* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990), 153–69.

¹²⁵In his "Foreword" to Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, xvi.

¹²⁶Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 94–95, 112–13. Yerushalmi makes it clear on page 115 that it is only within faith communities that such pruning can occur: "Our real problem is that we are without a *halakha*. . . . If there be a malignancy, its source lies not in the historical quest, but in the loss of a *halakha* that will know what to appropriate and what to leave behind, a commonality of values that would enable us to transform history into memory. This the historian alone cannot accomplish."

¹²⁷Alexander, "Toward the New Mormon History," 360–61.

¹²⁸Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 100; see also 101–2, 105–7.

¹²⁹Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 106.

¹³⁰Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, xxxiv; see 94.

¹³¹Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 116.

¹³²Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 89; see also 88; also Bloom, "Foreword," xix. The problem of secularization is similar to the problem of the historicization of Judaism and all else, on which see Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 91. Most Latter-day Saints would not be so enthused about the tendency to historicism as is Richard Rorty, who notes with palpable satisfaction that "this historicist turn has helped free us, gradually but steadily, from theology and metaphysics — from the temptation to look for an escape from time and chance." See his *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), xiii. The claim by Smith, "Faithful History/Secular Faith," 70, that, "if God is missing, it is not the historians' fault," wholly misses the point of critics of the New Mormon History, which is that, if God is missing from the writings of the New Mormon Historians, it very likely *is* their fault.

¹³³Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 90, 94.

¹³⁴Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 93; see also Bloom, "Foreword," xix.

¹³⁵Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, 114; compare the refusal of Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 156–58, to allow the derivation of any moral or practical guidance from history.

¹³⁶Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), xiii.

¹³⁷Arrington and Bitton, *The Mormon Experience*, xiii.

¹³⁸Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 95.

¹³⁹Arrington, "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," 59.

¹⁴⁰C.S. Lewis, from his essay on "Historicism," in *Christian Reflections*, ed. Walter Hooper (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1967), 107–8.

¹⁴¹Klaus Hansen, "Jan Shippo and the Mormon Tradition," *Journal of Mormon History* 11 (1984): 137.

¹⁴²In Islam, the *Ṣūfīs* (mystics) sought to experience, if only on a smaller scale, what Muḥammad had experienced and frequently felt that they were the only Muslims who truly understood or followed him. Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 126–27, 130, argued for the exclusion of God from history but on the implied basis of a very different notion of God than is held by the Latter-day Saints.

¹⁴³Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 90.

¹⁴⁴Lawrence Foster, "In Defense of Fairness," *Mormon History Association Newsletter*, March 1985, 3.

¹⁴⁵Foster, "A Personal Odyssey," 97.

¹⁴⁶This is the objection lodged against Louis Midgley and David Bohn by Kent E. Robson, "Objectivity and History," *Dialogue* 19 (Winter 1986): 88.

¹⁴⁷Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 49; see also 27–28, 93.

¹⁴⁸Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 143–44, forbids history — by which he means, in our terms, history of the third paradigm — to recognize “plot,” “plan,” or meaning.

¹⁴⁹Edward Hart reminds us that any act of scholarship is an act of faith, for many reasons. See Hart, *God's Spies: The Scholar's Call* (Provo: BYU College of Humanities, 1983), Lecture One.

¹⁵⁰The credit for this important insight is due to A. Lester Allen; see his “Science and Theology: A Search for the Uncommon Denominator,” *BYU Studies* 29 (Summer 1989): 71–78. Some intriguing insights on just why eternal knowledge is inaccessible to finite mortals are presented in Robert P. Burton and Bruce F. Webster, “Some Thoughts on Higher-dimensional Realms,” *BYU Studies* 20 (Spring 1980): 281–96.

¹⁵¹Oakeshott, *Experience and Its Modes*, 152.

¹⁵²This is particularly pernicious in the realm of social history and, to the extent that all “New History” is basically social history, endemic to the entire field. On this point see Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*, 16–18.

¹⁵³Cited by Alexander, “Historiography and the New Mormon History,” 36. See Oakeshott's criticism of an analogous idea in *Experience and Its Modes*, 109–11.

¹⁵⁴Peter Novick, “Why the Old Mormon Historians Are More Objective Than the New” (Paper delivered at Sunstone Symposium, 26 August 1989), transcript.

¹⁵⁵See Novick, *That Noble Dream*; and Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old*. In 1925 Fredrick Teggart pointed out many factors external to the historian's assumptions which impose needless limitations and subjectivity on his inquiry. Among these factors are the neglect of relevant data due to the ignorance of a foreign language, the specious limitation of a field of inquiry to national borders, and so forth. He concluded that “the scientific study of man must take into consideration the facts that are available in regard to mankind without limitation in respect to time or place” (*Theory and Processes of History* [1925 and 1919; reprint, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977], 41). Good sociologist that he was (he founded the Department of Social Institutions at the University of California in 1919), his focus of history on men and their societies, not nations, is reminiscent of Toynbee's approach, and indeed inspired it.

¹⁵⁶Ricoeur, “Christianity and History,” 165.

¹⁵⁷Robert Morgan with John Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, Oxford Bible Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 181. See their entire discussion of “History and Hermeneutics” on pages 178–85.

¹⁵⁸Alexander, “Historiography and the New Mormon History,” 34, with excellent examples from history. He further indicated the danger of equating historical context with historical causation, or the genetic fallacy (34–36).

¹⁵⁹Clayton, “Does History Undermine Faith?” 33–40.

¹⁶⁰James B. Allen, “Line upon Line: Church History Reveals How the Lord Has Continually Added to His People's Knowledge and Understanding,” *Ensign* 9 (July 1979): 32–39.

¹⁶¹Morgan and Barton, *Biblical Interpretation*, 181.

¹⁶²Bushman, “Faithful History,” 16–25.

¹⁶³Ronald K. Esplin, “How Then Should We Write History? Another View,” *Sunstone* 7 (March–April 1982): 45; see also 41–44.

¹⁶⁴Reese, “‘Truth Is the Daughter of Time,’” 22.

¹⁶⁵LaCapra, “Rhetoric and History,” 15–44.

Nauvoo

Twilight on the water, and in the west the hallows
Of a newer England, where wisteria blooms
As suddenly as spring. Swallows rouse the sun
To the flickering of shadows, and an ending.
Joseph lay across the shadow of Ephraim and the fallow
Light of the river. Sorrow ranged in the whispering
Of townsmen who walked nearby to encumber the silence
Of death, to raise it in a memory of light far west
As the memory of sun. The temple stone was sun
In the glory of remembrance, when Michael came
In the fantasy of truth to remember Eden.
Eden was here, before the bright martyrdom,
When Joseph fell from a window in his suffering
And dying. Nauvoo is kept in silence
Now; the dismal streets fold into shadows,
Where memory disappears. But what remains
Is the western trail, where he will be taken
In the descendency of his older brother
To rise into the shadows of the sun, into the veils
Of tomorrow. Remember tomorrow, he might say,
As the stone reflects the permanence of belief.
The sun is later there, settling far west,
Remembering them, in the descendency of time,
In Nauvoo again, streets of legend once again,
And temples that reach further back in memory,
Into old belief made new again, in Zurich
And the East, in Germany and Palestine,
In Zion once again: Nauvoo.

— Clinton F. Larson

Book Reviews

S. GEORGE ELLSWORTH, ed. *The Journals of Addison Pratt*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990. xxiv; 632 pp. Illus., maps, index. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Bruce A. Van Orden, an assistant professor of Church history and doctrine, Brigham Young University.

The University of Utah Press has succeeded again with volume six of its Publications in Mormon Studies series. Series editor Linda King Newell is to be congratulated for further enriching the disciplines of Church history and sociology. Editor S. George Ellsworth continues in his retirement years to bring forward fruit from his lifelong research. Much of the credit for this volume must also go to the editor's wife, Maria S. Ellsworth, a partner with her husband on this research of her ancestor Addison Pratt.

Exciting contemporary history jumps from nearly every page: from the beginning of Pratt's memoirs — "having a natural aversion to snow and cold weather, at an early period of my life, I imbibed a strong inclination for a seafaring occupation" (4) — to one of his last entries before leaving French Polynesia in 1852 — "I now had an opportunity to look around the town of Pape ete and see the state of morrals that the French influence has wrought upon them . . . all drunk, almost without an exception, fighting, dancing and hooting, indulging in evry licentious conduct that can be imagined" (496).

As an instructor of "the international Church" at Brigham Young University, I knew I would be interested in Pratt's missionary adventures in the South Pacific, but what I didn't expect were the priceless additional treats I found. Addison's well-reasoned and descriptive entries please one's historical tastes in such areas as 1820s whaling expeditions, West Indies piracy, reasons for conversion to the Latter-day Saint Church in the 1830s, the Church's unflagging zeal to evangelize worldwide, both the rigors and paradise of life in the South Pacific, activities of the London Missionary Society, Church life among the "Brooklyn Saints" and

the Mormon Battalion boys in northern California in 1847–48, forging of a wagon road through the Sierra Nevadas in 1848, the dreadful winter of 1848–49 in the Salt Lake Valley, the nearly disastrous Jefferson Hunt expedition along the Old Spanish Trail in 1849–50, and the flora and fauna in both western America and French Polynesia.

This volume contains the complete memoirs and journals of Addison Pratt, supplemented by cogent entries of his wife Louisa and other relatives, plus informative and immensely rewarding essays by the editor dealing with the missing years of 1829–43 and 1852–72. George Ellsworth has also provided us with historically enlightening notes, the provenance of the documents, and thorough bibliographic data. Thus the book is large and its price may scare off a few interested readers. But anyone who invests the time and money will be amply repaid.

The book's most rewarding feature remains its theme of Pratt's missionary labors among the Polynesians of the Society Islands from 1843 to 1852. This was the first foreign-language mission in the Church. And Pratt's Tahitian-language school in Salt Lake City in 1848–49 was the Church's first language-training center for missionaries.

We discover in these pages a valiant warrior for Christ who time and again endured privation to preach and establish Church branches among the islanders he came to love. We read with wonder as Addison and his noble companion, Benjamin F. Grouard, exercised various gifts of the Spirit and reined in hundreds of converts in Tubuai, Tahiti, and Anaa (all in French Polynesia) to higher moral, ethical, and spiritual standards. We, who know the travails suffered by the institutional Church from 1843 to 1848, nevertheless groan with Pratt and Grouard as they wondered what could possibly have happened to their families and why the First Presidency and Apostles seemed to ignore them and their needs:

[A Mr. Krause] lookt down at my feet and saw my toes sticking out of my shoes, and the ground in my house covered with hay instead of a floor, and askt again "And does your society render you no assistance?" I answered, "No," and was ashamed to tell him that they had neglected to send me even a word of consolation, when there had been no less than half dozen ships here, direct from the place I saide from, where there is a branch of the church of near 150 members, whom had promised with all faithfulness to write us evry oppertunity, and not only they but evry friend in America, had shewn us the same kindness, for we have not received a word from any of them since we left there, which is now 2 long years. And I think Br. Hanks [a fellow missionary who died at sea] has made a happy escape

from this mortification. And were I not looking to a higher source than the hand of treacherous man for the rewards of my labours, cross and privations, I should have long ago died in the slough of despondency. (243–44)

We sympathize with Grouard when he, at long last, couldn't take it any more, and without Pratt's approbation, took himself a native wife. We admire Pratt's perseverance over five years in the islands before he finally decided to look for his family in America and Grouard's nine years total of sacrifice as a missionary before he left the islands because of persecution from the French Protectorate in 1852. Not to be neglected in our veneration are Pratt's wife and four daughters, who first went without their head of household and later accepted a mission call of their own to the islands, where, with their womanly touch, they established the first of the Church's educational programs in the South Pacific.

The book ends with a degree of sadness. Both Pratt and Grouard did not adjust well to nonmissionary life in the Church after 1852. Polygamy was a thorn in the side; so, too, were what they considered the near-dictatorial edicts of Brigham Young. Both men chose to settle in the Latter-day Saint outpost of San Bernardino, California, where they would not have to endure the fridity of Utah winters. Grouard left the Church outright when he was not allowed to run for political office without Church approval. Pratt refused to make the "Big Move" from San Bernardino to Utah as requested by authorities in 1857. He did not deny his testimony nor reject his membership, but his zeal, so evident in his Polynesian missions, did not persist while he lived out his life in the homes of various daughters in California until his death in 1872.

This immense epic tale, which pulls at our heartstrings and helps us understand much more of human nature, is required reading for any historian and connoisseur of the worldwide missionary outreach of the Latter-day Saints.

C. WILFRED GRIGGS. *Early Egyptian Christianity: From Its Origins to 451 C.E.* New York: E. J. Brill, 1990. vii, 276 pp. Bibliography, index. \$70.00.

Reviewed by Keith E. Norman, who earned his Ph.D. from Duke University in early Christian studies.

Wilfred Griggs, a long-time Brigham Young University faculty member, has established his credentials among the world's leading Coptic scholars with the publication of *Early Egyptian Christianity*, a thoroughly researched and carefully argued study of the historical development of formative Christianity in one of its most important but largely neglected areas. Although he perhaps promises more than he delivers, the book will be welcomed as the most up-to-date and comprehensive volume on the subject by scholars and students of the early church who are interested in more than just the genesis of orthodox Catholicism.

Griggs's major thesis, that "early Egyptian Christians were not bound by a centralized ecclesiastical organization nor did they have a stringent and well-developed doctrinal position" (vi) is not a revolutionary one, since the startling diversity of doctrine among early Christians was posited half a century earlier by Walter Bauer in his pathbreaking *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*. However, because Bauer looked at a much broader area than just Egypt and because numerous manuscripts have been discovered and scholarly studies written since then, Griggs's development of this thesis is much deeper as well as more extensive in time. Griggs portrays and develops the tension between various Christian groups, which culminated in the separation of the Coptic Church from Catholic Christianity following the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

Griggs's audience seems to be primarily a scholarly one, as evidenced by the steep price, de rigueur with this prestigious publisher of scholarly tomes, as well as by the plethora of footnotes (up to 371 per chapter!), and by Griggs's usual (though not consistent) practice of quoting manuscripts and scholarly studies in the footnotes in their original language, without translating them into English. If you are fluent in Greek, Latin, and Coptic and have a smattering of French and German, you should feel quite at home here. Fortunately for those of us who may be a little linguistically rusty, Griggs does translate source citations in the text proper, and he takes pains to write clearly and largely jargon-free, providing explanations of technical terms as they are needed. Although previous familiarity with the names and issues in the early centuries of Christianity helps, it is not essential for understanding the book.

The Latter-day Saint reader, used to the polemics of a Talmage or a Nibley on the topic of post–New Testament Christianity, will be both intrigued and challenged by *Early Egyptian Christianity*. Griggs’s account usually avoids sectarian polemic, and few — other than sharp-eyed Latter-day Saints — will suspect a hidden agenda. Note, for instance, that he avoids the temptation to Mormonize the term *presbyterate* (61) into *elders* (or, worse yet, *elders quorum*). Not surprisingly, however, he does tend to the conservative end of the Biblical scholar spectrum, although this tendency is usually kept low-key. Pronouns referring to Jesus are capitalized (3); accounts widely questioned by more liberal scholars, such as the great commission to do missionary work or the manifestations at Pentecost, are assumed to be historical (4, 15); and Griggs protests that the “lack of evidence supporting [Herod’s slaughter of the innocents] does not by itself invalidate Matthew’s historical credibility” (35 n. 2). Scriptural literalists need not fear that their faith will be shaken. At other times, Griggs seems to want to straddle both camps without taking a stand on controversial issues. In a cautiously worded explanation, he concedes that the modern trend in scholarship is away from accepting the historicity of Acts (9 n. 6; see especially 13) and that the development of Old Testament themes in the New Testament generally leads scholars to doubt the accuracy of the historical narratives in the latter (35 n. 1). The aloof tone distances him from this fray.

Nevertheless, the book is not about the New Testament per se, and when he gets beyond its confines, Griggs is free to be more critical and creative with respect to traditional interpretations. He is openly skeptical of post–New Testament traditions (20, 35 n. 5). His point that the effort to distinguish orthodoxy from heresy in early Egyptian Christianity is anachronistic follows Bauer’s lead, but Griggs expands the field of sectaries, arguing that Bauer overemphasized Gnosticism (32–33). Not only is there no contemporary evidence for a struggle against the early “so-called heretics” (a term overused here by Griggs [46]), but Griggs contends that the charges against such early Egyptian heresiarchs as Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentinus were largely unfounded and depend on the corrupted teachings and morals of their later disciples (47ff.).

Apparently Griggs, along with several other Latter-day Saint students of early Christian history, sees the Gnostics as preservers of the last remnants of some of the authentic traditions and teachings lost by Catholic/ecclesiastical Christianity. Valentinus, who almost became a Bishop of Rome in the third century, was charged with adding new revelation (53), whereas western Christianity had

already rejected continuing revelation, preferring to philosophize the scriptures (55). Griggs translates *ten teleian gnosis* as “the perfect knowledge [literally correct], or the gnosis accompanied by ritual” (53). Such phraseology seems calculated to raise temple associations in the minds of members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but Griggs does not support this interpretation from context or from similar usage elsewhere. (Compare the temple motifs in monastic visions on page 200).

Later, discussing the Manichees, Melitians, Arians, monks, and rival archbishops from cities outside Egypt, Griggs gives a generally balanced account of the labyrinthine twists and turns of Alexandrian ecclesiastical politics and controversies. However, the details are not very flattering to the orthodox tradition, and Griggs’s sympathies for its rivals are not difficult to detect. Despite the skillful campaign of Athanasius, the long-term fourth-century bishop of Alexandria, to co-opt monasticism, Griggs properly cites that ascetic movement as evidence of the church’s inadequacy and thus presents monasticism as a challenge to the ecclesiastical establishment (106). One point of controversy was the language and theological assumptions of the Nicene Creed, which Athanasius championed but which the monks tended to see as “at variance with literal doctrines of the Bible” (146). Griggs is clearly on the side of the dissenters, pointing out that Athanasius was attempting to eradicate old traditions, not an innovative heresy (174). We are reminded that heretical movements are usually conservative and reactionary, a fact equally true in Latter-day Saint history.

Of course, the foremost opponents of Nicaea were the Arians, who rejected the formula that the Son was of the same substance (*homoousios*) as the Father, i.e., both were fully God. Arian subordinationism has found considerable sympathy among Latter-day Saint students, but Griggs rightly points out that the theological difference between Athanasius and the Arians was less than is generally assumed (146). Both started from the philosophically determined conception of God as infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, having nothing substantial in common with humanity. Arian doctrine was *not* an early version of Latter-day Saint Church doctrine.

The author’s caution and balance is generally refreshing, as when he avoids the common pitfall of turning initial hypotheses into later assumptions (see especially 178). However, I was a little disappointed by the cursory treatment of the formation of the Coptic Church as a separate entity. A more thorough development of this topic would have rounded out things nicely, even though it would have taken Griggs slightly beyond 451 A.D., the year of the Council of Chalcedon. (He wasn’t very strict about this end point, anyway).

Likewise, the coverage of the theological and political rivalries of the Alexandrian bishopric with its counterparts in non-Egyptian sees in chapter 6 strikes one as less germane to the stated intent of the book; the subject has certainly been adequately treated elsewhere.

At times, the editing seemed a little haphazard. At first, Griggs uses the verb form *proselytizing* (3) but reverts to *proselyting* in the very next paragraph (4; see 19 and others). Footnotes are not always treated systematically, as when, on page 222 note 137, J. N. D. Kelly's *Early Christian Doctrines* is given with full bibliographic information, despite being cited numerous times earlier in the text, even in the same chapter.

But these are minor quibbles that by no means detract from the value of the book. It is a solid achievement, impressive both for its scholarship and for its readability. I think Latter-day Saint readers will be particularly intrigued by the muddled dynamic between the established orthodoxy, which paradoxically seemed always to be shifting ground, and the dissenting traditionalists who are calling for a return to the good old days but are portrayed as radical innovators by their opponents. Although Griggs never explicitly suggests the parallel, the controversy between The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its various "orthodox" Christian detractors has many points of contact with his subject. Anyone who claims to be an informed Christian and any student of religious history will profit from acquaintance with Griggs's work.

MARGARET and PAUL TOSCANO. *Strangers in Paradox: Explorations in Mormon Theology*. Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990. xiii, 301 pp. Bibliography. \$12.95.

Reviewed by Richard D. Poll, professor emeritus of history, Western Illinois University.

Strangers in Paradox is a stimulating and sometimes aggravating book. Its chapters, divided among five parts, are interrelated essays about deity and humanity; the first two essays are introductory, the next seventeen cumulative, and the last four supplementary. Its authors, a wife-husband team, are specialists in the humanities, Hebrew, and law and are knowledgeable about the popular “alternate voices” in the *Sunstone* sphere of contemporary Mormonism. The Toscanos modestly affirm that “this is not a systematic theology, nor is it reflective of mainstream Mormon thought” (xi). They successfully accomplish their goal “to be clear and thought-provoking without being strident or dogmatic” (xi). Among the many provocative ideas in what critics may dismiss as simply a brief for giving women the priesthood is this: “Because godhood is the highest and final dimension of priesthood and because godhood is male and female, it follows that priesthood must be male and female as well” (152).

The intriguing title derives from Joseph Smith’s 1844 assertion that “by proving contraries, truth is made manifest” (1, citing *History of the Church* 6:428). Accepting a definition of paradox as a statement that seems contradictory but may be true in fact, the Toscanos have written a book to show that “by examining various, even contrary views, new truths may be revealed” (1). Many of the contraries discussed in the book do not qualify semantically as paradoxes, being propositions in conflict (salvation is by grace, not works) rather than internally contradictory propositions (Jesus is God and man). With some exceptions, the authors’ method is to transform “either/or” conflicts between religious ideas into “both/and” amalgams: “It is not in the elimination of extremes that life comes forth, but in their tension and balance, where contraries come into accord” (248). Readers will differ on the plausibility of the results, but they are frequently reminded that individual freedom, one of the book’s central themes, gives them that right. The Toscanos speak only for themselves, and they “reserve the right to change [their] minds, even on fundamentals” (15).

Part 1, “First Principles,” presents three ideological “cornerstones” and seven methodological “keystones.” The keystones

explicate the third cornerstone, which states that “the mythical approach to understanding religious ideas is as useful and valuable as the historical method” (9). This cornerstone leads the Toscanos to concentrate on religious texts, symbols, and rituals, seeking present relevance and value without worrying about historicity and objectivity questions. Belief-structures that have commanded the allegiance of others are entitled to respect while at the same time a person should recognize that their meaning has varied among cultures and over time and that God’s is only one of the voices speaking through them. God’s voice is to be sought, however, through “the lens of a sacral world view” (31). If one focuses on “the transcendent, the supernatural, and the symbolic meaning of events,” then texts, symbols, and rituals “can serve as a conduit for actual spiritual power and as a means of revealing heavenly patterns” (21–23).

The two cornerstones that support the Toscanos’ theological structure are “The Paradox of Jesus: God and Man — Male and Female” and “The Paradox of Male and Female.” Their fundamental assumptions are that “Jesus Christ is God” and “the sexes [are] necessary opposites of . . . equal value” (5, 7). Most of the book seeks to relate these two ideas to each other and to the doctrines and practices of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, past, present, and future. In this effort, Joseph Smith, the scriptures that he produced, and many of the doctrines of traditional Church theology are used. The hierarchical, bureaucratic, and pragmatic elements of today’s Church are seen as impediments to the actualization of the gospel of Christ in the lives of individuals and the realization of the vision of Zion.

Part 2, “Godhead,” tackles the apparent contradictions in concepts like anthropomorphism, omnipotence, and eternity with intriguing results. In the heavens are God the Father and God the Mother, parents of spirit offspring. Two of their sons, Michael and Lucifer, came before them with plans for the temporal, embodying phase of their children’s eternal existence. Michael’s view prevailed, and he became the first man, Adam. To make the necessary choices and become the mother of all living, God the Mother became Eve. Later, to overcome death and make exaltation possible, God the Father became Jesus.

Joseph Smith declared the paradox of time and eternity. Orthodoxy and, to some extent, traditional Mormonism have attempted to deny or ignore one or the other element of this paradox. But we cannot do this without denying a part of ourselves. Jesus could not do this. Eve could not do this. They could not deny time, or flesh, or the potential for evil. Instead, they reaffirmed these realities by showing us that the

divine kingdom is a realm of spirit and element, flesh and glory, light and darkness, good and evil, pleasure and pain, life and death. It is a kingdom in which time and eternity are espoused. And for the preservation of this kingdom, these deities laid aside their glory and godhood; each journeyed into an appointed garden, unprotected, to wrestle with pain, humiliation, and death. Eve went to Eden and her tree like a bride to the bridegroom. Christ went to Gethsemane and his cross like a bridegroom to the bride. And in them, the intersection of the cosmos, the source and repose of paradox, the marriage of time and eternity was consummated. (104)

Part 3, “Redemption,” argues uncompromisingly for salvation by grace, condemning the contemporary Church’s emphasis on good works, especially those performed by assignment. Although other parts of the book assign importance to good works, particularly ordinances, salvation is described as an unearned, sometimes even unsought, infusion of the the Holy Spirit that transforms life: “We are not here to avoid pain and impurity but to bring good out of evil while immersed in all the manifold convolutions of a temporal world” (112–13).

The seven chapters on “Priesthood” (part 4) describe two aspects of priesthood — power and ordination. The authors draw on scripture, particularly the Book of Mormon, and on the history of religions to show that the power to act for God has not been limited to a single sex or a single institution. In the rituals and ordinances of the Nauvoo period, Joseph Smith initiated both women and men into the “fulness of the priesthood,” which he associated with the prophet Elijah, and the temple ceremonies still incorporate the concept of a kingdom of priests and priestesses. The Toscanos argue that the church must use the spiritual and intellectual powers of women on terms of equality with men to fulfill its mission: “We can see a parliament of prophets and prophetesses, where member-representatives of local congregations meet with general authorities to work out the policies and practices of a church governed by spiritual gifts and characterized by community and consent” (219).

Explorations of the spiritual significance of plural marriage, the veils that women wear in the temple, and the endowment itself conclude the book. The authors show how veils of various kinds have been used for religious purposes, sometimes to emphasize holiness, and they invite people who are uncomfortable with this feature of temple attire to see the veil as “a paradoxical symbol evoking both positive and negative associations” (267).

The writers are almost always clear; they have impressive imaginations and analytic powers; they draw on a wide range of

sacred and secular literature; they occasionally repeat their arguments; their rhetoric frequently achieves overkill. Their approach to the scriptures suggests Bruce R. McConkie: take the scriptures literally but interpret them freely. Their approach to feminist religious studies suggests Hugh Nibley: marshal related examples and suggest that they constitute proof or disproof.

Strangers in Paradox is definitely not old wine in a new bottle. It should be of considerable interest to students of Latter-day Saint theology. Some of them may be turned off by it, some may find browsing sufficient, some may argue with it, and many may derive new insights from it. It is unlikely that anyone will agree with everything. Indeed, in the time since the book was written even the Toscanos may have changed their minds.

Nancy Wiest Nay: Calligrapher

D. R. Dant

Nancy has a beautiful calligraphic style. The lines of her work are so clean — that is the beauty. She has a natural gift for calligraphy, an eye that lets her visualize things and know just what to do with them.

— Liz Margetts, President of Utah Calligraphic Artists

“Calligraphers love the written word,” says Nancy W. Nay, the Latter-day Saint artist featured on this issue’s cover. “The most satisfying aspect of my work is finding passages of words that move me in some way and then interpreting them calligraphically.”

Nancy views calligraphy as a contemporary art form that lends itself naturally to the disciplines of graphic design and the book arts, but she firmly believes that it also stands on its own merits as a fine art. She enjoys working within each of these diverse areas, noting that, for her, the design process remains essentially the same regardless of the calligraphic application. Nancy believes the scope of her work includes but extends far beyond the formation of letters; in approaching a piece, she considers aspects such as color, texture, alphabet, size, and weight in an effort to interpret visually what she feels the words she is working with are trying to communicate. In addition, she always tries to interject contrast of some kind to create visual impact within selected elements of a given piece.

Nancy was fortunate in being raised in Portland, Oregon, which in the 1960s and 1970s enjoyed a renaissance in calligraphy. Thus she was exposed to good calligraphy early on and was able to start her training in junior high school. Over the last twenty years, she has studied with several well-known calligraphers, artists such as Sheila Waters, Jacqueline Svaren, Gunnlaugur SE Briem, and David Mekelburg. She has taught workshops and exhibited with Utah Calligraphic Artists. Nancy currently pursues a dual career — teaching calligraphy at Brigham Young University and being a wife and mother.

*And now, it has hitherto been
wisdom in God that these
things should be preserved; for behold,
they enlarged the memory of
this people...*

Alma 37:8