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Fig. 1. Pinnacles on the Salt Lake Temple are among the symbols representing aspects of the priesthood. Sources disagree on the nature of the ornament capping the pinnacles, which may be a torch representing the Holy Ghost or may be acanthus leaves similar to those found on Corinthian capitals.
Exterior Symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple: Reflecting the Faith That Called the Place into Being

Exterior stonework on the Great Temple masterfully represents the Latter-day Saint understanding of the universe, time, the priesthood, and Jesus Christ and his gospel.

Richard G. Oman
with photographs by John P. Snyder

Shortly after World War II, a survivor of the Nazi concentration camps wrote a book called Man’s Search for Meaning.¹ This title captures one of humanity’s deepest yearnings. Temples answer some of the most important aspects of that search for Latter-day Saints; many of those answers are expressed visually on the exterior of the Salt Lake Temple. This paper represents my personal reflections on the visual symbolism of this temple as informed by the scriptures, the LDS historical record, and statements from General Authorities.²

Interpretative Framework

Because the temple is a place sacred to the Latter-day Saints, it must be studied within the framework of the tradition of faith that called that place into being. When scholars see sacred places and traditions through the lens of modern secularism, they usually deceive themselves regarding those institutions: “Examine the institutions of the ancients without thinking of their religious notions, and you find them obscure, whimsical, and inexplicable.”³ Such scholars miss the spirit that drives and animates. Their work would be like studying Joseph Smith as simply a collection of chemical compounds—interesting chemistry perhaps but not a very useful way to study Joseph Smith’s contributions to religious thought and history.
Therefore, I have done my best to see the Salt Lake Temple with the "eye of faith" (Ether 12:19) and to describe the meaning of the temple exterior from within the Latter-day Saint tradition. Nevertheless, this exposition is in no way an official statement of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, nor am I claiming completeness.

Symbolism in Relationships

Attempting to analyze the exterior of the temple led me through a series of challenges. I first tried to create a simple equation list; sunstones equal this, starstones equal that. It was like reading a dictionary instead of Shakespeare. I discovered that it was the relationships between the symbols that contained much of the iconographical meaning. Like most complex symbolic creations, the temple has multiple layers of meaning (figs. 1, 2). This layering and connectedness of meanings forced me to broaden my interpretive framework as I tried to make sense of the complexities of the symbolic relationships. The temple exterior must be taken as a series of wholes for its iconographical messages to be understood.

A symbol can function in one set of relationships and mean one thing. In another set of relationships, it can have another meaning. For example, the symbol of the moon, which repeatedly appears on the temple, was usually associated during Renaissance and Counterreformation Catholicism with the Virgin Mary. For much of the Moslem world, the moon symbolizes Islam. One of the symbolic uses of the moon in LDS scriptures is to delineate a degree of heavenly reward (1 Cor. 15:41; D&C 76:71, 97). On the temple, the moon symbol has yet other, multiple, religious meanings because it functions in different relationships of symbols. And because it and other temple exterior symbols derive meaning from more than one group of relationships, they must be discussed in more than one context.

Ignoring relationships, then, would trivialize and sometimes even eliminate rich spiritual meanings. In fact the word symbol comes from the Greek noun, symbolon derived from the verb, symballein, which means to bring together, to collect or compare. Visible forms are gathered, collected, and compared to demonstrate or represent things not readily available to the senses. . . . Symbols form
Fig. 2. The exterior symbolism of the temple has multiple levels of meanings.
bridges between the material experiences of the senses and that which lies or reaches beyond. . . Religious symbols express a divine or heavenly reality through things taken from the created world. They possess a profound capacity to reveal the meaning of something that outstrips our capacity to frame neatly in words.10

Symbolism of Guardedness

Some may see symbols, with their veiled meanings, as exclusionary. And, indeed some are. The Lord says, “For it is not meet that the things which belong to the children of the kingdom should be given to them that are not worthy” (D&C 41:6; see also Matt. 7:6; 3 Ne. 14:6). Many symbols relating to the temple, both physical and functional, communicate that the teachings and rituals of the temple are guarded and exclusive. The very architecture and physical orientation of the temple express this aspect. For example, narrow doorways and solid granite walls up to sixteen feet thick crowned with battlements and crenellated towers (fig. 3) manifest protectiveness toward the sacred functions that take place within the building.

The space of Temple Square is set off from the bustle of a busy city by a high wall and iron gates (fig. 4). The temple itself faces away from the main pedestrian traffic on Temple Square. The south side of the temple is set apart by thick plantings, an iron fence, and a dry moat (figs. 3, 7). Other sides have high retaining walls and iron fences. Access to the temple is through yet another layer of physical and visual sentinels. To enter, the worshiper must go through nonpublic spaces and past guards. Entry is permitted upon presentation of a temple recommend.11 The temple is “the place in the kingdom most differentiated and excluded from a secular society.”12

Symbolism Representing the Priesthood

In the early years of temple construction, Brigham told the Saints that this was to be a temple for the priesthood: “We have often told you that we want to build a Temple, but not for convening promiscuous congregations. I inform you, long before you see the walls reared and the building completed, that it will be for the
Fig. 3. The thick walls, battlements, crenellated towers, thick plantings, and iron fence manifest protectiveness toward the sacred functions of the temple.
purposes of the Priesthood, and not for meetings of the people: we shall not hold public meetings in it.”¹³ Unlike the Kirtland or Nauvoo Temples, which regularly functioned as large meeting halls for the Saints, the Salt Lake Temple would be “for the endowments— for the organization and instruction of the Priesthood.”¹⁴

**The Big Dipper.** Many elements on the exterior of this temple reflect that priesthood orientation. On the face of the west central tower, the Ursa Major (the Big Dipper) is depicted pointing upward to the heavens and the North Star. Truman O. Angell, the temple architect, said that the Big Dipper was to remind the Saints that the lost may find their way by the aid of the priesthood (fig. 5).¹⁵

**The Towers.** The structure and organization of the various priesthood quorums is also expressed by the exterior of the temple. William Ward,¹⁶ an associate architect with Truman Angell, recounts a visit from Brigham Young to the architect's office at the inception of the design phase of the temple. While there, Brigham Young drew a sketch on a slate and described it as follows:

> There will be three towers on the east, representing the President and his two Counselors; also three similar towers on the west representing the Presiding Bishop and his two Counselors; the towers on the east the Melchisedek priesthood, those on the west the Aaronic priesthood [sic]. The center towers will be higher than those on the sides, and the west towers a little lower than those on the east end.¹⁷

The drawing was basically a simple rectangle with three circles at each end.
During general conference on the day that the temple cornerstone was laid, Brigham Young explained where he obtained the basic idea of what the temple should look like:

Five years ago last July I was here, and saw in the Spirit the Temple not ten feet from where we have laid the Chief Corner Stone. I have not inquired what kind of a Temple we should build. Why? Because it was represented before me. I have never looked upon that ground, but the vision of it was there. I see it as plainly as if it was in reality before me. . . . It will have six towers, to begin with, instead of one. Now do not any of you apostatize because it will have six towers, and Joseph only built one. It is easier for us to build sixteen, than it was for him to build one.\textsuperscript{18}

Brigham Young knew that the Salt Lake Temple would be a visual departure from the single-towered Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples. However, the use of multiple towers at opposite ends of the temple representing the Melchizedek and Aaronic Priesthoods and their presiding officers (fig. 6) had an interior architectural precedent in the Kirtland Temple. In this temple, the main meeting rooms had three tiers of three pulpits at each end (the fourth and lowest level was designed with a drop-leaf sacrament table rather than a breastwork of pulpits). One set of pulpits was for the presiding officers of the Aaronic Priesthood, and the other for those of the Melchizedek Priesthood.\textsuperscript{19} Part of Brigham Young's inspired architectural genius was to make the symbolism of tiered pulpits externally visible in the form of the three multilevel towers at each end of the Salt Lake Temple.\textsuperscript{20} This design reinforced President Young's statement about the Salt Lake Temple being for priesthood purposes rather than for public meetings.
This priesthood tower symbolism has continued beyond the Salt Lake Temple. A highly simplified form of contrasting priesthood towers is expressed on the Manti and Logan Temples. More recently, the priesthood iconography of six towers has been utilized in the design of such temples as those in Boise, Frankfort, Johannesburg, Lima, Portland, San Diego, Santiago, Stockholm, Taipei, and Washington, D.C.

**The Cornerstones.** The temple symbolically communicates the order of organization and priesthood authority as evidenced in the April 6, 1853, ceremony of the laying of the temple cornerstones. The southeast cornerstone was the first one placed and thus became the chief cornerstone, another name for Christ. Thus Christ and his plan of salvation become the symbolic foundation of the temple. The metaphor of the construction of the temple as an expression of the organization of the Church goes back to the New Testament:

> Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellowcitizens with the saints, and of the household of God; And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone; In whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord. (Eph. 2:19–21)

Aware that starting from the southeast corner was a departure from the world's norm of starting at the northeast corner, Brigham explained that "we commence by laying the stone on the south-east corner, because there is the most light."21 "Light" may be another reference to Jesus Christ, who declared, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life" (John 8:12). Furthermore, "the glory of God is intelligence, or, in other words, light and truth" (D&C 93:36). Since much of the teaching in the temple is about God and his plan for us, associating light with truth and intelligence works well with temple symbolism.

Brigham used the cornerstone-laying ceremony to teach the assembled Saints about the order of the priesthood. The laying of the four cornerstones in the foundation was done in a clockwise direction. The first cornerstone was laid by the First Presidency and three members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles because Apostles hold the keys of the priesthood: "Now recollect that the
Fig. 6. The six towers, the higher ones on the east representing the Melchizedek Priesthood and the lower ones on the west the Aaronic Priesthood, were a departure from the single-towered Kirtland and Nauvoo Temples.

High Priesthood, and the Lesser Priesthood, and all the Priesthood there is, are combined, centered in, composed of, and circumscribed by, the Apostleship. The authority of an Apostle was the foundation of the governing authority:

I speak thus to show you the order of the Priesthood. We will now commence with the Apostleship, where Joseph commenced. Joseph was ordained an Apostle. . . . After he was ordained to this office, then he had the right to organize and build up the kingdom of God, for he had committed unto him the keys of the Priesthood, which is after the order of Melchisedec—the High Priesthood, which is after the order of the Son of God.

The previous nine years had seen some confusion among the Saints concerning the succession of Church leadership. The cornerstone-laying ceremony and the strong priesthood symbolism of the exterior of the temple provided a spiritual and intellectual articulation of the legitimacy of the governing foundation of the Church and of the succession of Church leadership through Brigham
Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Men such as James Strang, William Smith, Sidney Rigdon, David Whitmer, and Lyman Wight, none of whom had the support of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, had unsuccessfully made their claim to lead the Church. The Salt Lake Temple, with its foundation symbolically resting on the Apostles and prophets, helped to solidify the Church pattern that, on the death of the President of the Church, the First Presidency is dissolved and leadership of the Church reverts to the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. This relationship between Church governance, the Twelve Apostles, and the First Presidency is symbolized on the exterior of the Salt Lake Temple.

The Melchizedek Priesthood is symbolized by the east end of the temple. But, Brigham Young declared, “the Aaronic Priesthood belongs in the West; consequently the Presiding Bishop laid the second stone.” The third, or northwest cornerstone, was laid by the high priests and elders. With the Twelve laying the fourth, or northeast cornerstone, the priesthood leadership again returned to the Apostleship, which “circumscribes every other Priesthood, for it is the Priesthood of Melchisedec, which is after the order of the Son of God. . . . The Lesser Priesthood then, you perceive, comes within the purview of the Apostleship. . . . the beginning and the end, the height, depth, length, and breadth of all that is, that was, and ever can be to all eternity.” Brigham also informed the Saints in the conference, “This is the order of the Priesthood, brethren. . . . I have endeavored to carry it out before you, that you all might know hereafter, what is the true order, as far as it can be exhibited in the laying of Corner Stones.”

Governing councils of the Church are expressed in the design of the towers. The spires of the towers represent the governing councils such as the First Presidency and the Presiding Bishopric. The twelve pinnacles on each tower represent other councils such as the Twelve Apostles and the twelve members of stake high councils.

The East and West Sides. The use of cornerstone location to symbolize priesthood order communicated two messages. The special witnesses of Jesus Christ and the two leading governing councils of the Church were associated with the east face of the temple, thereby reinforcing the primacy of the east. The west end is associated with the Aaronic, or lesser, Priesthood. As we look at
the completed eastern and western towers today, subtle differences reinforce this priesthood symbolism. The east towers are six feet taller than the corresponding west towers. This difference in height is more than a statement of organizational hierarchy. It also relates to the increased knowledge and responsibilities associated with the Melchizedek Priesthood.

In addition, there are five windows on the external walls of the east towers, but only four windows on those same walls of the west towers (fig. 7). Originally the same number of windows was planned for each corner tower, with the west towers having an oval window in the top story to compensate for that story's lower height. When the walls reached the level to put in the top windows, Truman Angell decided to eliminate the top window in the western towers. He explained to President John Taylor the reasons for this change:

The original design was to represent the greater priesthood with the east end, and the lesser with the west end, therefore the difference in height. With more mature reflection it was observed that the lesser priesthood depended entirely upon the greater, and it would be more strikingly typical with the windows left out, especially as their only object was for exterior appearance.²⁶

Fig. 7. The tower on the east (right) has five windows; the tower on the west has only four.
Several other elements distinguish the east and west towers from each other. The west towers do not have a dedicatory plaque. This plaque identifies the building, briefly sketches out its history and maker, and lists the owner. It also clearly indicates that the almost symmetrical temple faces east.

The original design called for each center tower to have an angel weather vane similar to one that had been on the Nauvoo Temple (fig. 8). By the time the Salt Lake Temple neared completion, however, weather vanes had gone out of style, and monumental figurative sculpture had taken its place on major public buildings. When the temple was finally complete, a large sculpture of an angel was placed only on the tower at the east end.

Another element demarcating the difference between the east and west towers is the use of starstones. The starstones are placed in a row just under the first level of the battlements on the east towers. The center east tower has four stars on each side (fig. 9) while the two other east towers have three stars per side for a total of forty stars, a scripturally propitious number. The west towers have no row of stars under their battlements.

The stars make a fine allusion to the higher spiritual ordinances, revelatory responsibilities, and presiding position of the Melchizedek Priesthood. In the Pearl of Great Price, the Lord draws a parallel between priesthood governance and the governance of heavenly bodies. The prophet Abraham said, “And I saw the stars, that they were very great, and that one of them was nearest unto the throne of God; and there were many great ones which were near unto it; And the Lord said unto me: These are the governing

Fig. 8. Originally, the plan for the Salt Lake Temple called for an angel weather vane, similar to the one on the Nauvoo Temple, to top each central spire. 1887.
ones" (Abr. 3:2–3). The absence of stars on the west towers reinforces the fact that the Aaronic Priesthood is not a governing priesthood and cannot administer most of the ordinances of exaltation.

Stars are also symbolic of God's children in the heavens (Job 38:7; Isa. 14:12–14; Rev. 12:4; D&C 29:36; Abr. 3:22–24). The preeminent spirits in the premortal existence are referred to as morning stars; these were “the noble and great ones,” those who served valiantly and who were “chosen” before they were born to perform mighty works here in mortality.29 Wilford Woodruff made this comment about preearthly callings for spiritual leadership on the earth:

In every dispensation the Lord has had those who were fore-ordained to do a certain work. We all dwelt in the presence of God before we came here, and such men as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the ancient Prophets, Jesus and the Apostles received their appointments before the world was made. They were ordained before the foundation of the world to come and tabernacle here in the flesh and to work for the cause of God, and this because of their faith and faithfulness.30

Fig. 9. Starstones under the first level of battlements on the east central tower.
The prophet Daniel refers to the valiant spiritual leaders as stars: "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. 12:3). Lehi received a vision of the future in which he saw the coming of Christ and the Twelve. He compares the brightness of the one to the sun and the other twelve to the stars (1 Ne. 1:9-10). The depiction of stars below the battlements of the Melchizedek priesthood towers would seem to reinforce the connection between leaders of the Church and divine callings.

The complete name of the Melchizedek Priesthood is "the Holy Priesthood, after the Order of the Son of God" (D&C 107:3). What better technique to emphasize this priesthood than to focus on the birthday of the one after whom the priesthood is named? Because LDS scripture suggests that Christ may have been born on April 6,31 two moonstones depicting the moon's phases in early April appear on the east central tower (fig. 10).

At the opposite end of the temple, the moon phase of early October is found on the buttresses of the west center tower.32 We know from the New Testament that John the Baptist was born six months before Jesus (Luke 1:36). John the Baptist holds the keys of the Aaronic Priesthood and returned to the earth as a resurrected being to confer this priesthood on the head of Joseph Smith on May 15, 1829 (D&C 27:7-8; 13:1). What better personage to represent the Aaronic Priesthood than John the Baptist, who brought it back to the earth? How better to integrate him into the exterior symbolism of the temple than to commemorate his birthday?

In summary, priesthood order appears to be expressed on the temple in the following ways. The towers represent the Melchizedek Priesthood on the east and the Aaronic Priesthood on the west. The position of the towers and their heights reinforce this distinction. In the laying of the cornerstones, Brigham Young spells out the order of the priesthood. The spires represent the governing councils of the Church with the First Presidency on the east and the Presiding Bishopric on the west. The pinnacles on the corners on the east towers represent the Apostles. The stars emphasize the leadership and the ordinances that come through the Melchizedek Priesthood and the guidance of the presiding officers of the Church. The sequence of the moonstones reinforce the Melchizedek Priesthood on the east and the Aaronic Priesthood on the west.
Fig. 10. “Buttress Blocks Commencing with Course M2 Representing the Moon in All Its Phases. During the Year 1878.” This diagram specifies that the moon phases for March, April, and May appear on the east towers and the phases for September, October, and November on the west. It calls for thirteen new and first quarter moons and twelve full and last quarter moons.

Priesthood symbolism is only one of several iconographical programs on the temple exterior. Several of these same images appear in other configurations to imply quite different messages. This layering of symbolic meaning is one of the glories of the temple.

Space

Most of the symbols on the temple are heavenly bodies. This emphasis is not coincidental—Truman Angell pointed out that “the whole structure is designed to symbolize some of the great architectural work above.”33 Hugh Nibley makes this link between the cosmos and the temple: “A temple, good or bad, is a scale-model of the universe.”34 According to the great religious scholar Mircea Eliade,
such patterning is an ancient religious concept.\textsuperscript{35} The ultimate pattern is God himself: “Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect” (Matt. 5:48). Being the most expansive of the Lord’s creations, the heavens are a visual metaphor for the Lord. Orson F. Whitney of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles said, “Do I err, then, in believing that the universe is built upon symbols, to the end that it may bear record of its all-wise Architect and Builder? God teaches with symbols; it is his favorite method of teaching. The Savior often used them.”\textsuperscript{36}

The heavens testify of the reality of God.\textsuperscript{37} In the Book of Mormon, Korihor, the antichrist, challenges Alma to show him a sign that there is a God. Alma replies, “All things denote there is a God; yea, even the earth, . . . and its motion, yea, and also all the planets which move in their regular form do witness that there is a Supreme Creator” (Alma 30:44). The Lord tells us that the Spirit of Christ is in and through all things (D&C 88:7–13).

The temple’s symbolic heavenly bodies testify of the Lord’s existence by orienting us toward the order and vastness of his heavenly creations. Some of the symbolic stones on the temple accomplish this task by literally moving our vision from the earth toward the heavens. At the base of the temple are huge cut stones with a square, raised pattern surrounding a convex circle (fig. 11). These are the earthstones. Above them are the moonstones, then the sunstones, and finally the starstones on the east towers\textsuperscript{38} and the Ursa Major figure on the west central tower. The Ursa Major is itself pointing directly into the heavens to the approximate location of the actual North Star.

The iconography of the temple exterior moves the viewer to a heavenly referent (fig. 12) to teach us that the Lord’s ways are on a different plane. We are told, “For my thoughts [are] not your
Fig. 12. The temple exterior moves the viewer to a heavenly referent.
thoughts, neither [are] your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For [as] the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts” (Isa. 55:8–9). Here the Lord uses the heavens as a referent for his wisdom, righteousness, and actions.

When we gaze into the heavens, we see the vastness, brilliance, and ordered movements of the heavenly bodies created by the Lord. These three elements of the heavens—vastness, brilliance, and order—give us a glimpse of the Lord, for the Lord reveals much of himself through his majestic creations. His power and glory give them light and order. As a metaphor, the heavens teach us much about Christ, the “bright and morning star” (Rev. 22:16).

Just as the heavens testify of their creator, so do their symbols on the temple. Our understanding of the Lord is increased when we both see and begin to apprehend the spiritual component of the heavens. Building on this comprehension, the temple’s symbolism attempts to expand our vision and actions to more closely approximate those of the Lord.

**Axis Mundi**

The temple represents the *axis mundi*, the center of the world around which the earth pivots. As the *axis mundi*, the temple is the earthly end of a great shaft connecting the center of earth to the center of the heavens.

**End of a Vertical Pole around Which All Revolve.** At the base of each of the temple’s buttresses is an earthstone. Truman O. Angell’s 1853 drawing of an earthstone shows the earthstones with longitudinal and latitudinal lines and the continents all standing out in bas relief (fig. 13). The original plan was to have the earthstones represent the earth as though it were revolving on its axis as one walked around the temple. This scheme visually reinforced the interpretation of the temple as the center of the earth.

The clarity of the original earthstones’ symbolism was lost when hard, course-grained granite was used in building the temple. This change made carving fine detail on the stones very difficult. So the stones were simplified, losing the detail of a rotating earth. Brigham Young’s original intention was to build the
Salt Lake Temple out of adobe. Since dried mud and straw would not hold detail, the symbolic stones were to be carved of “freestone” and applied to the exterior at key places. “Freestone” was a term used for a fairly soft, easy-to-carve stone such as limestone or sandstone. The use of freestone would have made it possible to incorporate more intricate detail on the carved stones. Since the original elevation drawings and overall renderings of the temple were done when the intention was still to build out of adobe and “freestone,” the early drawings show symbolic stones with much more detail than we see in the completed temple and help illuminate the original iconographical intentions.

As the earthstones revolve around the temple (fig. 14), above them, the moonstones also revolve around the temple, depicting the moon going through its four phases over and over again. Above the moonstones, the sunstones circle the temple. The starstones of the Ursa Major point to the North Star, around which all the heavenly bodies appear to rotate. The actual North Star in the heavens, of course, does not appear to move at all. Thus the temple not only sits at the center of the earth but is also linked to the center of the heavens. In the temple, sacred ordinances are performed and covenants made that can connect worshipers on earth to the heavens and their home with God.

Conduit to God. As an axis mundi, the temple fulfills its essential role as the conduit between heaven and earth, God and man—a place where the Lord communicates with his children. At
the temple’s cornerstone-laying ceremony, Parley P. Pratt spoke of the connecting role of the temple:

Ye are assembled here today, and have laid these Corner Stones, for the express purpose that the living might hear from the dead; and that we may prepare a holy sanctuary, where “the people may seek unto their God; for the living to hear from the dead,” and that heaven, and earth, and the world of spirits, may commune together.12

Another name for the temple is “Mountain of the Lord’s House” (Isa. 2:2). This temple metaphor alludes to the many sacred contacts between heaven and earth that have taken place on mountains. For example, Moses went up on Mount Sinai to commune with the Lord (Ex. 19). The Savior appeared in his glory to Peter, James, and John upon the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. 17:1–8). Christ suffered for the sins of the world on the Mount of Olives and Mount Calvary. These experiences, among the most important in the spiritual history of the earth, have communicated the Lord’s will to his children and have shown us his power and glory.

**The Lord’s Dwelling Place.** Eliza R. Snow referred to the temple as “a portal for angels—a threshold for God.”43 Deity and
mankind meet in the temple, the Lord's earthly abode. In response to the question Would the Lord himself dwell in the temple? Brigham Young answered straightforwardly:

He may do just as He pleases; it is not my prerogative to dictate to the Lord. But we will build Him a house, that if He pleases to pay us a visit, He may have a place to dwell in, or if He should send any of His servants, we may have suitable accommodations for them. I have built myself a house, and the most of you have done the same, and now shall we not build the Lord a house?

**Spiritual Bearings.** The temple is the “meeting point of the three cosmic regions”: heaven, earth, and the abode of the dead. From the earliest times, temples have been built as scale models of the universe:

There are three temples: one in heaven, one on earth, and one beneath the earth. . . . These three are identical, one being built exactly over the other, with the earth temple in the very middle of everything, representing “the Pole of the heavens, around which all heavenly motions revolve, the knot that ties earth and heaven together, the seat of universal dominion.” . . . Here the four cardinal directions meet, and here the three worlds make contact.

The idea of the three vertical levels and four horizontal regions dominated temple plans and orientation in the Old World and the New in ancient times and gave spiritual meaning and guidance to the societies that built those temples. Through participation in temple worship, humanity can meet its thirst for meaning by becoming oriented to the earth, the heavens, time, and God. The horizontal connecting point of the four cardinal directions is established, bringing the earth together as one whole; the vertical “pole” connects the whole earth to the heavens.

The temple is “the center . . . pre-eminently the zone of the sacred, the zone of absolute reality;” The temple ultimately teaches us what is real—what is eternal and significant. We are taught how the Lord organizes time, space, and relationships. The significance accorded organization was observed by Eliade, who notes that the “divine act of creation” transformed “chaos into cosmos.” By taking us back to the time of creation, Latter-day Saint temples repeat this preeminent time connecting God and the cosmos.
In the temple, we are taught how we should live. We learn about authority and responsibility in the Lord’s kingdom and the central role that Christ plays in our lives. And we learn something about our spiritual potential. In short, the temple is about understanding the sacred through obtaining our physical and spiritual bearings.

Facing directly east, the temple is placed foursquare to the compass. This alignment creates a line from east to west and north to south with the two lines crossing directly in the center of the temple. The Latin word for temple, templum, means the point where two lines cross. Among the ancient Romans, the templum was the site where the signs from heaven were interpreted. The word plum, meaning a straight vertical line leading from earth upward, also comes from the root word templum, as does template, which is a pattern, just as the temple is the pattern for universe. This is the center from which we see the image of what is most real. The temple gives us our bearing here on earth and connects us with the heavens.51

**Orientation of Salt Lake City to the Temple.** On July 28, 1847, shortly after Brigham Young’s arrival in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, Wilford Woodruff witnessed Brigham’s first visit to what came to be known as Temple Block and later gave this account:

> We walked along until we came to this Temple Block. It was covered with sagebrush. There was no mark to indicate that God ever intended to place anything there. But while walking along Brother Brigham stopped very suddenly. He stuck his cane in the ground and said, “Right here will stand the great Temple of our God.” We drove a stake in the place indicated by him, and that particular spot is situated in the middle of the Temple site. . . . He then went to work and laid out this city. . . . He laid out these streets, these sidewalks, these blocks. He laid out this Temple block here.52

This account identifies the early centrality of the temple in the literal laying out of the Latter-day Saints’ new Zion in the “heart of the everlasting hills.” The actual point from which the geological surveys are measured is the stone base for a telescope that was in an observatory just south of the temple (figs. 15, 16). It seems appropriate that Utah’s earliest observatory should have been placed next to the temple that spiritually unites heaven and earth.

“The psychological space, the cultural, the juridical, the religious,” Rykwert comments, should be “treated as aspects of the
Ecological space. . . . Some consideration must be given to the [urban] model [frequently religious and spiritual], which its inhabitants construct mentally.53 The starting point for beginning to understand Salt Lake City is the temple.

The temple quite literally orients Salt Lake City in terrestrial space. It is the survey measuring point:

To survey the city, Apostle Orson Pratt began at the southeast corner of Temple Square. This point became the origin of the city's street naming system. Streets immediately surrounding Temple Square are called respectively North, East, South, and West Temple. Streets one block from the temple are named First North, East, South, and West, respectively. Two blocks from the temple are Second North, East, South, and West, and so on cardinally throughout the city. The southeast corner of Temple Square is also the origin for the survey of the Great Basin, begun under Pratt's direction and completed by the federal government after the 1870 Federal Land Survey. In short, every location in the Mormon West, whether in the capital city or in the vast hinterlands, has Temple Square as its ultimate reference point.54
This survey is marked by the base meridian stone that was placed just outside the wall on the southeast corner of Temple Square. It is from this point that all the streets are numbered in Salt Lake City. Thus every street address in the older part of Salt Lake City acknowledges the centrality of the temple.

**Time**

Elder Boyd K. Packer has told us that "it is at the temple that we may begin to see into the eternities." It is there that we can get our bearings about time. Some of the symbolic stones on the temple very literally move us toward an understanding of a place where we can escape the tyranny of mortal time. We more clearly understand the Lord’s concept of and relationship to omnipresent, eternal time, which are described this way:

Thus saith the Lord your God, even Jesus Christ, the Great I AM, Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the same which looked upon the wide expanse of eternity, and all the seraphic hosts of heaven, before the world was made: The same which knoweth all things, for all things are present before mine eyes. (D&C 38:1; see also Isa. 44:6; Ps. 93:2; 90:2; 102:24; and D&C 39:22)
Expository verbal communication is not very useful in unifying time. And for the Lord, time is unified and omnipresent. Joseph Smith attempted to communicate this reality by comparing time to a ring: “The elements are eternal. That which has a beginning will surely have an end; take a ring, it is without beginning or end—cut it for a beginning place and at the same time you have an ending place.”\textsuperscript{56} But it is still difficult for us to understand the Lord’s view of time because we are largely metaphysical captives of a Newtonian physics, logical positivism, and phenomenology. As a result of our world view, we see time as linear.

It is necessary for our epistemological parameters to broaden and become more layered in order for our understanding of time to expand and more nearly parallel the Lord’s. Taking on this challenge matters because we are told, “And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent” (John 17:3). John Taylor, the third president of the Church, eloquently articulated the significance of an eternal perspective:

When we speak of time and eternity, they are only relative terms which we attach to things that are present, and things that are to come, and things that are past. But in relation to ourselves as individuals, we are eternal beings, although \textit{we occupy a certain space of eternity called time}; in relation to the Gospel we preach, it is eternal; in relation to the Priesthood, it is eternal; in relation to our covenants and obligations, they are eternal; in relation to our promises, prospects, and hopes, they are eternal.\textsuperscript{57}

Visual symbolism is one way for humans to transcend their verbal limitations in dealing with time. Elder Orson F. Whitney said, “The universe is built on symbols whereby one thing bespeaks another; the lesser testifying of the greater, lifting our thoughts from man to God, from earth to heaven, from time to eternity.”\textsuperscript{58}

The symbolic stones on the temple that refer to time also refer us to the heavens. Of the connection between the heavenly bodies and the reckoning of time, the prophet Abraham wrote:

And the Lord said unto me: The planet which is the lesser light, lesser than that which is to rule the day, even the night, is above or greater than that upon which thou standest in point of reckoning, for it moveth in order more slow; this is in order because it standeth above the earth upon which thou standest, therefore the reckoning of its time is not so many as to its number of days, and of months, and of years (Abr. 3:5).
As we move upward into the heavens, the time sequences become longer. Likewise, the temple stones that communicate time begin with a short period of time, the day, and move toward the eternal present, where time almost ceases to move. Representing days, the earthstones rotate on their axis as they go around the temple. The original concept of sequential carvings on the stones required seven stones to depict one complete revolution, thus necessitating forty-nine stones for one week. In this fashion, the fifty earthstones on the temple could represent both days and weeks. In addition, some of the earthstones are shown tipped off-center on their axis, thus making it possible to also allude to the seasons engendered by the earth’s tipped position. The moonstones show the moon going through its four distinct phases, each complete sequence recording a lunar month (fig. 17). The sunstones are carved with forty rays, representing the length of the biblical generation (fig. 18).

On the west center tower, the Ursa Major literally points toward the heavens and the North Star (fig. 19). Thus the most important symbol about time, the North Star, is not even on the temple, but we are led to it through the symbolic stones on

Fig. 17. Diagram of the moon’s phases. Compare with figure 24.
Fig. 18. Each sunstone has forty rays.

Fig. 19. On the west central tower, the Big Dipper points toward the North Star.
the temple. The North Star, or pole star, has served as the pilot star because it is a fixed place in the heavens that does not move. For purposes of temple symbolism, it represents the victory over movement, change, and time—since time is measured by movement. With the symbol of the North Star, time ceases and we focus on eternity.

The symbolic stones remind us that the temple sits in the center of time and transcends it, making time an endless eternal round. This relationship to time matters for temple worshipers, who can perform sacred ordinances vicariously for departed ancestors. These ordinances can seal together a family chain that goes back to the beginning of human history and forward into the future (see front cover, Elijah holding symbolic keys for sealing families). The endowment, the sacred ordinances performed in the temple that are essential to return to dwell with the Lord, links us with the future. The ability of time to fragment the human family is thus overcome. Past, present, and future become one in eternity. Time is collapsed into an omnipresent:

Here [in the temple] time and space come together; barriers vanish between this world and the next, between past, present, and future. Solemn prayers are offered in the name of Jesus Christ to the Almighty. What is bound here is bound beyond, and only here can the gates be opened to release the dead who are awaiting the saving ordinances. Here the whole human family meets in a common enterprise; the records of the race are assembled as far back in time as research has taken them, for a work performed by the present generation to assure that they and their kindred dead shall spend the eternities together in the future.60

The Restoration

The existence of the Salt Lake Temple and the authority to perform the ordinances therein are possible only because the gospel of Jesus Christ was restored to the earth. This great Restoration is also part of the symbolism of the temple's exterior.

The Angel Moroni. Crowning the east central tower is a gold-leafed statue of an angel blowing a trumpet (fig. 20). This is Moroni, a resurrected prophet who brought the sacred record of his people to Joseph Smith at the beginning of the Restoration.61 James Talmage
Fig. 20. The statue of the Angel Moroni on the Salt Lake Temple.
refers to this sculpture as a representation of the angel mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of the book of Revelation.\textsuperscript{62}

And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, Saying with a loud voice, Fear God, and give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come: and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters. (Rev. 14:6–7)

The Cloudstones. At the top of the eastern buttresses on the east central tower are cloudstones with rays of light streaming down (fig. 21). The early architectural renderings of the temple have cloudstones on all the buttresses of all the towers. Truman Angell described these stones as “clouds and rays of light descending downwards.” Elaborating on this symbolism, James Anderson said the cloudstones are emblematic of the rays of gospel light piercing downward from heaven to earth, dispelling the clouds of superstition and error that had engulfed the world.\textsuperscript{63} In some nineteenth-century Latter-day Saint sermons, a cloud is linked with darkness, which is variously dispelled by faith, the restored priesthood, the light of restored truth, and, ultimately, Christ’s presence (prepared for by the Restoration).\textsuperscript{64} In 1840, Parley P. Pratt drew upon the same metaphor in the words to his well-known hymn “The Morning Breaks,”\textsuperscript{65} in which the verbal symbolism parallels the exterior temple symbolism:

The morning breaks, the shadows flee;
Lo, Zion’s standard is unfurled!
The dawning of a brighter day,
The dawning of a brighter day
Majestic rises on the world.

The clouds of error disappear
Before the rays of truth divine;
The glory bursting from afar,
The glory bursting from afar
Wide o’er the nations soon will shine.\textsuperscript{66}

Charles W. Penrose wrote a series of popular missionary tracts titled \textit{Rays of Living Light}, the covers of which also referred to this metaphor.\textsuperscript{67} This restoration image was captured by Lambourne in two paintings for the temple’s interior that were commissioned by the First Presidency. Both works depict a great storm cloud being pierced and displaced by a sunburst over Hill Cumorah.\textsuperscript{68}
Fig. 21. Cloudstone on one of the eastern buttresses.
An early architectural drawing of the temple shows the cloudstones with an arm holding a long trumpet pointing downward as if to declare the restoration of the gospel with the sound of a trumpet to the whole earth (fig. 22): “And ye shall go forth in the power of my Spirit, preaching my gospel, two by two, in my name, lifting up your voices as with the sound of a trumpet, declaring my word like unto angels of God” (D&C 42:6).

Some interesting similarities between these early cloudstone renderings and the sunstones on the Nauvoo Temple probably indicate that some of the Nauvoo elements were carried over to the Salt Lake Temple. Both sets of images have hands holding trumpets. Both show clouds with the sun shining through. On the Nauvoo Temple, the entire face of the sun is visible shining above the clouds. On the Salt Lake Temple, the face of the sun is hidden behind the cloud but the rays are shown flowing down.

Second Coming Symbolism. The conjoining of the sun's rays dispelling the clouds and the trumpet announcing the Restoration relates also to the imminence of the Lord's second coming,
which will be announced with a trumpet (Joel 2:1). For the Second Coming symbolism, the cloudstones, earthstones, and towers form a symbolic unit. The earthstones represent missionary work around the globe preparing the world for the Second Coming. In this regard, Truman Angell says the motto of the earthstones is “The Gospel has come for the whole earth.” Since the towers represent the priesthood, we have a visual depiction of an imperative for the priesthood to carry the message of the Restoration throughout the world and “warn the people” (D&C 88:81) of “the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord” (D&C 128:17). An additional missionary message of helping others discover the way to correct their course is symbolized by the depiction of Ursa Major.

Sculptures. Other symbols of the Restoration are Mahonri Young’s sculptures of Joseph Smith, the prophet through whom the gospel was restored, and Hyrum Smith, his brother; both stand as sentinels who hold the keys of the restored priesthood (D&C 13; 24; 27). For a short time, these statues were placed in exterior niches of the temple (fig. 23) before being moved to the temple grounds in the early part of this century (fig. 3).

The Moonstones. The calculated ordering of the moonstones (fig. 24) creates one of the most powerful, yet subtle, sets of symbols concerning the Restoration. Four sequential moonstones would represent each lunar month (fig. 17). The moonstones are placed in the wall so that January would start in approximately the middle niche by the great eastern door.
of the north wall of the temple,\textsuperscript{75} the wall that used to be the most visually obscure. Usually one would not begin a major iconographical sequence at such a place unless the intention was to feature some other point in the sequence by having it fall at a much more prominent place. This was apparently the intention. The positioning of the moonstone phases made it possible for the two buttresses on the east side of the east central tower, the most prominent tower on the temple, to be decorated with the two phases of the moon for early April, commemorating not only Christ's birth, but also the official organization of the Church on April 6, 1830.\textsuperscript{76}

**The Beehive and Motto.** Another important aspect of the Restoration is the building of Zion. A symbol often used for Zion is a beehive,\textsuperscript{77} representing industry, hard work, and cooperation. Beehive medallions are at the center of two roundels on each of the great exterior doors (fig. 25). Two nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints wrote, "The hive and honey bees form our communal coat of arms. . . . It is a significant representation of the industry,
Fig. 25. Beehive medallion on the eastern door.
harmony, order and frugality of the people, and of the sweet results of their toil, union and intelligent cooperation.”

Beehives were on early flags that flew over Utah Territory. The beehive is frequently used on Church logos. It is on the seals of both the University of Utah and Brigham Young University. It eventually became the center of the Great Seal of the State of Utah.

A spiritual component of Zion was expressed by including the words “Holiness to the Lord” above the beehives on the door-knobs (fig. 26). Brigham Young used the phrase “Holiness to the Lord” in “a dedicatory prayer, presenting the Temple, thus far completed, as a monument of the saints’ liberality, fidelity, and faith, concluding: ‘Lord, we dedicate this house and ourselves, to thee.’”

He then elaborated what “Holiness to the Lord” meant to him:

Thirty years’ experience has taught me that every moment of my life must be holiness to the Lord, resulting from equity, justice, mercy, and uprights in all my actions, which is the only course by which I can preserve the Spirit of the Almighty to myself.

Christological Symbolism

The most significant focus of the temple is Christ. One can see allusions to Christ and his gospel in many symbols, in their location and relationships, and indeed in the very orientation of the temple.

The Temple Doors. The escutcheon plates for the door handles reinforce the centrality of Christ in Latter-day Saint theology. The plates have a small bas relief of a door (fig. 27). The scriptures contain numerous references to Christ and his gospel as the door or the gate. Christ himself says, “I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved” (John 10:9). In the nineteenth century, Church leaders occasionally referred to the gospel of Jesus Christ as the door: “When a man entered the church by the door, that is by faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins and the laying on of hands, he was required to live in strict obedience to the principles laid down in the teachings of our Savior.”

Above the door on the escutcheon plate is an arch with a very prominent keystone (fig. 28). Elder Erastus Snow spoke of the
Fig. 26. Doorknob on the Salt Lake Temple.
Fig. 27. Escutcheon plates for door handles with bas relief of a door on the upper half.
Fig. 28. Detail of escutcheon plate showing the arch and keystone.
sealing ordinances and the covenants the Saints make with the Lord as a keystone:

This new and everlasting covenant reveals unto us the keys of the Holy Priesthood and ordinances thereof. It is the grand keystone of the arch which the Lord is building in the earth. In other words, it is that which completes the exaltation and glory of the righteous who receive the everlasting Gospel, and without it they could not attain unto the eternal power and Godhead and the fullness of celestial glory.85

**Celestial Bodies and Light.** The glory of celestial bodies and of the earth are depicted in symbols covering the temple. Some scriptural passages represent these bodies as praising the Lord:

Praise ye him, sun and moon: praise him, all ye stars of light. (Ps. 148:3)

Let the sun, moon, and the morning stars sing together, and let all the sons of God shout for joy! And let the eternal creations declare his name forever and ever! And again I say, how glorious is the voice we hear from heaven, proclaiming in our ears, glory, and salvation, and honor, and immortality, and eternal life; kingdoms, principalities, and powers! (D&C 128:23)

An ancient Hebrew song speaks of the Lord's light bringing worshipers to sacred places: "O send out thy light and thy truth: let them lead me; let them bring me unto thy holy hill, and to thy tabernacles" (Ps. 43:3). Light, particularly light from heavenly bodies, is an expression of Christ, intelligence, revelation, life, truth, and the power of the Lord, which power animates all things, including the heavens. Christ is described as "the life and the light of the world" (Alma 38:9). In the Doctrine and Covenants, we learn, "For the word of the Lord is truth, and whatsoever is truth is light, and whatsoever is light is Spirit, even the Spirit of Jesus Christ" (D&C 84:45).

Perhaps the most inclusive scriptural statement about light is in Doctrine and Covenants 88, which says that the light of truth or the light of Christ is the medium through which the Lord animates the universe. Brigham Young's focus on light at the laying of the first cornerstone and the depiction of heavenly bodies on the temple are undoubtedly related to these theological ideas. Consider the
extensive use of celestial symbols on the temple's exterior while reading these verses:

He that ascended up on high, as also he descended below all things, in that he comprehended all things, that he might be in all and through all things, the light of truth;

Which truth shineth. This is the light of Christ. As also he is in the sun, and the light of the sun, and the power thereof by which it was made. As also he is in the moon, and is the light of the moon, and the power thereof by which it was made; As also the light of the stars, and the power thereof by which they were made; And the earth also, and the power thereof, even the earth upon which you stand. And the light which shineth, which giveth you light, is through him who enlighteneth your eyes, which is the same light that quickeneth your understandings;

Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space—The light which is in all things, which giveth life to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed, even the power of God who sitteth upon his throne, who is in the bosom of eternity, who is in the midst of all things. (D&C 88:6-13)

The heavenly bodies depicted on the temple bathe it in the perpetual light of the sun, moon, and stars. This light ultimately emanates from Christ himself. Thus the entire temple symbolically radiates the light, intelligence, and order of the Lord into Zion.

The Moonstones and the Towers. The specific placement of the moonstones celebrates the Savior in several ways. Each cycle of the moon is depicted for the year of 1878 (fig. 10). As previously discussed, the lunar year was started in a relatively obscure place on the temple exterior because neither January 1 nor December 31 are important dates for temple symbolism. The most significant date is the possible birthdate of the Savior, April 6. This was the approximate date that he commenced his earthly ministry. He was crucified and rose from the dead in early April. Thus the calendrical function of the east central tower moonstones celebrates key dates in the life of the Savior. These moonstones also commemorate the organization of the Church and the official beginning of Christ's last dispensation. Each year, on or near April 6, Latter-day Saints celebrate these events by holding annual general conference. In October, the probable birth month of John the Baptist, who prepared the way for the Lord, the Saints hold their
semiannual general conference, marked by the moonstones on the west central tower. At these general conferences, Christ's living prophets speak to his people and testify of him.

The twelve small pinnacles on each of the east towers (fig. 29) represent the twelve Apostles, who are called to be special witnesses of Jesus Christ. The three great pyramidal spires that cap the towers of the east represent the First Presidency of the Church. It is the President of the Church who holds all the priesthood keys of Christ's church on earth (D&C 81:2).

**The Clasped Hands.** Carved into the stone panel above the bottom window in the center east and west towers is a pair of clasped hands (fig. 30), which represent the hand of fellowship and the unity of the Saints. But the clasped hands seem to have additional meanings, for surrounding the hands is an oval with rays emanating outward. The usual meaning of an aureole of light is divine sanctification or divine presence. Thus two interpretations seem to be associated with the addition of the aureole of light. The first is that the fellowship of the Saints is part of building a sacred community, Zion. The second is that the Lord is bound with us in a covenant, which is central to temple worship:

For those who enter these walls, this house becomes a house of covenants. Here we promise, solemnly and sacredly, to live the gospel of Jesus Christ in its finest expression. We covenant with God our Eternal Father to live those principles which are the bedrock of all true religion.

Engraved into the scroll on the keystone above the clasped hands and gilded are the words "Alpha and Omega." These, the first and last letters in the Greek alphabet, are one of the names of the Lord: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, saith the Lord, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty" (Rev. 1:8). "Thus saith the Lord your God, even Jesus Christ, the Great I AM, Alpha and Omega" (D&C 38:1).

**The All-Seeing Eye.** Above the second window in the east and west central towers is an eye looking out at us from below a veil of pleated fabric (fig. 31). Surrounding the eye is another aureole of light depicted by a raised oval with outward shooting rays. The keystone in the arch above is blank. This is the all-seeing eye, a symbol frequently used in pioneer Utah. This symbol reminded the Saints that the eye of the Lord was upon them and that all that
they did should be in accordance with the will of the Lord. John Taylor noted it “penetrates and is enabled to weigh the actions and motives of the children of men.” In Proverbs, we are told, “The eyes of the Lord are in every place, beholding the evil and the good” (Prov. 15:3). The all-seeing eye of the Lord was often used on Church cooperative buildings with the phrase “Holiness to the
Fig. 30. Clasped hands and keystone.
Lord" arched over it. Sometimes the all-seeing eye was used in pioneer tabernacles; one is located over the choir seats in the St. George Tabernacle.

However, the all-seeing eyes on the temple differ from all the rest. Most all-seeing eyes have eyebrows above them, but those on the Salt Lake Temple are depicted looking out from beneath a pleated veil. Veils are used to separate the sacred from the profane, the spiritual from the carnal, truth from confusion, the Lord from mankind. The veil separating man and the Lord is removed only on rare occasions of great faith and obedience:

And because of the knowledge of this man [the brother of Jared] he could not be kept from beholding within the veil; and he saw the finger of Jesus, which, when he saw, he fell with fear; for he knew that it was the finger of the Lord; and he had faith no longer, for he knew, nothing doubting. Wherefore, having this perfect knowledge of God, he could not be kept from within the veil; therefore he saw Jesus; and he did minister unto him. (Ether 3:19-20)

And prepare for the revelation which is to come, when the veil of the covering of my temple, in my tabernacle, which hideth the earth, shall be taken off, and all flesh shall see me together. (D&C 101:23)
Holiness to the Lord. Above the second window in the east central tower is the large dedicatory plaque, which reads, "Holiness To The Lord. The House of the Lord, built by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Commenced April 6, 1853. Completed April 6, 1893" (fig. 32; see also fig. 33). President Hinckley made this comment about the dedicatory plaque:

The first phrase of this statement is a declared recognition of the Almighty and a pledge of holiness and reverence before Him. The second is a statement of ownership. This is His house, built through the consecrations of the people and presented to Him as their offering of love and sacrifice.98

The first phrase, "Holiness to the Lord," is also a millennial declaration about building a Zion to which the Lord can return at his second coming:

In speaking of the gathering, we mean to be understood as speaking of it according to scripture, the gathering of the elect of the Lord out of every nation on earth, and bringing them to the place of the Lord of Hosts, when the city of righteousness shall be built, and where the people shall be of one heart and one mind, when the Savior comes; yea, where the people shall walk with God like Enoch, and be free from sin. The word of the Lord is precious; and when we read that the vail spread over all nations will be destroyed, and the pure in heart see God, and reign with Him a thousand years on earth, we want all honest men to have a chance to gather and build up a city of righteousness, where even upon the bells of the horses shall be written Holiness to the Lord.99

Elder Bruce R. McConkie also comments on the relationship between "Holiness to the Lord" and the city of Enoch:

"Enoch continued his preaching in righteousness unto the people of God. And it came to pass in his days, that he built a city that was called the City of Holiness, even ZION." What was more natural than to name the city after the people? The pure in heart called their abode by the name City of Holiness. Their every thought was "Holiness to the Lord, and blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!"100

The Cloudstones. The Latter-day Saint belief that the temple is the house of the Lord here on earth as well as his point of contact with his people is reinforced symbolically by the cloudstones. The final placement of cloudstones was altered from the original plan. This change was probably part of the simplification that
Fig. 32. Dedicatory plaque.
occurred because of the difficulty of carving granite instead of the softer freestones. Originally a cloudstone was to be placed at the top of each buttress on each tower. This would have made a total of eight cloudstones per tower for a total of forty-eight cloudstones in all. But the temple was completed with just two cloudstones. These were placed on the east face of the east central tower (figs. 9, 21). This simplification actually strengthens the Christological symbolism of the temple exterior by keeping the cloudstones on the tower that symbolically is the most focused on the Savior. Since one of the symbolic functions of this tower is to focus on Christ, the cloudstones, when interpreted as symbols of the presence of the Lord, reinforce both this focus and the literal meaning of the great dedicatory plaque, “Holiness to the Lord. The House of the Lord.”

The key to understanding the relationship of the cloudstones and the Lord is found in the rather consistent linking of the presence of the Lord and clouds in holy writ. Truman Angell stated that Brigham Young diligently studied the scriptures, “particularly the Old Testament,”101 before developing the plan for the exterior symbolism of the temple. Over and over in the scriptures, the Lord appears in a cloud to his prophets and his people.

The Lord often dealt with the children of Israel in the wilderness from within a cloud. He “went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way” (Ex. 13:21). He spoke to Moses on Sinai and to the elders of Israel from within a cloud (Ex. 24:16; 19:9; 24:15; 34:5; Num. 11:25). The Lord appeared in a cloud:

And the Lord said unto Moses, Speak unto Aaron thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy [place] within the vail before the mercy seat, which [is] upon the ark; that he die not: for I will appear in the cloud upon the mercy seat. (Lev. 16:2)

And it came to pass, when the congregation was gathered against Moses and against Aaron, that they looked toward the tabernacle of the congregation: and, behold, the cloud covered it, and the glory of the Lord appeared. (Num. 16:42)

The Lord came to the dedication of the Temple of Solomon in a cloud:

Then the glory of the Lord went up from the cherub, [and stood] over the threshold of the house; and the house was filled with the cloud, and the court was full of the brightness of the Lord’s glory. (Ezek. 10:4; see also 2 Chr. 5:13)
The Lord informed Joseph Smith that when the temple is built in Jackson County a cloud of glory will rest upon it: "For verily this generation shall not all pass away until an house shall be built unto the Lord, and a cloud shall rest upon it, which cloud shall be even the glory of the Lord, which shall fill the house" (D&C 84:5).

God the Father spoke to the Apostles on the Mount of Transfiguration from within a cloud: "While he yet spake, behold, a bright cloud overshadowed them: and behold a voice out of the cloud, which said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him" (Matt. 17:5). The Lord spoke to the brother of Jared from a cloud: "And it came to pass that when they had come down into the valley of Nimrod the Lord came down and talked with the brother of Jared; and he was in a cloud, and the brother of Jared saw him not" (Ether 2:4, 14).

After his final visit with his Apostles, the Savior ascended to heaven in a cloud (Acts 1:9). He also ascended in a cloud after visiting the Nephites (3 Ne. 18:38). Finally, the Lord told the Prophet Joseph Smith that he would come again in a cloud: "For behold, verily, verily, I say unto you, the time is soon at hand that I shall come in a cloud with power and great glory" (D&C 34:7; see also D&C 45:45; Luke 21:25-28).

Since the temple is set apart as the House of the Lord, it seems logical to assume that the cloudstones could symbolize the second coming of the Lord as well as his word and presence in his earthly home, the temple.

The House of the Lord. Because the temple is the earthly sanctuary of the Lord, it is physically set off from the world: "The traffic outside the wall [of Temple Square] is now frequently heavy and noisy. Within the wall, there is an environment of peace and beauty." Aside from the peace attained within the walls of Temple Square, the positioning of the temple within those walls adds some symbolic elements. The main access to Temple Square is from the north and south gates, which are located in the center of the south and north walls of the square. A secondary gate is located in the center of the west wall of the square. There was no public access from the east until very recently, when an eastern gate was made. None of these four gates center on the temple.
The front of the temple faces directly into the east wall, less than seventy five feet away. In fairly recent times, the thick masonry wall directly in front of the temple has been replaced with a high ornamental iron fence, making the temple more visible from the street (fig. 33; compare to fig. 4). However, there is still no access to the front of the temple from the street. The temple could have been placed where the Tabernacle now stands, making the front of the temple easily accessible from Temple Square's main north-south pedestrian mall (remember that the temple was begun over ten years before the Tabernacle was begun). The temple actually turns its back on people entering Temple Square. Clearly, easy casual access for visitors was not the intention in positioning the temple on the square.

The temple is further set off from visitors within the walls surrounding Temple Square by inner fences and walls. Even those that come to Temple Square to attend the temple do not directly enter the temple. They enter the temple annex through a small gate in the north wall of the square. The entrance into the temple itself is via an underground passage coming from the north. One is reminded of the various courts that set off the Temple of Solomon from the world. That temple was not only in a holy city, it was also approached through a series of courts to which access was increasingly restricted. The walls around Temple Square and the somewhat serpentine entrance into the temple seem to be a reflection of the tradition that temples should be a sanctuary set off from secular world.103

So why does the temple face east if the east doors are not for regular worshiper access? The dedicatory plaque on the east face of the east central tower holds the answer. Ultimately, the temple is not a house for man; it is the Lord's house. The eastward-facing position of the temple on the square reinforces the millennialism of the gospel. Just as the east central tower welcomes the untrammeled light of the rising sun coming from the east, so it will welcome the Lord at the commencement of the Millennium: "But the Son of Man will come as the sign of the coming of the Son of Man, which will be as the light of the morning cometh out of the east."104 This prophetic doctrine was reaffirmed in 1956:

[The Los Angeles Temple] was the first in the twentieth century to include . . . an angel Moroni statue on its 257-foot tower.
Fig. 33. East side of the Salt Lake Temple.
Architectural plans called for the angel to face southeast, as did the temple itself. President David O. McKay, however, insisted that the statue be turned to face due east. Most (but not all) LDS temples face east, symbolic of the anticipated second coming of Christ, which Jesus compared to the dawning in the east of a new day (Matt. 24:27).  

Thus the dedicatory plaque is not a casual sign. In one sense, it is an announcement to greet the Lord when he comes to his house at his second coming. The temple’s position facing the east wall of Temple Square reminds us that this is not our house; it is the Lord’s. We go to the temple to be taught of him, to adjust our lives to the Lord in order to understand his ways.

Conclusion

A few years ago Joseph McConkie wrote a short article on the symbolism of the exterior of the Salt Lake Temple. He made this observation about interpreting the symbols:

One explanation of a symbol that has been given does not preclude someone else seeing beyond that. Symbols were intended to expand our freedom of expression and feelings, not limit them. In suggesting some meanings associated with the symbols on the Salt Lake Temple, it need not be supposed that this constitutes the final word on the matter. Finality robs symbols of their meaning.

My interpretation of the exterior symbolism on the temple will not be the “last words” on this subject. Scholarship will add more to our understanding. But as a sacred structure, the Salt Lake Temple derives its meaning primarily from the spiritual context that caused it to be built and from its use for over a century as a place of spiritual teaching, inspiration, worship, and religious ordinances.

I have tried to avoid the interpretation of exterior temple symbols in isolation. The medieval cathedrals of Europe are viewed by scholars as a symbolic microcosm of the medieval world, a microcosm in which the symbols are bound together. In many ways, the Salt Lake Temple is a microcosm of Latter-day Saint belief and even of some of its central sacred history. As such, through the symbolic relationships expressed on its exterior, it gives physical form to Latter-day Saint faith.

The Salt Lake Temple has yet to be matched in the tradition of the Latter-day Saint temple architecture. Some may see in this article
an imperative on how Latter-day Saint temples should be ornamented. That is neither my intention nor the intention of those who built the Salt Lake Temple. The three other pioneer temples—the St. George, Manti, and Logan Temples, which were all begun and completed during the period that the Salt Lake Temple was under construction—were all made with much less elaborate exterior symbolism. Orson Pratt had this to say about temple architecture and design:

You see that, notwithstanding all these Temples that are now building in this Territory, and those that have been built before we came here in Kirtland and Nauvoo, the Lord is not confined to an exact pattern in relation to these Temples building in the different Stakes. . . . He will construct His Temples in a great variety of ways, and by and by, when the more perfect order shall exist we shall construct them through the aid of revelation, in accordance with the Temples that exist in yonder heaven. 108

Spiritual and aesthetic power and majesty and amazing comprehensive theological and intellectual thought are expressed through the exterior symbolism of the Salt Lake Temple. It shows the theological unity of the heavens. The symbolism expresses the sacralization of a new “Zion” and visually links mankind with the heavenly realms of the Lord. The sacred history of this dispensation is made manifest and with it the imperative to carry that message to the world though an orderly process presided over by the Lord’s priesthood leaders. The organizational structure of the presiding councils of his church is made visible. And the centrality of Christ and the imminence of his return to the earth are expressed. Surely the architecture of the Salt Lake Temple shines with craftsmanship and aesthetics. But it is the nobility of the temple’s sacred messages expressed through the relationships of its symbols that shines with transcendent brilliance. According to nineteenth-century Church leaders, 109 the Salt Lake Temple fulfills this prophecy from Isaiah:

And it shall come to pass in the last days, [that] the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he
will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. . . .

O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord. (Isa. 2:2–5)

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NOTES

1Viktor Emil Frankl, Man’s Search for Meaning (New York: Washington Square, 1985).
2I purposely avoid discussing some symbols, such as the inverted stars on door keystones and the so-called Saturn stones, because I did not find a reliable LDS source on which to base an interpretation. Several authors have preceded me in interpreting the Salt Lake Temple, and others will do so after this article is published. Similarly, there are dozens of books on the iconography of Byzantine and medieval architecture; in some cases the authors agree; in others they do not. Such is the nature of scholarship about significant and complex works of art and architecture. The Salt Lake Temple is such a work. I approached the exterior iconography of the Salt Lake Temple from a particular point of view. That point of view affected which sources I most valued.
4As a believing Latter-day Saint, I am not impartial, but according to the German philosopher Hegel, such impartiality is a myth anyway:

Even the ordinary, the “impartial” historiographer, who believes and professes that he maintains a simply receptive attitude; surrendering himself only to the data supplied him—is by no means passive as regards the exercise of his thinking powers. He brings his categories with him, and sees the phenomena presented to his mental vision, exclusively through these media. (G. W. F. Hegel, “Philosophical History,” in The World’s Great Thinkers: Man and the State: The Political Philosophers, ed. Saxe Commins and Robert N. Linscott, 4 vols. [New York: Random House, 1947], 5:408)
In other words, who we are conditions what we see, in spite of all of our attempts at impartiality.

As an art historian, I have used the visual images on the temple itself as its own best document, although I have referred to the significant body of spiritual and scholarly material written about the temple and its meaning. James E. Talmage, Boyd K. Packer, Hugh W. Nibley, and others have written extensively on this subject. The author is grateful for the role these authors have played in building the foundation for this study. James E. Talmage, The House of the Lord: A Study of Holy Sanctuaries, Ancient and Modern (1912; reprint, Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962); Boyd K. Packer, The Holy Temple (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980); Hugh W. Nibley, Temple and Cosmos: Beyond This Ignorant Present, ed. Don Norton (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1992).


For example, Talmage, among others, mentions "saturn stones," referring to the small stones each decorated with a circle in a square and located just below
the battlements of the towers. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 122. Examining the symbolism of these stones presents several problems. The stones were depicted in the original drawings at the same time that huge stones that are clearly the ringed Saturn were also depicted (these stones were dropped from the final design; fig. 34—compare to figs. 9 and 19). So we are faced with the question Why depict Saturn with two different visual images? A second problem is that if the small circle in a square is not Saturn, what is it? Some speculate that these stones represent the dome of heaven (the circle) and the earth (the square). Paul Thomas Smith and Matthew B. Brown, personal communication with author.

![Fig. 34. Detail from the 1854 side elevation.](image)

A third problem is, Why represent Saturn on the temple? Some speculate that perhaps this stone is a symbol for Kolob, a possibility that makes some sense because Kolob is a "governing planet." Its time frame is much slower than the earth’s (one revolution being one thousand years). This interpretation would be consistent with the expression of time slowing down as one's eye moves upward from the earthstones to the moonstones to the sunstones. Again, the problem is that I have no historical, scriptural, or authoritative Church reference that says the "Saturn Stones" are really "Kolob Stones." To make such a conclusion is too speculative for me at this time, although I acknowledge that this omission represents a major visual gap in my interpretation.

7*Iconography* can refer to a set of symbolic forms or to the images an artist selects to communicate the meaning of his or her work. The word comes from *eikonographia* 'sketch, description'.

8Because of perceived parallels, this symbolism actually linked Mary back to the Greek goddess Artemis.
"See n. 38 for a discussion of why I do not equate the moonstones on the temple with the terrestrial degree of glory.


14Brigham Young, in JD, 8:203, October 8, 1860.

15Truman O. Angell, quoted in Talmage, House of the Lord, 145.

16William Ward's architectural drawing of the temple is featured on the back cover of this issue.


18Brigham Young, in JD, 1:133, April 6, 1853. Hugh Niblcy says, "Latter-day Saints see in the completeness and perfection of Joseph Smith's teachings regarding the temple a sure indication of divine revelation. This is also seen in the design of the Salt Lake Temple." Nibley, "Meanings and Functions of Temples," 4:1462.

19This tradition was continued in many of the large solemn assembly rooms in other post-Nauvoo temples such as St. George, Logan, Manti, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C.

20"The Melchizedek Priesthood, with the altar, fixtures, and furniture belonging thereunto, is situated on the East, and the Aaronic Priesthood belongs in the West." Brigham Young, in JD, 1:135, April 6, 1853.

21Brigham Young, in JD, 1:133, April 6, 1853.

22Brigham Young, in JD, 1:134, April 6, 1853.

23Brigham Young, in JD, 1:134, April 6, 1853.

24Brigham Young, in JD, 1:135–36, April 6, 1853.

25Truman O. Angell, cited in Raynor, Everlasting Spires, 175.

26T. O. Angell to President John Taylor, April 29, 1886, John Taylor Presidential Papers, LDS Church Archives; underlining in original.

27Note, for example, the statues on top of the Salt Lake City and County Building and the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

28Moses was on Mount Sinai forty days (Ex. 24:18), the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness forty years (Num. 14:33), Jonah predicted Nineveh would be overthrown in forty days (Jonah 3:4), and Christ fasted forty days in the wilderness (Matt. 4:2).

29Isaiah 49:1, 5; Jeremiah 1:5; Abraham 3:18; James E. Talmage, Vitality of Mormonism (Boston: Gorham, 1919), 322; Bruce R. McConkie, Mormon Doctrine, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1966), 765–66.

30Wilford Woodruff, in JD, 18:114–15, September 12, 1875.

32"Buttress Blocks Commencing with Course M2 Representing the Moon in All Its Phases during the Year 1878," stonemason's diagram, Salt Lake Temple Architectural Drawings Collection, LDS Church Archives.


37Hugh Nibley states that God and the temple represent an ordering agent, counteracting the second law of thermodynamics. Hugh W. Nibley, Temple and Cosmos, 1–11.

38Visitors to Temple Square sometimes see the sun, moon, and stars as representing the three degrees of glory. I have not offered this interpretation for three reasons. First, the three degrees of glory as described in Doctrine and Covenants 76 are represented by stars (telestial), moon (terrestrial), and sun (celestial) in ascending order, but the pilasters on the temple have earthstones, moonstones, and sunstones in ascending order. This difference in sequence seems to indicate that the order of heavenly rewards is not the iconographical intention of these symbolic stones. Second, starstones are not included in the pilasters. The starstones that do appear on the temple are over the windows, below the battlements of the cast towers, and on the Big Dipper on the west central tower. It is not logical to assume that the telestial kingdom would be represented by stars that are higher than the sunstones if the sunstones were to represent the celestial kingdom. Third, on the Nauvoo Temple, the sunstones are rising suns indicating the Restoration not the celestial kingdom. If the sunstones in Nauvoo do not symbolize the celestial kingdom, they probably do not symbolize the celestial kingdom on the Salt Lake Temple. Therefore, one may logically assume that there is not a "degrees of heaven" iconographical program on the temple.

39Eliade, Myth of the Eternal Return, 12. The role of a temple as an axis mundi is well known throughout the earth and across time. For example, among the Moslems,

the Ka'aba at Mecca is still thought to mark the exact middle of the earth and hub of the universe; it is surrounded by special shrines marking the cardinal points, and the roads that lead to it are holy, the main one being called the Royal Road. There at a set time the whole human race must assemble in one tremendous concourse, as it shall assemble on the Day of Judgment before the throne of God. It was common in the Middle Ages to represent Jerusalem on maps as the exact center of the earth and to depict the city itself as a quartered circle. (Hugh W. Nibley, The Ancient State [Salt Lake City: Deseret Book and FARMS, 1987], 102–4)

Among the ancient Mesopotamians, the ziggurat was a stairway that led between the lower and upper worlds. It represented a mountain because mountains were viewed as places where contact between man and the heavens could take place. Nibley, "What Is a Temple?" 360.

Among the Navajos, hogan function not only as homes, but also as sacred space. Hogans are always oriented to the four cardinal directions with the door facing east. The sacred land of the Navajos is surrounded by the four sacred mountains where the yeis, or holy people, live. Contact with the yeis happens during Navajo religious rituals called sings. In the sings, the creation stories are told and a large, symmetrical, diagram-like sand painting is created in the hogan that depicts through symbolic forms the story that is being sung. Sacred space, symmetry, cardinal orientation, and creation stories are elements for patterning the Navajo life. Physical and spiritual health is renewed through a sing when one brings one’s life back into parallel with the spiritual pattern of spiritual leaders who brought order out of chaos in the beginning of life on this level of existence. Some excellent books on Navajo religion and culture include, Paul G. Zolbrod, *Dine Babane: The Navajo Creation Story* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Gladys A. Reichard, *Navaho Religion: A Study of Symbolism*, Bollingen Series 18 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970); Gary Wither- 

Among the ancient Greeks and Romans, temples represented this idea of centering and connecting with the realms of the sacred. The root tem- in Greek and Latin denotes a “cutting,” or intersection of two lines at right angles and hence the place where the four regions of the world come together, ancient temples “being carefully oriented to express ‘the idea of pre-established harmony between a celestial and a terrestrial image.'” Alfred Jeremias, quoted in Nibley, *Mormonism and Early Christianity*, 358.


40Brigham Young, in *JD*, 1:218–19, October 9, 1852.
41Angell to Taylor.

49Brigham Young, in JD, 1:376, December 16, 1851.

50Eliade, Myths of the Eternal Return, 15.


53Eliade, Myths of the Eternal Return, 17. Eliade indicates that other sacred central sites also serve this function.

54Eliade, Myths of the Eternal Return, 10.


58Olsen, Mormon Ideology of Place, 282.

59Packer, Holy Temple, 45.

60Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 181.

61John Taylor, in JD, 1:366, April 19, 1854; italics added.


63The fifty earthstones can also represent one jubilee cycle. See Leviticus 25:8-16, 23-55; 27:16-25.

64Nibley, "Meanings and Functions," 4:1462-63. In ancient times, a temple connected the deceased with the present and the future: "The living could not do without the dead, nor the dead without the living." Fustel de Coulanges, Ancient City, 28.

65For an excellent review of the evolution of the symbolic imagery of the Angel Moroni, see Fred Roe, "Angels: Moroni and His Associates," unpublished manuscript, LDS Church Archives.

66Talmage, House of the Lord, 176.


70Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), hymn no. 1.

71Charles W. Penrose, "Rays of Living Light," Library Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

72Richard G. Oman and Robert O. Davis, Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 20-21. The second painting replicates the first, which was painted in 1893.

73See also Brigham Young, in JD, 9:364-65, August 31, 1862—"The testimony of God's servants has sounded like the voice of a trumpet from nation to nation, and from people to people"—and Orson Pratt, in JD, 17:318-19, February 28, 1875.

74See also Orson Hyde, in JD, 2:65, October 8, 1854.
Exact juxtapositions are not necessary to establish every iconographical interpretation. Part of the beauty of the temple iconography is that the symbolism has layers of meaning. Sometimes this layering requires connections between symbols that are not next to each other. Let me use two examples. The base meridian stone is part of Nibley's axis mundi interpretation. Yet there are numerous landscape elements, including a high wall, separating the base meridian stone from the temple. The east towers represent the First Presidency, the Apostles, and the Melchizedek Priesthood. By all standards, these are the governing priesthood towers. Yet the Big Dipper that points us symbolically to the home of God is on the "lesser priesthood" tower. Intervening architectural and symbolic elements between the Big Dipper and the Melchizedek Priesthood towers do not mean that our priesthood line of command goes through the Aaronic Priesthood to link with God. The east central tower needed to be used for the dedication plaque; thus it was not available for the Big Dipper. The Big Dipper was placed where there was available space even though there were other architectural and iconographical elements between it and the east towers. Ample precedent exists for connecting elements symbolically that are not juxtaposed physically.


See also Hamilton, Temple: Monument to a People, 145.

Talmage, House of the Lord, 180.

"Buttress Blocks Commencing with Course M2."

An excellent article on the significance of the date is John P. Pratt, "Passover: Was It Symbolic of His Coming?" Ensign 24 (January 1994): 38–45. See also Hall, "April 6," 1:61–62. This date has been celebrated by holding a semiannual general conference of the Church on or near this date for well over a century and a half.


John L. Cross and Violet G. Cross, Old Glory and Her Predecessors over Utah (Orem, Utah: n.p., 1975), unpaged.

"Holiness to the Lord" was engraved on the plate of the holy crown of pure gold that was part of Aaron's temple garments (Ex. 28:36–38; see also Zech. 14:20).


Brigham Young, in JD, 9:220, February 16, 1862.

For example, see Matthew 7:13; John 10:1; Revelation 3:8; 2 Nephi 9:41; 31:17–18; and Doctrine and Covenants 22; 43:7.

George A. Smith, in JD, 12:265, June 21, 1868.

Erastus Snow, in JD, 24:161, June 24, 1883.

1878 is the year the buttresses were raised to the level at which the moonstones were to be placed.

Pratt, "Passover," 38–45.

Pratt, "Passover," 42–43, 44.

Pratt, "Passover," 43, 44.
This date frequently coincides with the Feast of the Passover, which celebrates the escape from slavery of the children of Israel in Egypt. So the central position of this date stretches back over almost thirty-five hundred years of religious history.


These are the only blank keystones in the temple. During the recent renovation of the exterior of the temple, faded paint residue was found on the eyes, indicating they were originally painted naturalistically.

John Taylor, in *JD*, 16:301, November 16, 1873.

This distinctive use of a veil seems to be an augmentation from the original design. The earliest architectural renderings of the temple show the All-Seeing Eye with the usual eyebrow.


*History of the Church*, 2:357–58; italics in original. “Holiness to the Lord” also appears on the block of stone designed by the Deseret Legislature for the Washington Monument, which was exhibited at general conference and then forwarded to Washington, D.C. The central emblem was a “Bee-hive, in full operation, in the centre, encircled by the convolvulus, &c., with the inscription, ‘Holiness to the Lord. Deseret.’” James R. Clark, comp., “Ninth General Epistle,” *Messages of the First Presidency*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 2:114 (April 13, 1855).


Angell wrote this in a letter to President John Taylor in response to a question from Franklin D. Richards about the presence of what Richards perceived to be Masonic symbols on the temple. Angell to Taylor.


The walls and courts before the temple of Solomon served the same function.

Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 287.


Orson Pratt, in *JD*, 24:27, October 26, 1879.

Keeping Promises: 
The LDS Church 
Enters Bulgaria, 1990–1994

Opening Bulgaria to LDS missionaries is a story of public service and personal interaction that bore good fruit through helping needy people improve their personal conditions.

Kahlile Mehr

Introduction

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had long anticipated the day it would be allowed to extend its message to the people behind the Iron Curtain. When Communist power began to evaporate, Latter-day Saint missionaries quickly entered Hungary (1987), Poland (1988), East Germany and Estonia (1989), and Russia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania (1990). In contrast, however, the door opened more slowly in Bulgaria, where the first representatives of the Church were volunteers assigned to teach English rather than preach the gospel as proselyting missionaries.¹

In 1989, Bulgaria was a Communist nation with a Christian tradition but no Bibles. During the five centuries Bulgaria had been ruled by the Ottoman empire, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church had played an important role in saving Bulgarian culture. Monasteries helped stave off Turkish assimilation by preserving the Bulgarian language, literature, and religion. In 1878 the Bulgarians shed the Ottoman yoke with military assistance from the Russians, but in 1944 their liberators became their captors. The Soviet army rumbled into Bulgaria and, like the Ottomans, installed a regime that attempted to efface Bulgaria’s Christian past.

Bulgaria was one of the most loyal of the satellite states under Soviet Communist hegemony. Nevertheless, on November 11, 1989,
two days after the dramatic fall of the Berlin Wall, Todor Zhivkov, the Communist Party leader in Bulgaria for thirty-five years, was arrested and forced to resign. The nation installed a more democratic regime, opening the door not only for political reform, but also for religious and social reawakening.

The Communists had eliminated Bibles, but vestiges of Christianity had survived to nurture a revival of faith. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church of the pre-Communist past reemerged, and many other religions from outside the country began to establish themselves in Bulgaria. The LDS Church arrived in Bulgaria not only with a spiritual message, but also with temporal assistance—English teachers and humanitarian service workers, who brought much welcome assistance to a country struggling with the leviathan task of reentering a world from which it had long been isolated.

Because the ability to speak English is highly valued in much of the world, missionaries from the United States have often shared their language, as well as their faith, by teaching English classes. Indeed, English classes are commonly taught in many LDS missions. In Bulgaria, however, the primary purpose of the first missionaries sent in 1990 was to teach English in Bulgarian schools. While teaching their language, these volunteers shared their beliefs and tapped a wellsprings of curiosity in a nation long denied public religious observance. The arrival of these English teachers—gospel preachers was the first milestone in recent Church history in Bulgaria.

In a matter of months, the English-teaching missionaries were followed by full-time proselyting missionaries, who were in turn followed just as quickly by another type of Church representative—the humanitarian service worker. The Church had long provided temporal assistance for its members in need, but beginning in the 1980s, more of its humanitarian work was focused on the underprivileged regardless of religion. Since 1985 the Church has increasingly asked older Church members to donate their knowledge and skills to nations needing medical, educational, or other humanitarian assistance. These missionaries work under the direction of Area Presidencies or Church headquarters and coordinate their work with mission presidents. Bulgaria was included in this evolving program.
Official Contact

Even though no official LDS Church organization existed in Bulgaria in 1990, the country was under the jurisdiction of the Austria Vienna East Mission, directed by President Dennis Neuen-schwander. Elder Hans B. Ringger was president of the Europe Area, and from 1985 to 1990, Elder Russell M. Nelson had the assignment of overseeing the Church in Eastern Europe. During this period, these three leaders were frequent visitors to the Eastern European countries—emissaries to the newly self-directed govern-ments emerging from the moribund autocracies of Communism.
Elder Nelson and Elder Ringger visited Sofia in October 1988. The government was still Communist, and Tsviatko Tsvetkov of the religious affairs department was unimpressed. Through his interpreter, he said, "Nelson? Ringger? Mormons? I've never heard of you." Elder Nelson replied, "That makes us even. We have never heard of you, either. It's time we got acquainted." They did, but much was left undone. When the two returned to Sofia in February 1990, the government was no longer Communist, and the reception was more cordial. They met with many government and media representatives. Desiring to help the Bulgarian people and hoping to establish the Church in Bulgaria, Elder Nelson decided to try the approach he had used in other Eastern European nations. Rather than asking the Bulgarian government what they could do for the Church, he asked instead what service the Church could render the Bulgarians. The answer was surprising but simple—send English teachers.

Elders Nelson and Ringger concluded their visit to Bulgaria in the Park of Liberty in Sofia on February 13, 1990. They were accompanied by Baird King, a Church member then working at the U.S. Embassy; his wife, Susan; and their family. There, in a peaceful grove, enfolded by fog and surrounded by softly falling snow, Elder Nelson offered a dedicatory prayer for the preaching of the gospel in Bulgaria and a blessing of hope for a better day in which the nation would develop in peace—politically, economically, and socially.

The English Teachers

The request for English teachers to go to Bulgaria came to the desk of Ross Ekins at Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. He was responsible for processing the paperwork connected with the assignment of missionary couples. Concurrently, Morris and Annetta Mower, a retired couple intent on serving a mission, contacted Roy King, a former acquaintance and a director in the missionary department, to inquire about possibilities for missionary service. King referred the Mowers to Ross Ekins. Morris held a doctorate in education and was a retired principal. Annetta was a nurse and had also worked as a schoolteacher. They discussed the possibility of
Bulgarian service, and before the Mowers left, they agreed to accept an assignment in Bulgaria if it was offered. Their call to Bulgaria soon came.7

Another couple, Delbert and Marilyn Fowler, were also called to serve in Bulgaria. Delbert Fowler had been a high-school principal in Salt Lake City. Marilyn had taught one year of high school. They were not seeking a mission call when they were interviewed by their stake president. Their names had been suggested by George Brooks, a newly appointed mission president, who had been the personnel manager of the Salt Lake City School District. The Fowlers accepted the call.8

Meanwhile, the Mowers, in downtown Salt Lake City to complete their missionary paperwork, coincidentally met Elder Nelson outside the Church Office Building. Learning of their call to Bulgaria, he invited them to his office, where he told them they would not only teach English, but also teach the gospel and baptize, and he predicted that people would come to them seeking religious guidance.9

The Mowers energetically made preparations. Packing was a major undertaking because they wanted to include substantial amounts of Church literature as well as English texts. They scrupulously stowed away the ninety pounds permitted each airline passenger, which was nonetheless twenty pounds in excess of what was permitted in Europe without paying a surcharge. While at the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah, for a week of training, the Mowers and the Fowlers went to Utah Valley Community College to observe classes taught in English as a second language.

On September 9, 1990, the two couples departed Salt Lake City en route to New York.10 On takeoff from Denver, the plane blew a tire. They now faced the exhausting trial of making new connections. Meanwhile, a fifth English teacher, Judith Gubler, who had also accepted a call to Bulgaria, was scheduled to connect in New York with the two couples from Salt Lake, but no one came.

A schoolteacher from Provo, Utah, Sister Gubler felt the desire to serve a mission even though she was older than the usual single missionary. After submitting her mission papers, she sought confirmation of her feelings while attending a temple session. The response was clear and unequivocal. She heard the words, "You
are needed now.” In her mind’s eye, she saw people who did not look American. She was confused when her mission call came and it was to North Carolina.11

Sister Gubler’s feeling of disquiet grew when she was asked to extend her stay at the Missionary Training Center in order to receive family history training. She had been in North Carolina for just a week and a half when the missionary department called and explained that her assignment was being changed to Bulgaria, where they needed English instructors. She knew that this was where she was needed.

Sister Gubler arrived in Vienna alone. President and Sister Neuenschwander met her with a bouquet of flowers and asked the whereabouts of the others, for news of the mishap in Denver had not yet reached Vienna. The president told her the Church had been trying all year to set up the English instruction program but had encountered delays because of turmoil in the new government. He added that he had been praying for English teachers.

Sister Gubler later met her first mission companion, Rose Marie Daigle, from Maine, who had been working as a companion to an older Church member in Finland. Sister Daigle’s Finnish visa had been about to expire, and she had been looking for an opportunity to serve elsewhere when she learned of the opportunity to teach English in Bulgaria.

The Mowers and the Fowlers finally arrived, and the group of six departed by plane for Sofia on September 12, 1990.\textsuperscript{12} Representatives of the hosting organization, the Saints Cyril and Methodius International Foundation, were at the airport to greet them and transport them to their assignments. The single sisters were taken to Smolyan, site of the Bulgarian National School of Language. The Fowlers were sent to teach in a high school north of Sofia at Pravets, the birthplace of Todor Zhivkov. The Mowers were assigned to Sofia.

**Teaching English in Sofia.** The realization they were in totally foreign circumstances began to sink in as the Mowers encountered their first challenges. The former residents of the apartment that had been secured in their behalf by the foundation had not entirely moved out when they arrived. When the Mowers were finally in the apartment, the lights went off. At the time, it was a common occurrence to have insufficient electrical power to service all customers twenty-four hours a day. Since it was already dark, the Mowers decided to go out to eat. They were seated at a table for six, where, in the usual Bulgarian manner, four seats were already occupied. Since they knew no Bulgarian, they ordered by pointing and were served a dish made primarily of sour cheese, a taste they were definitely unaccustomed to. They arrived back at the apartment before the lights came on, found stubby candles but no matches, and resigned themselves to an evening in the dark.

Two interpreters from the foundation took them on a city tour the next day. As they passed the U.S. embassy, Baird King emerged. He had been alerted by his parents, acquaintances of the Mowers, of the imminent arrival of the missionary couple. All felt mutual comfort in a newly found friend so far from home. King inquired, “Who told you what to bring?” Elder Mower answered, “No one.” King responded, “This is going to be a hard winter.” And it was. The food stores were empty. Food lines for cheese, bread, and eggs
were long, the wait tedious, and the Mowers had no time to waste. The first winter was the toughest of their stay. Yet these circumstances soon waned into insignificance as they began to teach.

The Mowers began teaching on September 24, 1990. They could have hardly anticipated the conditions they encountered at the first class. The chalk was so hard as to be virtually useless, and the chalkboard had a surface like cement. There were no erasers; they had to wash the board with a sponge or rag and wait for the water to evaporate. The windows were broken. There was no heat. There were no books except those they had brought. The podium was a rickety platform. The class was comprised of young adults at the graduate level preparing for a Graduate Record Examination that would permit them to study abroad. They sat at grade school desks. When the weather turned colder, Elder Mower decided to move the class to the Mowers’ apartment, where accommodations were better. The class lasted three hours a day for two weeks.

Sister Mower started teaching separately during the second week, doubling their teaching capacity. They taught several different classes a day, sometimes in rotation with Bulgarian teachers of English. The classes lasted for two, four, or six weeks. The Mowers were told a week before each class where they would teach next. They would walk to class or use public transportation. Sister Mower even taught in an army installation. They taught evenings as well as days, and they rendered their service gratis. The classes grew quickly, but the Mowers managed the heavy work load. What was particularly inspirational to them was that, in spite of not knowing the language, they were always able to make appointments, deal with the customs, and run into people they needed to contact. They saw the hand of the Lord constantly with them in small matters.

Elder Mower stumbled upon another way to help their students. When he unpacked, to his surprise he found five boxes of personal checks and no neckties. He knew he had intended to pack the ties and certainly not the checks. He could see no value in them until he learned that the English testing service at the U.S. embassy would not accept payment in Bulgarian currency. U.S. dollars could not be bought in Bulgaria at the time. After reviewing
the instructions from the testing service, Elder Mower discovered they would accept U.S. checks. As a service to his students, he paid for their tests, and they returned the payment to him in Bulgarian money at the official rate of exchange. Before U.S. dollars became available to Bulgarians, the Mowers went through four boxes of checks.17

Whatever their success in teaching English, the missionaries’ efforts to establish the Church flourished. Four members lived in Bulgaria when the English teachers arrived: Dr. Kafeero G. Williams, from Uganda, baptized in London and attending medical school in Sofia; Ivan Miranov, baptized in Hungary and married to a Bulgarian; Gabor Todorov, baptized in Switzerland while attending school; and Snegina Filipova, baptized in France.18 When the Mowers’ assignment concluded in March 1992, they left a Church membership of several hundred and a mission that had the third-highest baptismal rate in Europe.19

The Mowers exerted a religious influence through their English instruction. Because no restriction was placed on the subject of their classes, they incorporated Church literature into their lessons. Because of the long absence of religion from Bulgarian culture, the discussion of religion piqued the interest of many students.

President Neuenschwander visited Sofia the weekend after the first English class. He proposed holding a fireside to which the Mowers would invite their students. Twenty came, as well as Snegina Filipova, one of the four Bulgarian members of the Church. President Neuenschwander, who holds a doctorate, described graduate school and then taught from the scriptures. The reactions were mixed. One student said the Joseph Smith story sounded like a fantasy; another, Mirella Lazarova, asked to learn more.

On October 14, 1990, a month after arriving in Bulgaria, the Mowers held a Church service in their apartment and invited their students. Twenty-three came. Mirella Lazarova interpreted for Sister Mower, and Kafeero Williams interpreted for Elder Mower. In later Church meetings, students from the English classes taught Church lessons even though they were not yet members. Within a month, fifty-four people were attending Church services, leaving standing room only.
The Mowers also made contacts in food lines. One day while waiting in a food line, a woman, eager to speak English, helped them understand the price of bread. The Mowers invited her to church. She later served as a pianist and a chorister. In another food line, they met a woman who accepted their invitation to go to church and brought her granddaughter. At the time, the child’s mother was in Italy, where she had joined the Church. The grandmother was very upset at her daughter’s conversion until she met the Mowers and became better acquainted with the Church. She was baptized and became one of the first Relief Society teachers and a translator of lesson materials.

On November 14, 1990, four proselyting missionaries arrived in Bulgaria, and, on November 24, six converts were baptized in the first Bulgarian baptismal service. Among those baptized were Mirella Lazarova and her husband, Ventsislav Lazarov. Ventsislav was later called as one of the first branch presidents, and Mirella as one of the first Relief Society presidents.

The Mowers coordinated their efforts with the proselyting missionaries. They arranged for the missionaries to attend the English classes, adding a new dimension to the lessons. One missionary, for instance, told the students about his experiences rock climbing, rappelling, and camping in America. The Mowers were assertive, and the Bulgarians seemed to accept that approach. In the words of an early convert, “They were aggressive in a good way.”

Food was scarce during the first winter. In Sofia the Mowers did not know what they would be able to buy or when they would be able to buy it. Yet, in Elder Mower’s words, “We were fed by the ravens.” An American of Bulgarian descent, Victor Coy, who was a member of the Church, came to visit his cousins in Bulgaria during Christmas. He brought food and shared it with the missionaries. He even went to Greece and brought back food. Baird King also carried in food from Greece, and President Neuenschwander brought in food from Vienna. Still, the Mowers were down to a few onions, potatoes, and some dried milk in late February 1991, when John Dinkelman, an embassy employee in Belgrade, and four missionaries from Yugoslavia drove through a snowstorm to bring in a vanload of food. The Kings also left the Mowers their excess food

when they left the country in March 1991. In spite of the “ravens,” Elder Mower lost thirty pounds during the first winter.

**Teaching English in Pravets.** The food situation was not as dire in Pravets, where the Fowlers taught at an elite boarding school. There they could eat at least one meal a day with the students. Still, they faced challenges. Whisked away upon arrival, the Fowlers found themselves isolated in a small village, totally unlike the metropolis where they had lived in Utah. However, they had little time to ponder their fate, for they immediately immersed themselves in teaching English. They found some comfort in the fact that they could converse with four Bulgarian English teachers at the school.

The school accepted approximately twelve hundred students with high achievement test scores from throughout the country and focused on training them in the use of computers. A computer company stood adjacent to the school, and some students were employed part-time in computer manufacturing.
Elder Fowler taught third- and fourth-year students, while his wife taught second-year students. In contrast to most schools in the U.S., in Pravets the teachers rather than the students moved from class to class. This custom caused considerable hardship for the older couple, who had to lug their materials up and down stairs. Unlike the Mowers, the Fowlers were unable to offer their services gratis because their salaries would have been dropped from the school budget had they not accepted the money. However, they used their salaries to benefit the school, buying hard-to-obtain supplies, such as tape recorders, in Sofia and donating them to the school. The Fowlers had the same problem with hard chalk as had the Mowers, but they solved the problem by shipping chalk in from Utah.

The main hardship for the Fowlers was their isolation. They went to Sofia at least monthly to, in Elder Fowler’s words, “recover their sanity” and to help in Church services. In Pravets they had only each other. They were told not to teach the gospel to the students unless the parents were present. As the parents lived elsewhere, the Fowlers did not proselyte. They had served in Pravets for seven months, when, in March 1991, they were temporarily transferred to Vienna. In Vienna, they learned how to manage a mission office and then returned to Sofia in June 1991 to establish and run the mission office of the newly created Bulgaria Sofia Mission.

Teaching English in Smolyan. The sisters in Smolyan also fared well in a boarding school where food was available. Smolyan is located on the southern border of Bulgaria, about six hours by bus from Sofia. The sisters taught in the Ivan Vasov Language School, which included grades two through high school. German and English were the principal languages taught. The language school was also an elite school, accepting annually only about fifty out of two thousand applicants. As in Pravets, students qualified for admittance through exams. Sister Gubler taught English classes for eighth and eleventh grades. Sister Daigle taught ninth and tenth grades. They, like the Fowlers, accepted salaries to preserve the school’s budget and returned the money to the school in supplies. They also expanded their students’ cultural experiences. For instance, they imported bats, mitts, and baseballs from Utah and taught their students how to play baseball.26
Sister Gubler did not leave religion out of the classroom. She may have been the first person to teach the Bible as literature in a public school in Bulgaria since the advent of Communism in that country, and she did it at the insistence of the students. When the students invited her to meet their families, who lived out of town, Sister Gubler explained that on Sunday she needed to study the Bible as well as hold Church services with Sister Daigle. The students were shocked that she had a Bible. One boy said, "When they come to take you away, you call me and I will protect you." They asked permission to attend her Church services, and on the first Sunday, fourteen students came to the missionaries' apartment.

When school officials learned of her weekend activities, they summoned her to explain. "The students asked," she offered in her defense, and then she reminded the officials that it may do little good to tell teenagers what they could not do. The board decided that if the students were that curious they would allow her to teach the Bible in school where they could observe. They had only one qualification—that she teach the Bible without a religious emphasis. She said that was not possible. They suggested that the subject not be brought to their attention again, so the discussion stopped, but the classes continued.

Along with English classes, the sisters taught classes in the evenings: culture one night a week, music on another, and the Bible on another. They continued to hold meetings on Sunday, and the number attending grew. When twenty students were coming, they started looking for another place to hold meetings. Assistance came through a dentist, who was curious about why Americans were in Smolyan. He arranged for the group to meet in the library of the dental clinic. Eventually, school officials let them meet on school premises in the music room so that they could have a piano. When German-speaking missionaries arrived later, the group held services in three languages, and students interpreted between Bulgarian, German, and English. When the group reached forty-five people, the Church authorized them to rent a facility in the youth center.

The Proselyting Missionaries

The first four proselyting missionaries to enter Bulgaria were serving in other countries when they were assigned to Bulgaria.
Two were from Yugoslavia, then part of the Austria Vienna East Mission, and had been speaking a language similar to Bulgarian. The other two missionaries were serving in Germany. Together, the combined skills of the missionaries prepared the way for a much larger contingent of missionaries to follow.

When David Garner entered the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah, in the fall of 1989, the Berlin Wall was still standing, and the Communist world was still a reality. His call was to Yugoslavia. Little did he realize he would be serving in more than one Communist country. On Sunday evening, November 11, 1990, the anniversary of Todor Zhivkov's arrest, President Dennis Neuenschwander phoned Elder Garner to extend a new assignment as the district leader over the first Bulgarian missionary district. The most experienced Serbo-Croatian speaker, he would be the senior elder of those entering Bulgaria. The announcement was so surprising and unexpected that after the telephone call Elder Garner turned pale and shook for at least fifteen minutes. Elder Trent Warner had served in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, for eight months when he received his telephone call from President Neuenschwander that Sunday evening. All Elder Warner knew of Bulgaria was that it produced catsup sold in Yugoslavia. Elder Garner and Elder Warner reported to Vienna the following Tuesday.

When Christian Elggren entered the Missionary Training Center for the Germany Frankfurt Mission in January 1990, he witnessed the excitement of missionaries receiving calls to enter the former Communist world. Many hoped to be included in the excitement of serving in countries that they had grown up thinking were forbidden. Elder Elggren served eight months in Germany. On Monday, November 12, 1990, he was attending a district missionary meeting in Kaiserslautern when his president, David Wirthlin, phoned and announced his assignment to Bulgaria. The missionary was numbed by the realization that he was now one of those chosen to open another part of the former Communist domain to the Latter-day Saint faith.

Elder Elggren knew little of the Bulgarians. A Romanian convert in Germany had told him that all emigré Bulgarians were former KGB agents fleeing from the reforms in their homeland. With little success, he had taught a few Bulgarians and had formed
negative opinions based on that limited contact. He therefore thought it was ironic that he had been chosen. Elder Elggren left for Frankfurt the next morning. He was joined by Elder Timothy Kuta, who had been serving in Frankfurt and had also received the surprising call to Bulgaria the previous day. President Wirthlin blessed the missionaries and put them on a plane to Vienna, Austria.

President Neuenschwander brought the German elders from the airport to the mission home just as the elders from Yugoslavia walked in from the train station. The president explained the prospects. They would be isolated in a poor and unsettled nation and would be given no allowance for failing to abide by the gospel they preached. He told them that their time was precious and that they needed to learn the language and customs as rapidly as possible in order to help the new missionaries now being called to Bulgaria.\(^{30}\) They stocked up on canned foods, soup mixes, toilet paper, sleeping bags, and other supplies. On Wednesday they departed.\(^ {31}\)

The foursome entered Bulgaria on student visas because the Church did not yet have legal status in Bulgaria.\(^ {32}\) They were hosted by the Saints Cyril and Methodius Foundation as an extension of the agreement that had brought in the English teachers. The foundation arranged for quarters and assigned them to two Bulgarian instructors—two women who spoke neither English nor German. Their textbooks were entirely in Bulgarian; bilingual dictionaries were scarce and had to be shared. Because Serbo-Croatian is related to Bulgarian, the two Yugoslavian missionaries provided a tenuous ability to communicate.\(^ {33}\) For two months, the missionaries studied six hours a day, four days a week.\(^ {34}\) In the evenings, they taught gospel discussions to students from the Mowers's English classes or to Bulgarians who had encountered the Church while traveling abroad. With his nascent understanding of the language, Elder Garner attempted to teach in Bulgarian a week after arriving.\(^ {35}\) Until they obtained some mastery of the new language, the other missionaries taught in English, German, or Serbo-Croatian.\(^ {36}\)

Originally the missionaries were to provide humanitarian service after they mastered the language, but at the end of their training this service was not requested. Consequently, since they were there, they taught. They did not proselyte in public. There was no
Food supplies brought into Bulgaria by the elders. 1990, Sofia. Standing behind their supplies are (left to right) Elders Timothy Kuta, David Garner, and Trent Warner. Courtesy Christian Elggren.
tracting door-to-door, no street contacting with displays, and no attempts to reach contacts through the media. They did not wear nametags. Still, they taught a constant flow of people as the interest generated by the Mowers spread through the students to relatives and friends. People were curious about the missionaries from America, and for some, the spiritual message the elders promoted brought hope for a better future.

The missionaries worked in a grim world of stark architecture, polluted air, and darkly clothed people hunkered in endless food lines. The entire stock of the central department store in Sofia consisted of some tools and blue work clothes. Eating establishments offered only one entrée and only a relatively few people had enough money to eat out. One had to get up early and stand in line to purchase meat. For one hour out of three, the electricity was
off. To Elder Elggren, initially everything seemed dead. But for him, the shock, the gloom, and the sadness quickly dissipated as he became involved in the lives of the people. The missionaries quickly discovered Bulgarian hospitality. Of her own volition, the coordinator of the Bulgarian classes stood in line for two hours to buy the missionaries some bologna. Although food was in short supply, the people they visited would always feed them, even when the missionaries requested that they not do so.

The missionaries found many opportunities to converse with people on the streets. A missionary would say to a person at a bus stop or on a bus, "Do you mind if I talk with you? I'm from America, and I'm trying to learn your language." Inevitably the conversation would lead to religion. One couple who wanted to learn more invited the missionaries straight off the bus into their home.

Interest in religion ran high at the time, and the missionaries were constantly occupied with teaching. On December 8, 1990, Elder Elggren reported in his journal that there were thirty-five investigators at church. He lamented that "with our [language] class, we don't have enough time to teach them all." On January 12, 1991, President Neuenschwander spoke to 230 people at a fireside. Elder Mower introduced the missionaries individually and invited people to ask them questions, and many did. By January 27, there were eighty-five investigators at church, although Church membership stood at only fifteen. On February 9, six more investigators were baptized. Elder Elggren commented in his journal, "I have no doubt in my mind that these people were prepared to begin the work here and to be the future leaders. The level of spiritual sensitivity is awesome. What a great blessing it is to be a messenger of the true gospel in this choice land with these people." In March, Elder Elggren wrote:

We have over 200 referrals to look up and this weekend Pres. Ringer of the Quorum of Seventy is coming down to speak at the [National] Palace of Culture to (get this) get us more contacts! We also had a full page article on us in the newspaper with a picture of the [Salt Lake] temple, Lehi and family on the ship and Elder Mower. It's called adding injury to pain. We can't do all.

The Lamanite Generation, a Brigham Young University performing group, went to Bulgaria in June 1991. As no one was buying
tickets, the Mowers bought a thousand tickets and gave them to former students, missionaries, neighbors, and people they had met in customs, the post office, the airport, or anywhere else. They generated an audience of two thousand. The sisters in Smolyan supported the group’s production in Plovdiv. The performances provided Bulgarians a new perspective on the Church as more than a Sunday affair, produced many investigators, and created a great deal of goodwill. Among those whose baptisms were generated by the visit of the Lamanite Generation was Lyubomir Traikov, who later became the first Bulgarian to serve as a missionary for the Church.

In February 1991, two more missionaries, Elder Bryan Meyer and Elder Mikeal Olsen, were transferred from Yugoslavia to join the four in Bulgaria. The tensions in Yugoslavia would soon erupt into a civil war, temporarily terminating any possibility of teaching a gospel of peace there. Meanwhile, the first group of missionaries specifically called to Bulgaria arrived at the Missionary Training Center in Provo, Utah, on February 13, 1991—the first anniversary of Elder Nelson’s dedicatory prayer in the Park of Liberty. They were Elders Matthew Smith, Benjamin Allred, Brian Felt, and Joel Flood.

The Kiriakovs

When the first missionaries to be sent to Bulgaria entered the Missionary Training Center, they were greeted by Julia Kiriakova.
Caswell, a native Bulgarian. The ability to speak Bulgarian was a rare skill in a church only recently permitted to enter that country, and Julia, who was a member of the Church, had accepted an invitation to move from Virginia to Provo for the purpose of teaching her native tongue to the missionaries.53

In 1963 the Kiriakov family—parents Kiril and Nevenka and children Julia and Peter—were living in Sofia. The father, Kiril, was a dental technician. When Kiril learned that a post in Algeria was available, he applied. Praying for the first time in his life, he asked that he would be able to take his family to Algeria. Six other people in Kiril's section also applied. To avoid conflict in determining who should go, the seven colleagues decided to draw slips of paper—six "noes" and one "yes"—out of a hat. Kiril drew the "yes" slip. The others protested. They drew a second time, and again Kiril drew the "yes." The group insisted on seven draws in all—demanding new slips, blindfolding Kiril, having someone else draw for him, and finally making him draw last. At every draw, Kiril's slip said, "Yes." The group finally abided by their agreement.54

After completing his assignment in Algeria, Kiril applied for a visa to vacation in France. His unspoken intent was to flee. The Bulgarian embassy granted him a visa but would not grant visas to his family. Julia offered a solution. She had been taught to forge signatures in school as part of the training offered Bulgarian children in anticipation of them defrauding their foes in the West. She forged the words "and family" on the visa after the name of the father.55 In the confusion following an attempted coup, the authorities granted the whole family visas, and the Kiriakovs escaped to France. Eventually, the Bulgarian intelligence network located them and repeatedly sent letters threatening them with death if they did not return.

The Kiriakovs had been struggling with poverty and fear for nearly one year in France when the LDS missionaries knocked on their door. The family were baptized in June 1966. Julia was eventually awarded a scholarship to Brigham Young University, and in 1969 the Kiriakovs immigrated to the U.S. In November 1989, it was Julia, broadcasting from Washington, D.C., over the Voice of America, who informed the Bulgarian people and the world that Bulgaria was no longer a Communist nation.
Kiril's patriarchal blessing informed him that he would one day preach the gospel to his people in Bulgaria. It was not pleasant to anticipate returning to a country in which the sentence of death for Kiril and of life imprisonment for Nevenka still hung over them because of their defection. Then, in 1991, Kiril lay in a hospital bed with a gangrenous leg. The surgeon intended to amputate it, but Kiril, knowing that he was still to preach the gospel in Bulgaria, refused the operation and requested a blessing from his local priesthood leaders. The next morning, he walked out of the hospital, and two days later he received a call to serve as mission president in Bulgaria. While Julia taught Bulgarian to the missionaries in Provo, her father prepared to serve as their mission president.

A New Mission

In April 1991, the missionaries taught by Julia and others in Provo arrived in Bulgaria. The first sister missionary assigned to proselyte, Raylyn Hales, arrived in June.56 The nucleus of the missionary corps was in place for the creation of a new mission. On July 1, 1991, the Austria Vienna East Mission was largely dismantled. Bulgaria Sofia became a separate mission. Romania was transferred to the Hungary Budapest Mission, and Yugoslavia to the Austria Vienna Mission, leaving only Ukraine within the earlier mission's boundaries. Austria Vienna East Mission President Dennis B. Neuenschwander had been sustained as a member of the Second Quorum of the Seventy in April conference. In July he began to serve as a counselor in the Europe Area Presidency. Thus he continued to play a role in Bulgaria but now as a support to the new mission president, Kiril Kiriakov.

Because of legal considerations, the Church came into Bulgaria not as a church, but as an association. In January 1991, Elder Mower began the process of filing and refiling the papers necessary to resolve the various questions and objections of the government so it would grant official recognition to the Church. A petition for recognition was signed by Church members in Bulgaria and submitted in April 1991.57 The Saints Cyril and Methodius Foundation leaders used their influence on behalf of the Church; they had a critical impact on the final recognition, which was granted July 10, 1991, just after the arrival of President Kiriakov. The Church
was registered in the name of Bulgarian resident Ventsislav Lazarov. Elder Elggren recorded in his journal, "Today the church was registered! What does that mean. We wear tags, we contact, we tract!" After the Church was legally recognized, the missionaries could set up a street display and, typically, within two hours fill up their schedule for a week. On September 8, 1991, Elder Boyd K. Packer and Elder Dallin H. Oaks visited Bulgaria. A church service, attended by 355 people, was held at the National Palace of Culture. The membership had now surpassed a hundred. As Elder Elggren reported, "Even the atheists were listening."

President Kiriakov served for six months before being released because of poor health. On his way to Bulgaria, he had slipped in a Zurich hotel bathtub and broken two ribs, though the extent of his injury was not known until he arrived in Bulgaria. This and other medical problems led to his early release in January 1992. President Neuenschwander confirmed that the Lord had kept his promise that President Kiriakov would preach to his people and that he had set an example for future missionaries by accepting the call to serve.

Elder Mower served as acting mission president during February 1992. In March, Dale Warner, the new mission president, arrived with his wife, Renée. President Warner had been an educational administrator and Russian teacher in the Weber County School District in Ogden, Utah, where he had been Dennis Neuenschwander's first Russian teacher. Sister Warner had taught geography and history.

In 1990 the Warners had initially been considered for service as English teachers in Bulgaria, but Elder Nelson had changed the assignment when he became aware of Brother Warner's Russian language skill. The Warners were the first missionaries called to the Finland Helsinki East Mission, which was being formed to oversee the preaching of the gospel in Russia.

The Warners served eighteen months in Finland and Russia. They had been home only two days when Brother Warner received a call from Elder Dallin H. Oaks, who asked the couple to visit him in Salt Lake City. They went, thinking that Elder Oaks wanted a report on their service in Russia. Instead, Elder Oaks called them
to serve in the land to which they had nearly been called two years previously. Entering Bulgaria in March 1992, President Warner provided the administrative skill needed to organize inexperienced members, young missionaries, and Church service workers into a united functioning whole.

Meanwhile, another couple was being called to replace the Fowlers, who were in the mission office. During the 1991 October general conference, Keith Hansen, who was living in Logan, Utah, took particular notice of Elder Nelson's talk calling for more missionaries, and he and his wife discussed serving a mission. That same day, while his wife was away, Keith received a call from Church headquarters asking the Hansens to go on a mission to Eastern Europe. Later, he had a hard time convincing his wife that they had received such a call. They preceded the Warners by two months, arriving in January 1992.65

The First Members

Following the 6 baptisms in 1990 were 147 more in 1991.66 As of October 1992, 167 more people had been baptized for a total of 320 members. Missionaries worked in Sofia, Plovdiv, and Smolyan. There were four branches in Sofia and groups in Plovdiv and Smolyan.

Fledgling Relief Society and Young Women programs were initiated by the sister missionaries in 1991. By this time in Sofia were twelve sister missionaries.67 Sister Warner, assisted particularly by Sister Leslie Ann Davis, began to direct the work of the sister missionaries in strengthening Young Women organizations and developing Relief Society programs.68 Elder Mark James helped establish the Primary program.69

By early 1994, the number of branches in Sofia had doubled, and they were organized into two districts. The groups in Plovdiv and Smolyan had become branches. The membership stood at approximately eight hundred.70

The Church had a profound effect on the lives of many of the new members. Mirella and Ventsislav Lazarova were two of the first to be baptized. When Mirella gave up coffee, her mother teased her unmercifully. Yet Mirella persisted in her beliefs, and
her mother eventually became a faithful member who strengthened the daughter she once teased. Mirella's gospel experience taught her to love people even when she disapproved of their conduct. The gospel gave her hope for something better than the banality of her environment.\footnote{71}

During October and November of 1990, Olia Botcheva attended the second English class taught by the Mowers. She knew more English than most and could communicate well with her teachers. They invited her to church, but she felt strange about going because she had little conception of what "church" meant. She was merely curious about the religion until she was visited by the missionaries. At first she thought they were simply guests, but she soon learned they were serious about teaching her their religion. She listened but was held back by the prejudices of her upbringing. The first time she read the Book of Mormon, she did so to find fault. The second time, her attitude changed; she began to recognize it was a powerful book unlike any she had read. Because of her rational upbringing, these feelings frightened her at first, but in the end, religion turned her world around. She discovered for herself that there was something greater in life than logic.\footnote{72}

On July 6, 1991, she was baptized. Her family was upset; they had been influenced by the media describing the Church as a cult and an evil influence. But they liked the missionaries. (Olia's mother would serve meat to the missionaries while Olia would be without.) Olia interpreted for foreign visitors from the Church, translated hymns, and helped edit Bulgarian translations of the scriptures. She was later admitted to Brigham Young University.

In October 1991, Zlatan Denchev, a young man with a doctorate in chemistry, sat in a class of twenty-five students waiting for their English instructor from America. There was no mistaking their instructor—Elder Mower arrived in a checked shirt and cowboy boots, speaking so rapidly that Zlatan, though he had studied English for some time, could not understand a word. It took an hour to begin catching on and a month to understand more than half, but he persisted.\footnote{73}

Zlatan also attended church. His interest was such that on one occasion after a class he stayed to hear Elder Mower's explanations about the Church even though the power was out and they

Sofia Central Branch leadership. October 25, 1992. Left to right: Zlatan Denchev, branch president (later a district president); one of his counselors; and Elder Evan Memmott, who replaced Elder Mower. Courtesy Kahlile Mehr.
sat together in darkness. Elder Mower let his students check out books, and Zlatan was the one who most availed himself of this opportunity. He checked out *Gospel Principles* and at the following class reported on the doctrine of individual agency. He asked for a Book of Mormon at the end of the English course.\(^74\)

When the missionaries visited Zlatan's home, his family, according to Zlatan, was in a critical situation, both spiritually and temporally. However, they discovered that knowing eternal truths could change their lives. In February 1992, Zlatan Denchev and his wife, Nadia, were baptized. On March 1, 1992, the last Sunday the Mowers were in Bulgaria, Zlatan blessed the sacrament for the first time.

Nadia Dencheva discovered through the gospel that happiness comes from small things. She enjoyed the happy countenances of the missionaries and felt the joy in their hearts. Pondering the changes in her life after three years and two months of membership, Nadia decided the most important change was learning how to love others.\(^75\)

These members and others similarly altered by their new faith formed the core of Church membership in Bulgaria. Friendships in the Church were deep, and members often socialized long after the meetings concluded. Branch members felt more like a large, loving family than a group of casual acquaintances.\(^76\) The new meaning that members found in their inner lives changed their outer world.

**Humanitarian Service**

During this time, the Church not only brought Bulgaria a new spiritual message, it also offered the country new means to help itself temporally. The first humanitarian service workers sent to Bulgaria were Lynn and Beverly Nelson. Lynn had served as director of the Sheltered Workshop, a special education school program in Logan, Utah. The Nelsons were called by the Welfare Department of the Church to serve in Bulgaria for eighteen months. They entered the country in February 1992 and began to ascertain what needs could be met by Church resources. They were given wide discretion in what they chose to do, for their call was simply to reduce the suffering of the children.\(^77\)
Just as the Nelsons entered Bulgaria, a large container of supplies including medical books arrived from Deseret Industries. The staff at the medical school in Sofia were ecstatic, and in order to make sure that the supplies reached them, the school sent their own vehicle to pick the container up at the seaport of Varna. The missionaries spread the contents of the shipment all over the floor in one of the rooms at the school. Elder Nelson distributed the supplies while Elder Mower stood at the door to make sure that nothing was removed without proper accounting.78

Elder Nelson visited the director of Special Schools in the Ministry of Education and asked what was needed for the children. The response was for assistance in psychological testing and curriculum development. The Nelsons relayed these requests to Salt Lake City, and a call went out for specialists willing to spend two or more weeks in Bulgaria and for donations of other resources needed to assist in upgrading the Bulgarian educational system. One of those answering the call was Cregg Ingram from Brigham Young University. Ingram visited special education schools in Bulgaria for four weeks and at the University of Sofia worked closely with the dean of the school for training special education teachers. He returned home and devoted six more months to developing the needed curriculum.

Meanwhile, the Nelsons determined that Bulgarian specialists needed firsthand experience in America. They selected the headmaster of a school for the deaf and an associate professor from the University of Sofia to visit Utah in early 1993. Professor Ingram hosted them at Brigham Young University. They also visited the University of Utah and Utah State. The foreign visitors were impressed by the respect given to those with disabilities and by the special education programs in the universities. The Nelsons also coordinated the shipment of equipment such as braille typewriters to two of Bulgaria’s schools for the blind.79

The Nelsons suggested that the Bulgarians set up a model classroom—a wood workshop with modern tools where disabled students could develop a skill that would provide them some independence in life. The headmistress of the school selected for the model classroom believed so strongly in this program that she defied the old system and demanded funds for it from chambers of
commerce in various cities. She obtained the funds for the facility, and in May 1993, the Church gave the newly acquired facility eight thousand dollars' worth of equipment and tools.\textsuperscript{80} The instructor in the new classroom was devoted to the task, having descended from a father and grandfather who both taught the disabled.

The Nelsons found time to broaden their work into other areas. They met with the head pediatrician in Bulgaria and asked again what was most needed. In response to his request for training, Fanny Tait, a neurologist, and Blair Bybee, an oncologist, both from the University of Utah Medical Center, volunteered to come to Bulgaria for two weeks. Bulgarian doctors gathered from throughout the country to be instructed, and the U.S. doctors developed a warm rapport with their colleagues. During their term of service, the Nelsons arranged for the visit of six other pediatric specialists.

Through the Nelsons, the Church helped implement a project of the International Eye Institute. The institute provided funds to purchase modern equipment, and the Church provided doctors to train Bulgarian specialists in its use. The first volunteer was Dr. Gregory Brinton, a specialist in retina surgery. He worked in Bulgaria for two weeks, both teaching and performing surgery. Seven more eye specialists came later.

The Nelsons oversaw other services, such as coordinating the delivery of textbooks to schools and libraries, microfilm equipment to archives, and clothing and blankets to orphanages.\textsuperscript{81} Though under the direction of Church headquarters, the Nelsons also coordinated their efforts with President Warner, who knew more about the ramifications of their efforts in Bulgaria.\textsuperscript{82}

Inured by years of cynicism under Communist rule, the Bulgarians were leery of accepting help without payment. Community service had always been forced in the Communist system, and they found it difficult to believe in a free offering.\textsuperscript{83} But through the Church's efforts, the Bulgarians began to see the benefits of voluntary service. The pediatricians and ophthalmologists were taught not only new techniques, but also an important social ethic that they could use to help build their country.\textsuperscript{84} On May 18, 1993, Elder M. Russell Ballard observed the results of the Nelsons' work. Assured that they had accomplished their task of blessing the children, he added, "It's a wonderful thing, and surely the Lord must
be pleased that His Church is involved in this kind of humanitar-
ian service."\textsuperscript{85}

The humanitarian service also sparked Bulgarian interest in
this new religion. They asked what church would give such ser-
vice and wanted to know more. They would often interrupt speak-
ers to ask questions about the Church. It was not uncommon for a
few hours of a medical lecture to be spent talking about the gospel.
Many influential people who knew of the projects to aid the dis-
abled became friends of the Church.\textsuperscript{86}

**The Last of the Language Teachers**

The first contract for teaching English in Smolyan was for two
years (1990–92), and the Church extended it for two more. After
the contract with the Saints Cyril and Methodius Foundation ex-
pired, the mission directly sponsored English classes in Sofia.
The Church also provided school supplies, giving the school in
Smolyan forty thousand English-language books in 1994.\textsuperscript{87} After
returning home, the Fowlers stayed in touch with the school in
Pravets and in 1994 were still sending supplies.\textsuperscript{88}

English was also taught in Shumen, which is in eastern Bul-
garia. William and Barbara Williams from St. George, Utah, ex-
tended their mission after leaving Yugoslavia and spent six months
teaching in Shumen, from January to July 1991.\textsuperscript{89}

Sister Judith Gubler left Bulgaria in December 1991. Even
after returning home, Sister Gubler maintained an interest in her
students. She essentially extended her mission by either financing
or finding others to sponsor her Bulgarian students at colleges in
California and Utah.\textsuperscript{90}

Of the original six English teachers, the Mowers were the last
to leave, doing so in March 1992.\textsuperscript{91} Lynn Nelson, the humanitar-
ian service missionary, served temporarily for thirty days as an English
teacher in Sofia until the arrival of Evan and Ruth Memmott, the
replacements for the Mowers.\textsuperscript{92} A sequence of sisters and another
couple taught in Smolyan. While Sister Gubler and Sister Daigle
were still there, two sisters were transferred to Smolyan on July 1
to teach German for the last six months of their mission: Sister
Laura Karren, who had been serving in the Germany Munich
Mission, and Sister Mirjam Vitense, who had been serving in the
Germany Frankfurt Mission. Sister Raylyn Hales arrived in June 1991 just before the departure of Sister Daigle. Sister Hales's call was to proselyte, but she taught English in Smolyan for a month and a half until her proselyting companion, Sister Kira Snow, arrived. Sister Hales was replaced in Smolyan by Sister JoAnn Vasques. Arriving with Sister Vasques was a couple—Murray and Elsie Smith. The Smiths taught German in Smolyan until the end of 1992. James and Lois Schwertz taught in Smolyan after the Smiths. They came in late 1992 but worked in humanitarian services before going to Smolyan in February 1993. While in Smolyan, the Schwertzes themselves financed the trip of the school's director to Vienna for training. Other sisters who taught in Smolyan were Sister Suzanne Vary, Sister Gwen Wheeler, and Sister Kara Gillespie.

President Warner gradually altered the English program during his presidency. Assignments for missionaries to teach English full-time were eventually phased out. Instead, President Warner assigned proselyting elders to teach faculty and staff at schools and hospitals. He always taught the first English class, made an assessment to determine at what level the class could be taught, and then assigned missionaries to continue the instruction. Of the eighty-two missionaries in Bulgaria when President Warner left in June 1994, only about fourteen were teaching English classes as part of their assignment.

Obstacles

The fall of Communism presented a new world to the Bulgarians. Interested in what had long been denied them, they began to sort through a maze of new ideas and options flooding in from the West. At first, this curiosity benefited the Church. Many Bulgarians eagerly listened to those with religious tidings from the West. The overnight transition from totalitarianism to freedom opened the door not only for the LDS Church, but for all other western churches who wished to introduce their beliefs.

In 1992, a majority of Bulgarians still knew nothing about the LDS Church; the majority of those who did know about the Church had positive opinions formed by awareness of the missionaries or the humanitarian services. By this time, however, many other

churches had also become active in Bulgaria. A few groups staged extravagant revivals and rallies and performed public faith healings. On the streets, LDS missionaries were easily recognizable as a result of their dark suits and nametags, and they were sometimes associated with the more showy evangelistic groups. About the same time, rumors about the Church began circulating, the most pernicious being that the Church taught suicide as a means to achieve heaven.97

A Swedish evangelist held a revival in Bulgaria in 1992 and was to return to Sofia in 1993. The whole city was plastered with posters, and flyers were stuffed in every mailbox. When the evangelist was refused entry for allegedly trying to spirit Bulgarian money out of the country, the media gave the incident wide attention, portraying it as a government-initiated crackdown on all religions from the West.98

The LDS Church was targeted by the press along with other religions. A flurry of negative reporting began in late 1993. Articles
appeared distorting LDS beliefs, and when a Sofia branch clerk fell to his death from an apartment window in December 1993, the press claimed that he "fanatically hoped to become a god on another planet." Although the press reported the incident as a suicide, the case was never investigated. Reports of the tragedy were nationally televised three times in a seven-day period. The media photographed and broadcast the tithing records that were in the branch clerk's room, implying clandestine financial operations.

This negative and erroneous publicity discouraged the curious from investigating the Church. As one member explained, people were frightened to listen to the missionaries because of the things they had heard in the news. Yet she felt that this fear would not stop those with a sincere interest in religion from investigating. Being a Latter-day Saint became less socially acceptable, but opposition strengthened the members' testimonies.

Missionaries at times became the objects of ridicule and the recipients of physical violence; some were hurt sufficiently to be hospitalized. But they took these problems in stride, not letting their outer circumstances alter their inner commitment. To avoid confrontations, missionaries started keeping a lower profile by occasionally not wearing nametags or suits.

Not all problems encountered by the Church in Bulgaria have been external; as Bulgarian branches have evolved from small, closely knit groups into multiple units with many new faces, the Church has encountered the same challenges that have existed in every country after the gospel has been introduced. The excitement of conversion is always difficult to match with the endurance of commitment.

The Bulgarian government has begun to retrench significantly from the "excesses of freedom" once allowed and has returned to a socialism closely resembling its Communist past. The government's attitude is that foreign churches have exploited the country; Bulgaria will continue to restrict the activity of these churches as long as this perception remains. Still, officials have not entirely classified The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in this category. The Church arrived with a program of service aimed at meeting the needs of the people as defined by the Bulgarian government. English teachers and humanitarian service workers
contributed to the country's well-being at the time Bulgaria came into open contact with the Western world. Some government officials admit privately that, unlike some groups, the Latter-day Saints keep their promises.\textsuperscript{105}

**Conclusion**

The LDS Church has been in Bulgaria since 1990. It has sent not only its missionaries to reach the soul, but also its volunteers to treat the body and teach the mind. The Church's humanitarian service has allowed the Church to meet the physical needs of a people and provide spiritual guidance to those who express an interest. Sending English teachers to a country in which the Church is not yet established has been tried elsewhere but not with such an immediate effect on Church growth as in Bulgaria. The work in Bulgaria exemplifies in action as well as in word the Church's ultimate purpose of blessing the lives of the people.

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**NOTES**

\textsuperscript{1}For a brief history of the Church in these countries, see listings under each country in the 1995-96 Church Almanac, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1994).

\textsuperscript{2}During 1985 watershed events in the Church's humanitarian service occurred when two churchwide fasts were held on behalf of African famine victims. The total donation toward the purchase of foodstuffs amounted to ten million dollars.

\textsuperscript{3}Russell M. Nelson, "Drama on the European Stage," Ricks College Devotional, November 13, 1990, typescript, 7, copy in possession of the author.

\textsuperscript{4}Prior to an offer of service to the Bulgarian government, Elder Nelson had approached other governments with offers of humanitarian assistance. In the aftermath of Armenia's 1988 earthquake, Elder Nelson represented the Church in negotiating an agreement with the Armenian government to provide for disaster relief as directed by them. This assistance eventually took the shape of refurbishing a concrete factory to produce building slabs. The week before his visit to Armenia, Elder Nelson had been in Romania, inquiring of the Romanian government what the Church could do to help the Romanian people. He left after agreeing to provide

3Morris Mower and Annetta Mower, interview with author, Salt Lake City, November 3, 1993, notes in possession of the author. Unless otherwise indicated, this interview is the source for material in the Pravets section.
4Delbert Fowler, telephone interview with author, December 31, 1994, notes in possession of the author.
7Judith Gubler, telephone interview with author, December 31, 1994, notes in possession of the author. This interview is also the source for the next two paragraphs.
8M. Fowler, telephone interview.
9Morris Mower, speech given at Bulgarian fireside, Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward, April 21, 1994, notes in possession of the author.
10The apartment was located on Tsar Asen I, no. 22A. They later obtained a meeting place on P. Parchevich, no. 49. Morris Mower, telephone interview with author, March 21, 1997.
16Keith Hansen, interview with author; Sofia, Bulgaria, October 22, 1992.
17M. Mower, Bulgarian fireside.
18Olia Botcheva, interview with author, Provo, Utah, August 4, 1994, notes in possession of the author.
21D. Fowler, telephone interview; M. Fowler, telephone interview. These are the sources for the rest of the section.
22Gubler, telephone interview. Unless otherwise noted, this is the source for the rest of this section.

T. Warner, telephone interview.

Christian Elggren, interview with author, Salt Lake City, August 4, 1994, notes in possession of the author. This is also the source for the next paragraph.

Elggren, interview.

T. Warner, interview.


Elggren, interview.

Garner, interview.


T. Warner, interview.

Elggren, interview.

Garner, interview.

Elggren, interview.


Garner, interview.


Botcheva, interview.

Elggren, interview.


Caswell, interview.

Kuta, “Apostles to the Slavs,” 24–27. This is also the source for rest of the section unless otherwise noted.


Elggren, interview.


Dale Warner, interview with author, Ogden, Utah, December 26, 1994. This is also the source for the next two paragraphs.

Hansen, interview.
66Hansen, interview. This is the source for the rest of the paragraph.
67Dusty Kawai and Leslie Ann Davis Kawai, interview with author, April 10, 1994, notes in possession of the author.
70Zlatan Denchev, speech given at Bulgarian fireside, Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward, April 21, 1994, notes in possession of the author; M. Mower, Bulgarian fireside.
71Miruela Lazarova, speech given at Bulgarian fireside, Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward, April 21, 1994.
72Olia Botcheva, interview with author, Provo, Utah, August 4, 1994, notes in possession of the author. This is the source for the next paragraph as well.
73Denchev, Bulgarian fireside.
74M. Mower, Bulgarian fireside. This is the source for the next paragraph as well.
75Nadia Dencheva, speech given at Bulgarian fireside, Salt Lake City Twentieth Ward, April 21, 1994.
76Botcheva, interview.
77Lynn Nelson, telephone interview with author, December 31, 1994, notes in possession of the author. Unless otherwise noted, this is the source for the rest of the section.
80D. Warner, interview.
81aVolunteers Bring Hope,” 4.
82D. Warner, interview.
85aVolunteers Bring Hope,” 4.
87D. Warner, interview.
88M. Fowler, telephone interview.
89M. Fowler, telephone interview.
90Gubler, telephone interview.
91M. Mower, Bulgarian fireside.
92Nelson, telephone interview.
93Gubler, telephone interview.
96D. Warner, interview. This is also the source for the next paragraph.
97Kawai, interview.
98D. Warner, interview; Kawai, interview.

D. Warner, interview.

Lazarova, Bulgarian fireside.

D. Warner, interview.

Botcheva, interview.

Botcheva, interview.

D. Warner, interview.
Not of This Fold

Sherrie Johnson

Becoming part of the fold
is not as easy as it seems.
Bending
so as to make
everything square.

Folding while everyone
is bending in
different directions
is counter
to everything.

But,
the grace of pleat against pleat
is worth the wrinkledness
once you are there.
"Tomorrow Shall Be My Dancing Day"

Cynthia L. Hallen

"It's the heart afraid of breaking
That never learns to dance."

—from "The Rose" by Amanda McBroom

Our ballet teacher says that every time we come to dance practice we learn something new about our bodies and our spirits. I have learned that my body has strengths and weaknesses. My natural turnout is not ideal. I can improve, but I probably never will point my knees in east-west pliés and north-south splits. I have to be careful not to torque the bending activities because my right ankle and knee are still weak from old accidents. My mother says that my right foot was bent up against the front of my ankle at birth, so every day for several weeks she had to massage it back into shape.

My left side is more limber than my right. Lower-back lateral flexibility is one of my strengths, so I am good at extending my leg on the bar. I have a good sense of balance, so I can also extend one leg back in arabesque position when we work in center without the bar. The pas de chat “cat-step” is my favorite pattern.

When we focus on one thing at a time, I can obey the teacher’s commands. When the instructions are more complicated, I often become confused. To simultaneously move my legs, arms, and head into different but complementary positions does not come easily. My brain seems to reverse concepts of right and left, up and down, back and front. I sometimes feel like a turkey, but I learn from watching and following the swans.
The teacher explains that some people have an extra bone in the foot that inhibits full arching of the foot and pointing of the toe. I must have the extra bone, because I sickle the foot in my efforts to gain extension. Every once in a while I feel the energy spiraling down my leg and out through my toe in a perfect line of beveled light. On a good day, I have won a word of praise.

Children who study dance are able to develop the rotator muscles that good ballet position demands. Starting ballet as an adult is harder because the outer thigh quad muscles want to do all the work in bending and lifting the legs. Learning to use the rotators means struggling to become again as a little child. Dancing means a restoration of my childhood—the joy of walking on my first birthday, the delight of discovering that buggy wheels move, the thrill of skating on ice.

I have a native sense of musicality. My body can dance or skate gracefully in spontaneous freestyle patterns when I am not feeling self-conscious. Music also affects my soul. When I hear fine music, I want to be good, I want to be kind, I want to be pure. My soul wants the discipline of dance, not just the freedom. But my in-born response to music does not automatically include a talent for counting and keeping time. Music and dance demand a mathematical precision that sometimes paralyzes me. I can sense the logic and see the purpose of the patterns, but I am confounded in performance. The temptation to quit dancing is strong, but my love for music helps me go on.

Some students have the gift to perform a complex dance figure just by viewing the teacher's demonstration one time. I usually have to learn the dance over and over again in separate steps, as if I am repatterning a part of my brain that has become lame. Perhaps my body is tired of being contracted by past fears, is weary from contortions that I have assumed to protect myself from emotional pain. To overcome these mental and physical restrictions takes an incredible amount of work and energy.

Making mistakes in daily practice is a threat—what if my mistakes are etching the wrong messages into my muscles? I feel frustrated when I cannot get the exercises right on the first try. Yet the ballet syllabus forbids us from saying that we cannot do the figures. We must try in spite of error. On a good day, my body responds to
my work, my wishes, and my will. After days of effort, something registers in my mind, and my body complies.

In spite of the difficulties, I love ballet. My mortal body tends to hunch and fidget with hypervigilance when I am tired. My true soul has good posture, graceful gestures, timely discipline, and elegance. When we stretch, I feel liberated. When we jump, I feel exhilarated. Dance to my body is like food to the starving; dance to my soul is like water to a garden.

"The Bitter Snow"

"Far beneath the bitter snow,
Lies the seed that with the sun's love
In the Spring becomes the rose."

—from "The Rose"

Daddy was the only child of a harsh father and a doting mother. Embittered by unresolved family problems, Daddy ridiculed Grandma Gert and resented Grandpa Joe. As soon as he graduated from high school, he enlisted in the Air Force to get away. He met and married my mother when he came home on leave after the Korean War.

Both of my parents loved the color blue. For their first Christmas Eve, they bought blue lights and blue ornaments for the Christmas tree. My father, who tried to drown his insecurities in alcohol, became violent and knocked over the tree, breaking the holiday into fragments of blue glass. My mother saw the signs of danger, but she was pregnant. Three other children followed, and she stayed in the marriage for our sake. Daddy had his good days and his good points, but patterns of verbal and physical violence continued. Under his hand, we fell like trees, breaking into splinters of wooden fear.

Daddy's disabilities and drinking problems made it hard for him to stay employed, so my mother had to support the family. When Grandma Gert became gravely ill, Daddy had to borrow money from his Aunt Elizabeth to fly home to Wisconsin. Instead of going straight to the hospital to see his mother, Daddy procrastinated and went to a local bar to drink a few beers with some old
buddies. That night Grandma Gert died, without seeing her son again. He arrived at the hospital too late to say good-bye, which added more guilt to his cup of inescapable pain.

By the time I was a senior in high school, my parents' marriage had deteriorated beyond repair. I tried to escape from the violence in our home by searching for love and truth elsewhere. Just before I graduated from high school, my quest led me to become a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. At the same time, my mother decided to leave my father.

When the divorce became final, Daddy moved back to Wisconsin to live with his widowed father. Hardened by old sins, bad habits, deep griefs, and stubborn grudges, Grandpa Joe and Daddy fought constantly. One Sunday night, Daddy came home very drunk from an Am-Vets picnic and suffered a stroke. He lay on the floor for two more days before Grandpa realized that he was critically ill and called an ambulance. Daddy died in the hospital a few days later. We four children attended the funeral and saw him buried in his Air Force dress blues. Grandpa fell and broke his hip the night we arrived, so he did not attend the funeral. The doctor sent him to a nursing home, and he never lived in his own house again.

A few months after Daddy's funeral, I went away to college. I lived for a year with my ninety-year-old Great-aunt Elizabeth, who taught me the names of my ancestors. She also told me about an incident she had witnessed at Granpa Joe's house. One day, when I was just old enough to walk, my father came into the living room in a bad mood. I ran to the arms of my father as toddlers do. Instead of embracing me, Daddy hit me, knocking me down to the floor with the back of his hand.

When Great-aunt Elizabeth died, I decided to go on a mission before continuing my education. But first, I flew to Wisconsin to help Grandpa Joe settle his affairs. When he allowed me to sort out the belongings left in the family homestead, I found a troubled note in his handwriting that explained my father's last days. Grandpa's note stated that Daddy had come home from the picnic in a drunken stupor. Grandpa confessed that he yelled at Daddy to turn down the volume on the television. Daddy did not respond at all, so Grandpa hit him, knocking him down to the floor. Daddy never got up again. Grandpa wrote that he did not know that Daddy was
so ill; he wanted someone to know that he did not kill his own son. I tore up the note. Then I gathered photographs and the documents that would enable me to do the temple ordinances for my family members.

Only lately have I been able to come to terms with our history. The father who struck his children down to the floor died after his father struck him down to the floor. The Son of God, who was lifted up on the cross, descended below these things so that he could lift us all up from the dust to dance in the day of resurrection.

Blue Roses

Therefore they shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together to the goodness of the Lord . . . and their soul shall be as a watered garden. (Jer. 31:12)

Our fifth-grade class was my first memorable exposure to talent shows and the fine arts. Kathy Murphy played “Für Elise” by Beethoven (I thought she said “Furry Leaves”). Martha Mitchell wore ballet slippers, dancing to a song by Burl Ives called “Thank Heaven for Little Girls.” Another student transformed the witches’ speech from Macbeth into a soliloquy: “Double, double, toil and trouble.”

I had never read Shakespeare; I had not taken acting lessons or piano lessons. I had been enchanted by the biography of Anna Pavlova, but I had never taken ballet lessons. I did not know what to do for the talent show. My mother encouraged me to sing, so I selected a favorite folk song from the arts volume of the Childcraft Encyclopedia. When it was my turn, I tried to sing the words. Nothing came out but a thin expiration of terrified air. On the last chorus of the second verse, I finally managed a squeaky whisper, “On the bonny, bonny banks of Loch Lomond.”

Notwithstanding such disappointments, in high school I took up poetry, painting, harp lessons, modern dance, and drama. When I saw a ballerina dance “The Dying Swan” on the Ed Sullivan Show, I cried like a child. I felt the stirrings of some kind of beauty within me, and I cried because I did not have a name or a face for the gift.
My exposure to the liberal arts continued with Great-aunt Elizabeth, who was a humanities scholar. Elizabeth was not a Latter-day Saint, but she admired LDS Church members because they took care of their own and had compassion on the less fortunate. She had been especially touched by the kindness of some young men at an institute dance years before. An LDS couple had invited her to be the guest speaker for a lecture series. After the lecture, there was a dance, and Elizabeth stayed to observe the young people. On the sidelines of the cultural hall, she saw a handicapped girl who could hardly walk, much less dance. Throughout the evening, all of the young men took turns asking her to dance. Elizabeth never forgot how the young woman was included.

While I lived with Aunt Elizabeth, I began to attend the institute dances. At first, I stood in the back corner of the hall, feeling shy and plain and ever so awkward. Kind brothers soon sought me out and brought me into the circle of fun and friendship. Sometimes I forgot my fears, and brothers would waltz me around the room. Sometimes I faltered, and one brother laughed me out of failure by comparing our fox-trot to the “Nephites” (knee-fights). Another brother borrowed a record player after family home evening and asked me to dance in his kitchen. I refused, even though I was secretly in love with him, because I did not want him to know my clumsiness. I was haunted when he expressed disappointment: “You don’t trust me,” he said. How could I explain that it was myself I did not trust, that unseen burdens and barriers often kept me from participating wholeheartedly in the dance of life.

That same year, I took a drama class and read The Glass Menagerie by Tennessee Williams. I cried and cried when Jim asked Laura to dance and she accepted in spite of her lameness. It was not just the dance and the broken glass unicorn and the “blue roses” that made me cry. I cried about the family pain, the fragility, the lost alcoholic father, and the faceted globe of illusions at the Paradise Dance Hall. I cried because somehow, someday, love would triumph over self-absorption, self-pity, and self-indulgence: “Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance . . . for I will turn mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from their sorrow” (Jer. 31:13).
"The Lord of the Dance"

At a 1995 single-adult conference fireside, Elder Andrew Peterson told us to go home, bend the knees of our hearts in prayer, and crawl to the healing pool of Siloam before the Lord. If we would so humble ourselves, the Lord would have a special message of instruction for each one of us. I obeyed, prayed, and searched the scriptures for light. I was led to a message of comfort in Jeremiah 31:3–4:

Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee. Again I will build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: thou shalt again be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry.

As I prayed about the scripture, I felt prompted to participate in the weekly Church dances for single adults, which I had not attended for a long time. Shortly after I began going to the dances again, I was called to be the single adult leader in our ward.

Like the Paradise Dance Hall, the Church dances seemed to be a paradox of hopes and disillusion. I liked making friends and listening to popular music. I enjoyed dancing with a Middle Eastern brother who turned me around the room in style. I liked the community spirit of country line dancing that invites all to participate whether they have a partner or not.

However, many of my single friends could not bear to go to the dances. The contrast between promised blessings and present realities can seem to be a painful joke for those who have never been married. After death or divorce takes a spouse, the spirit of loneliness can be overwhelming, notwithstanding the colored lights, the lively music, and the dressy crowds. In spite of priesthood supervision, the dances sometimes attract predators, malcontents, or even married persons out on a lark away from home.

I admire the human courage of brothers and sisters who go to the dances anyway. Some of them carry heavy burdens of disappointment and responsibility. My own losses seem small in comparison. Many single adult brothers and sisters have lost people that they knew: husbands, wives, children. How can they dance, I sometimes wonder, with such pain? Perhaps they dance because they sense that dancing is a promise. Dancing fulfills a prophecy of
deep spiritual significance. No matter what happens, Christ is the Lord of the Dance: “Let them praise his name in the dance: let them sing praises unto him with the timbrel and the harp” (Ps. 149:3).

The Red Shawl

In the October 1992 conference, Elder Merrill J. Bateman told a true story about Ann Parker, a pioneer woman in a handcart company. Her little boy had wandered away from the trail and was lost. The members of the company searched for three days for the boy and then had to move on. When Ann sent her husband, Robert, back alone to look for the child, she gave him her red shawl: “If he found him dead, he was to wrap him in the shawl; if alive, the shawl would be a flag to signal her.” Three days later, Ann saw the red shawl dancing on the horizon and slept for the first time in six days.

I thought about that red shawl of hope as I went to the temple one Friday night before the single’s dance. I sat in the chapel and searched the scriptures as if I were looking for the red shawl. In the celestial room, I noticed the red sash that Jesus wears in the portrait of his second coming. The Lord seemed to be looking at me with outstretched arms, as if to say, “This have I done for my true love.” I started to understand something.

Many pioneers lost loved ones and had to leave them behind on the trail, but through Christ their love was not in vain. Even if Robert Parker had not found his lost son, his search would not have been futile. Even if he had buried the child in the red shawl, the story would not be a tragedy. Even if Ann Parker had not seen the shawl of joy gleaming on the horizon, her prayers would not have been fruitless. Even if death had taken her beloved son, her hopes would not have been foolish.

I went from the temple to the dance, wearing a new red dress (rumor has it that women in red get more invitations to dance). I sat under the red lights, drinking red punch, listening to sentimental songs like “Lady in Red.” I waited for someone who never came, but I was not alone. For a moment, the scene was transformed from a mismatched menagerie to a gathering of quiet glory. I saw those single adults on a pioneer path, looking for loved ones like a mother searching for a dear child. Some of the sisters and brothers are out
there dancing, looking for the Lord to wave a second chance to them from the horizon. Others have buried their dreams in the red shawl, giving up the last vestiges of warmth and comfort as a sacrifice. They may sit on the side for a while, not dancing. For a small moment, they may mourn, but soon they will go forward, watching faithfully for restorations, waiting patiently for compensations.

Like all of God's children, we need not despair if the sun sets on the day without a glimpse of the red shawl. The Lord who has healed the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf will also make the lame to dance and the desolate to leap as an hart. If not now, then tomorrow will be our dancing day:

> Thou hast turned for me my mourning into dancing; thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness; To the end that my glory may sing praise to thee, and not be silent, O Lord my God, I will give thanks unto thee for ever. (Ps. 30:11-12)

This essay was awarded third place in the 1996 BYU Studies Essay Contest. Cynthia L. Hallen is Associate Professor of Linguistics at Brigham Young University.
Pioneer

Ed D. Lauritsen

Hear the midnight mobs still hounding,
Hear the gunshots still resounding,
Hear the fists on doors still pounding,
   Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Smell the smoke of Nauvoo burning,
Feel the Mississippi churning,
Taste the tears of grief and yearning,
   Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Feel the icy night wind screaming,
See your breath in lamp-light steaming,
Keep awake! There’s death in dreaming,
   Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Chip a frozen grave for brother,
Grip the trembling hand of mother,
Live one day, and then another,
   Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Lash and bend and drag and carry,
   Ration every root and berry,
Grit your way across the prairie,
   Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .
Storm the mountains, steep and looming,
Hear the crashing boulders booming,
See the oxen straining, fuming,
Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Gaze at last with soulful sighing,
See the object of your trying,
Join the thankful singing, crying,
Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Tame the desert, bring the waters,
Raise up Zion’s sons and daughters,
Steady them while mammon totters,
Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Send yourstripling missionaries,
Send them over seas and prairies,
Send them while the Spirit tarries,
Pioneer, oh pioneer. . . .

Watch us now from where you’re waiting,
See the millions congregating,
Shout in holy celebrating!
Pioneer, oh pioneer.

In commemoration of the sesquicentennial anniversary of the arrival of the Mormon pioneers, July 24, 1847.
Short Study

James H. Hart’s Contribution to Our Knowledge of Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer

Edward L. Hart

Most Latter-day Saints take for granted the existence of portraits of the Three Witnesses, but in fact no likeness of Oliver Cowdery was available to the Church until 1883, and then it was touch-and-go whether one would be obtained. Had it not been for the faith and tenacity of James H. Hart, who pursued the portrait when others had failed, we might never have known just what Oliver Cowdery looked like. In the course of following the trail of the portrait, Hart was also able to conduct important interviews with David Whitmer.

Junius F. Wells, editor of the Contributor, a Church publication, could find no picture of Cowdery when he planned to publish portraits of the Three Witnesses in the October 1883 issue. He knew that an oil portrait and a daguerreotype photograph, taken of Cowdery four years before his death, were in Missouri in the hands of Cowdery’s daughter, whose husband, Dr. Charles Johnson, was adamant about not letting the likenesses go. Wells, with the aid of others, had tried unsuccessfully to obtain the daguerreotype and as a last resort turned to James H. Hart for assistance.1 “As it is my special mission to obtain it,” wrote Hart, “I shall no doubt be successful.”2

At the time Wells called upon him for help, Hart was immigration agent for the Church in New York3 and was on one of his regular visits West between immigrant ship arrivals. He immediately made plans to stop over in Missouri on his return trip to New York. He went first to see David Whitmer in Richmond, expecting to find the Johnsons there also. Whitmer informed him that the
The first LDS publication of Oliver Cowdery's portrait. This frontispiece for the October 1883 *Contributor* shows the Three Witnesses over an engraving of the Hill Cumorah. The angel on the left holds a scroll that reads, "Rev. XIV-6." At the top right is a heavenly being showing the golden plates to three men. Under Cowdery's portrait are the sticks or scrolls of Joseph and Judah brought together. Courtesy Edward L. Hart.
Johnsons, along with Whitmer's sister (Oliver Cowdery's widow), were in the extreme southwest corner of the state, South West City. Whitmer was not optimistic that Dr. Johnson would permit the portrait or the daguerreotype to be taken away.4

The railway stop nearest to South West City was Seneca, twenty-eight miles away. At Seneca, Hart hired a buggy and driver.5 The month was August, and the heat, dust, and flies assailed the horses, the driver, and Hart—always the immaculate English gentleman, with a full beard, top hat, and cane. Undeterred, Hart continued to the Johnson home.

"The doctor was at first quite hostile," Hart wrote, "but after laboring with him several hours, during which his wife and Mrs. Cowdery warmly seconded my pleading, some kind spirit came upon him and he gave me the choice between the oil painting and the daguerreotype." Hart wisely chose the daguerreotype and returned to Seneca the way he had come. He continued on to New York, where he placed the picture in the hands of H. B. Hall and Son, engravers. Since the engravers already had the likenesses of the other two Witnesses, they were able to complete the frontispiece in time for the October 1883 issue of the Contributor.

On a subsequent trip West, Hart repeated his journey to South West City to return the daguerreotype to its owners. Hart's acceptance of the assignment to procure the likeness as a "special mission" made him willing to expend a great deal of effort, which, along with his determination, conversational skill, and charm, resulted in the procurement of the portrait of Oliver Cowdery now familiar to virtually all Latter-day Saints.

During his journeys to obtain the daguerreotype and return it, James Hart had two opportunities to interview David Whitmer in Richmond, Missouri. Hart was one among several who reported that Whitmer remained firm to the end in his testimony of the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. Even though others also reported on Whitmer's testimony, some distinctive features of Hart's interviews lend a credibility that make them worth examining.

To begin with, Hart, sometime editor of the Bear Lake Democrat, which changed its name later to the Southern Idaho Independent, and associate editor of the Paris Post, was a skilled journalist and employed a form of Pitman shorthand to take down verbatim
his interviews with Whitmer, often putting portions in quotation marks. Immediately after the interviews, while his memory was still fresh, he transcribed his shorthand notes into his journal. Subsequently, Hart expanded the interviews by providing background and setting and then sent the write-ups to his hometown newspapers and to the Deseret News.

On his return visit to David Whitmer, Hart showed him what he had written, and Whitmer “fully endorsed [it] as a correct expression of his sentiments.”7 The final stage for Hart was the transformation of the prose versions of the interviews into a long poem divided into iambic pentameter quatrains composed of two couplets. In this final form, called appropriately “An Interview with David Whitmer,”8 Hart was able to be even more expansive with details “recollected in tranquility.”9

To show how the first David Whitmer interview progressed from journal entry to Deseret News account to poetry, I give one example by way of illustration, beginning with the opening sentence of the journal entry:

August 21st 1883
Richmond Mo.

I met David Whitmer and his son David and had a pleasant conversation with them.10

For the Deseret News account, Hart provided a setting and details about the weather:

Seneca, Newton County
Missouri, Aug. 23d, 1883

Having some business in Richmond, Ray County, I took occasion to call on Mr. David Whitmer, who was suffering considerably from the intense heat, but I had, notwithstanding, a long and pleasant conversation with him and his son, David Whitmer, Jr.11

The first stanza of Hart’s poem adds further detail about the age and personal appearance of David Whitmer:

I met an aged man the other day,
In Richmond, Missouri, in County Ray.
His step was feeble, but his eye was bright,
And in it beamed intelligence and light.

This poetic version allows us a personal glimpse of Whitmer that we do not get in the two previous versions: his age, the feebleness
of his step, and the "intelligence and light" that beamed in his eye. The imagery makes it possible for the reader to visualize the scene, and the straightforward colloquial tone together with the versification adds force and dynamism to the statement, thus sharpening considerably the focus of the interview.

And so through the entire text of the journal entry, the full news dispatches, and the complete poem, the reader finds no alteration of substantive facts, but rather a fullness in the strengthening and vivifying enhancement of their statement. When the poem was privately printed in blue ink on a parchment broadside, James H. Hart wrote in a footnote:

It is worthy of historical mention that the above poem was read and approved by David Whitmer. At a subsequent visit by the author, shortly before David's death, in the presence of his grandson, now the custodian of the manuscript of the Book of Mormon, and other relics, he expressed much pleasure in the receipt and reading of said poem, and acknowledged it as authentic in its entirety.12

James H. Hart's "special mission" proved to be successful not only in obtaining a portrait of Oliver Cowdery, but also in making a lasting contribution to our knowledge of another Book of Mormon witness, David Whitmer.

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NOTES


3Hart also served as first counselor to William Budge in the Bear Lake Stake presidency.

4Hart to Deseret News, September 4, 1883.

5Hart to Deseret News, September 4, 1883.


8The poem has been reprinted many times. The full text of the poem can be found in *Contributor* 5 (October 1883), the same issue that carried the frontispiece of the Three Witnesses.


10James H. Hart, Journal, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives). Hart wrote this entry in longhand, but his journal contains a great deal written in shorthand.


12A copy of this printing of the poem and footnote is pasted in James H. Hart’s scrapbook, now in author’s possession but shortly to be turned over to BYU Archives.
The Mantle of the Prophet Joseph Passes to Brother Brigham: A Collective Spiritual Witness

After the death of Joseph Smith, many of the Saints reported that they received a strong spiritual witness that convinced them the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham Young.

Lynne Watkins Jorgensen and BYU Studies Staff

We would like to acknowledge the help of those who, when learning of this research project, informed us about mantle accounts in their family records. Without such help, we might not have located those accounts. Any readers aware of documented testimonies of the mantle experience that are not included in this collection are invited to contact BYU Studies or Lynne Jorgensen. —Ed.

Foreword

On August 8, 1844, six weeks after the Prophet Joseph Smith’s martyrdom, a meeting of the Saints was held in Nauvoo, Illinois. Brigham Young, President of the Quorum of the Twelve, and several other Apostles had just returned from missions. The purpose of the meeting was to determine by vote who had the right and responsibility to lead the Church—Sidney Rigdon, First Counselor in the First Presidency, or the Quorum of the Twelve with Brigham Young at their head.1 In the course of the two meetings held that day, many in attendance received a divine witness that Brigham Young was to be the next leader: some Saints specifically state that as Brigham Young addressed the congregation he sounded and appeared remarkably like Joseph Smith, others simply...
say that the “mantle of Joseph” or “of the prophets” rested on Brigham Young, and others state that they were given a witness “by the spirit” that Brigham was to lead the Church.

This spiritual experience, which has come to be known as “the mantle of the Prophet falling on Brigham Young,” served to unite and comfort the Saints as they mourned the death of their beloved prophet and to direct them when they voted to support Brigham and the Twelve as leaders of the Church. Some Saints who were not present at the August 8 meetings reported experiencing a similar “mantle” witness on later occasions. At least one hundred people wrote or otherwise passed on their remembrances of this witness.

Most Mormon historians acknowledge the mantle story, agreeing that something important happened in August 1844. For example, Ronald K. Esplin states, “Though there is no contemporary diary account, the number of later retellings, many in remarkable detail, argues for the reality of some such experience.” Leonard J. Arrington notes that an important event “took place” but observes that there may be psychological explanations for the phenomenon and reserves judgment regarding whether a miraculous transfiguration occurred. Others, however, have concluded that it is unlikely that a miraculous spiritual manifestation took place. Richard S. Van Wagoner, for instance, writes, “When 8 August 1844 is stripped of emotional overlay, there is not a shred of irrefutable contemporary evidence to support the occurrence of a mystical event.” Van Wagoner concludes that “a more likely scenario was that it was the force of Young’s commanding presence, his well-timed arrival at the morning meeting, and perhaps a bit of theatrical mimicry, that swayed the crowd.”

In order to enable readers to examine the evidence underlying these interpretations for themselves, numerous accounts of the mantle experience have been compiled in appendixes I and II of this article. The evidence presented in these accounts demonstrates that many people testified powerfully that they had received a convincing sensory or spiritual witness of the mantle of the Prophet Joseph falling on Brigham Young.
The Symbolic Mantle: Elijah and Elisha

The image of the mantle as a symbol of the passing of authority is at least as old as the well-known Old Testament story of the prophet Elijah and Elisha, his young follower. The Lord told Elijah that he was to anoint Elisha "to be prophet in thy room." Elisha was plowing in the fields when Elijah walked past him and placed his rough mantle (cloak or cape) across the younger man's shoulders. Elisha left the fields to follow Elijah and to minister to him (1 Kgs. 19:16-21).

As the story continues, the time came for Elijah to leave his earthly mission:

And it came to pass, when they were gone over [the Jordan River], that Elijah said unto Elisha, Ask what I shall do for thee, before I be taken away from thee. And Elisha said, I pray thee, let a double portion of thy spirit be upon me. And he said, Thou hast asked a hard thing: nevertheless, if thou see me when I am taken from thee, it shall be so unto thee; but if not, it shall not be so. (2 Kgs. 2:9-10)

When the veil parted, there appeared a horse-drawn chariot of such brilliant glory it was called a "chariot of fire." This vehicle swept between Elijah and Elisha, and Elijah "went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (2 Kgs. 2:11).

And Elisha saw it, and he cried, My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof. And he saw him no more: and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them in two pieces. He took up also the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and went back, and stood by the bank of Jordan; And he took the mantle of Elijah that fell from him, and smote the waters, and said, Where is the Lord God of Elijah? and when he also had smitten the waters, they parted hither and thither: and Elisha went over. And when the sons of the prophets which were to view at Jericho saw him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed themselves to the ground before him. (2 Kgs. 2:12-15)

Like the "sons of the prophets," many of the Saints in Nauvoo experienced a witness of the Lord's designation of the next prophet as they met in conference in Nauvoo on August 8, 1844. The mantle experience of 1844 has become a symbol of the transfer of prophetic authority in the Church. After the death of a
prophet and the identification of his successor, members of the Church frequently say that "the mantle has fallen once again."²⁸

**Oral Tradition of Mantle Testimonies**

Several years ago, on a warm Sunday morning on a houseboat at Lake Powell, my father, Victor Watkins, gathered his children and grandchildren together to share with them his testimony of the August 8, 1844, miracle.³ He told them about his own grandfather, William Lampard Watkins, who was seventeen at the time of Joseph Smith’s martyrdom on June 27, 1844. When William heard the tragic news, he was in Kentucky campaigning for the Prophet, who was running for president of the United States.⁴ William hurried back to Nauvoo to join other grieving and confused mourners. At this point in the story, my father pulled a wrinkled paper from his pocket and began to read directly from William’s own words:

A meeting was appointed for August 8th [1844] by which time Brigham Young and most of the other apostles had returned home. It was at this meeting Sidney Rigdon made a lengthy and tedious speech presenting his claims, telling the people what wonderful things he had planned for them.

... The darkness was soon dispelled, for Brigham Young explained before the people on that day, the order of the Priesthood. He was filled with the power of the Holy Ghost. He stood before the people as the Prophet Joseph Smith often had done and we heard the voice of the true shepherd, for he spoke with the voice of Joseph. His manner and appearance were like unto Joseph’s and it was manifested to all those present upon whom the responsibility rested to carry on the work of God and lead the Saints.⁵

Sharing an ancestor’s testimony of seeing and/or hearing Brigham’s transformation before the multitude of followers is a tradition for many Latter-day Saint families whose forebears witnessed the event. Juanita Leavitt Brooks recalled that her grandfather Dudley Leavitt loved to retell the story as long as he lived.⁶ John and Eliza Billington Welch “were both present at the meeting held August 8, 1844 where the mantle of the Prophet fell on Brigham Young... and these facts they related many, many times to their children and grandchildren, greatly strengthening and adding to the testimonies of those who listened.”⁷ Some descendants of Cynthia Harrington Durphy Bowen have for generations
required their children to memorize Cynthia's account of the event. William Ervin Stoker, who was raised from the age of six by his grandfather William Stoker, stated with pride that his grandfather "knew the Prophet Joseph Smith personally and was present when the Mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young, and received a personal testimony." He would add that he owed much to his grandfather for building up his faith by relating this story to him.

While the faith of most Church members certainly is not dependent on testimonies of the mantle experience, clearly some members of the Church were strengthened by their faith in the validity of their own mantle experience or that of a loved one. The purpose of this work is to present the written and oral narratives of the people in Nauvoo who firmly believed they had experienced a miracle and who left their testimonies as a witness.

The August 8, 1844, Conference

One session of the August 8, 1844, conference was held in the morning and another in the afternoon. Records indicate that Sidney Rigdon addressed the congregation in the morning session. After Sidney's speech, Brigham Young stood to call for an afternoon session and to make a few remarks. Brigham Young spoke again in the afternoon along with others, but apparently Sidney Rigdon did not. Estimates of the attendance at the meetings range from hundreds to thousands, including men, women, and children of all ages. The conference was obviously of great interest to the membership, and whole families attended. The people came expecting an answer to the succession dilemma.

Sidney Rigdon outlined his claim to be guardian of the Church. Brigham Young defended the position of the Quorum of the Twelve. According to retrospective accounts, as Brigham delivered his message, many Saints saw or heard Joseph, and some, startled, rose to their feet. Some people mention that the transformation occurred when Brigham stood to speak after Sidney Rigdon had concluded—possibly indicating that they witnessed the phenomenon at the end of the morning session of the conference; others say they saw the miracle in the afternoon session. The accounts of still others indicate that they witnessed a transformation not on August 8, but rather on a later date. A number of witnesses
do not specifically mention seeing or hearing a vision but testify in
general terms that “the mantle” or “the spirit of Joseph” rested
on Brigham; others simply report that they or Brigham were
touched by the Spirit. In the course of the conference, a vote was
taken, with the majority voting for Brigham Young to assume lead-
ership of the Church.

Of those witnesses of a transformation, a few provided spe-
cific details about the traits they recognized as Joseph’s. Homer
Duncan not only commented on the voice of Brigham sounding
like that of Joseph, but also referred to one of Joseph’s manner-
isms: “The very gestures of his right hand when he was saying any-
thing very positive reminded me of Joseph. My decision was then
made as to who should lead the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter
Day Saints for surely the mantle of Joseph has fallen upon
Brigham.” Mosiah Lyman Hancock commented, “I saw in him the
look of Joseph, and the voice of Joseph; and it seemed to me that
he was as tall as Joseph too.” Benjamin F. Johnson also observed
Joseph’s “tall, straight and portly [robust] form.” He then added
his famous comments about Joseph’s speech and a missing tooth,
remarking that he “heard the real and perfect voice of the Prophet,
even to the whistle, as in years past caused by the loss of a tooth
said to have been broken out by a mob at Hyrum [Ohio].” George
Morris also described Joseph’s familiar speech patterns, noting:

In the afternoon Presedent Young arose . . . when I was startled by
Earing Josephs Voice—he had a way of Clearing his Throat before he
began to speak—by a peculer Effort of His own—like Ah-hem—
I raised my Head sudnily—and the first thing I saw was Joseph—as
plain as I ever saw Him in my life. . . . That was Testemony enough to
Convince me where the Proper atheraty rested.

Did Brigham himself know that something miraculous had
happened? His own account, dated August 8, 1844, simply states:

I arose and spoke to the people. my hart was swolen with compo-
sion toards them and by the power of the Holy Gost even the spirit
of the Prophets I was enabled to comfort the harts of the Saints. in
the afternoon a corden to my request the people assemblbd by thou-
sands[,] I lade before them the order of the church and the Power of
the Preasthood. after a long and laboras talk of a bout two ours in the
open air with the wind blowing, the church was of one hart and one
mind[,] they wanted the twelve to lead the church as Br Joseph had
dun in his day.
Perhaps Brigham was alluding to the miracle in his reference to "the spirit of the Prophets." However, records do not indicate that he publicly acknowledged the manifestations at the time they occurred. Brigham Young was careful never to claim to take Joseph's place. As early as August 15, 1844, he wrote an epistle to the Saints that stated emphatically, "Let no man presume for a moment that his [Joseph's] place will be filled by another; for, remember, he stands in his own place and always will."29 Later Brigham advised, "The spirit of Joseph which fell upon me is ready to fall upon somebody else when I am removed."30

Testimonies of the Mantle Experience of 1844

It is impossible to verify the number of those in attendance at the conference who saw or heard a physical transformation. Records currently known establish 101 written testimonies of people who say a transformation or spiritual manifestation occurred. Of these, fifty-seven are firsthand documents: personal journals, personal narratives told to a scribe, or first-person testimonies published in Church magazine articles. Forty-two are secondhand testimonies: accounts gleaned from biographies written by family members or from historical compilations.

The mantle testimonies come from people who eventually settled all over the Utah Territory—from northern Utah and Idaho to southern Utah and Arizona—and even Tahiti. There is no pocket location of people who recorded this experience.

At least the earliest writers had no opportunity to read other detailed written accounts of the mantle experience before recording their own. Some testimonies31 were written at least fifteen to twenty years before the publication of the most comprehensive, Church-sanctioned mantle testimony—George Q. Cannon's 1870 essay in the *Juvenile Instructor*.32 Prior to the publication of Elder Cannon's essay, printed references to the "mantle of Joseph" falling on Brigham appeared in the *Millennial Star*33 and in the *Times and Seasons*.34 These two Church publications do not mention any visions among members of the congregation but simply focus on the point of ecclesiastical interest—that the mantle had fallen on Brigham Young.
In a July 19, 1857, conference talk, Brigham Young referred to Albert Carrington’s mantle experience:

He [Carrington] could not tell me from Joseph Smith, when I was speaking in the stand in Nauvoo during the October Conference of 1844. Somebody came along and passed a finger over his eyes and he could not see any one but Joseph speaking, until I got through addressing the congregation.59

This talk was printed ten days later in the Deseret News56 and may have inspired some Saints to write down their memories of the events of August 1844.

As stories about the mantle experience began to circulate in the 1850s, some writers may have responded by offering their own personalized or embellished accounts; such is human nature. However, most of the stories recorded after this point were not identical. It does not seem that the writers were relying on the same source for their versions of the event. In fact, the accounts contradict each other to some extent in their descriptions of the events of the day, suggesting that each person wrote his or her account as remembered, not as described by Church leaders years later.

George Romney vigorously defended the veracity of the mantle stories: “I testify to you in all fervor, before God, that the mantle of Joseph Smith fell upon Brigham Young. It was Joseph’s voice; absolutely Joseph’s voice and manner, as Brigham Young addressed the people and told them who should be their leader. Now this is no fiction; this is true as I stand here after so many years, passing from the year 1844 up to the present time.”37

Testimony of the Succession of the Twelve

In 1844 the Twelve were beginning to understand their role in the Church. Joseph had carefully instructed them as to their responsibilities and had given them all the keys they would need to continue with the Lord’s work,38 but they did not always understand the significance of what they heard. Brigham himself suggested that when he heard of Joseph’s death he was at first overcome, fearing the keys of the priesthood were gone. Then, he said, “I felt it come like a flash of lightening to my mind, and I said ‘the keys of the kingdom are here.’”39 When he “came to Nauvoo,”
he knew "by visions of the Spirit" that from the Twelve would come a new First Presidency.40 Several years passed, however, before all the Twelve agreed. Meanwhile, the support engendered by the events of the August 1844 conference gave him, as President of the Quorum of Twelve, the authority he needed to guide the Church in the ensuing transitional period.

During the weeks following Joseph's death, the Saints had been obviously concerned about the succession of leadership. For the many who already believed that the Twelve held the keys and the authority to the leadership of the Church, the mantle experience was an additional testimony of the rightful succession of the Twelve. For others it might have been an answer to prayer. The powerful events of August 1844 finalized loyalties for many Nauvoo Saints and resolved the direction of their religious commitment. As Wilford Woodruff recalled, the mantle manifestation was the turning point. In 1872, he reminded Church members, "There was a reason for this [the mantle experience] in the mind of God: it convinced the people."41 By 1846 most of the Saints who attended the meeting were ready to leave Nauvoo and follow Brigham Young and the Twelve west.

Edward Hunter and Talitha Cheney affirmed in their mantle testimonies that they had no doubt that Brigham Young should lead the Church.42 Anson Call and William Allred concluded that they were "perfectly satisfied."43 Homer Duncan pledged, "My decision was then made."44 Mary Dunn, an eleven-year-old, soberly recalled her father's remarks as the family was returning home from the meeting: "They need not hunt any farther. Brigham Young is the man to lead us."45

For others, however, the way was not so clear. A few families were split in their loyalties. In the case of Albert and Ada Winchell Clements, the mantle episode led to a divorce. Albert was a missionary called to serve shortly before Joseph's death. On learning of the martyrdom, he started his journey back to Nauvoo. As he traveled home, he encountered his friend Sidney Rigdon. Sidney told him he was hurrying back to Nauvoo to take his place as guardian of the Church. Albert was satisfied with Rigdon's position.

Albert did not arrive home until August 15, 1844, when he learned of the August 8 meeting, which his wife, Ada, had attended.
She happily described the mantle event, testifying that Brigham Young had actually looked and sounded like Joseph Smith. Albert inquired about Rigdon. Ada answered that he had spoken, but the Spirit was not with him. Albert still took the side of his friend, Sidney Rigdon. Ada vowed she would continue with The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. She and the children left in the exodus to the Rocky Mountains; Albert stayed behind.46

Though Albert refused to accept Ada’s testimony, other individuals bolstered their commitment to the Twelve through the witness of a close family member who had attended the August 1844 meeting. Sarah Studevant Leavitt accepted her husband’s testimony without question:

My husband, Jeremiah, was attending a meeting where this question was being discussed. Brigham Young was speaking when suddenly he seemed to be clothed with all the authority of Joseph Smith. Jeremiah said that he had the same appearance, the same voice, as the Prophet. If he had not known that Joseph Smith was dead, he would have thought that Brigham Young was Joseph Smith. Tears dampened many cheeks. Joy and gladness filled many hearts. The Lord had not forgotten his people. . . . After that there was no one to doubt that Brigham Young was to be our new leader and Prophet. If Brigham had any doubts, my husband Jeremiah did not.47

Aurelia Spencer Rogers acknowledged that the testimony of her sister Ellen Spencer Clawson was what “strengthened my faith in the truth of Mormonism.” Aurelia wrote:

[Ellen] was at a meeting of the Saints. . . . At this meeting, Brigham Young, who was President of the Quorum of Apostles, arose to speak, when “The Mantle of Joseph” fell upon him, and he was like one transformed; his countenance, voice and form were like those of the late Prophet. Many in the congregation, even children saw this miracle; it satisfied the people and decided the question who was to be the leader.48

Evidence of Contemporaneous Discussion of the Experience

In Nauvoo throughout the temple building period, people seem to have talked about the mantle experience and about Brigham Young’s resemblance to Joseph Smith.49 One historian, D. Michael Quinn, sums up the immediate response:
There were contemporary references to Young's "transfiguration." The *Times and Seasons* reported that just before the sustaining vote at the afternoon session of the August meeting, "every Saint could see that Elijah's mantle had truly fallen upon the 'Twelve.' Although the church newspaper did not refer to Young specifically for this "mantle" experience, on 15 November 1844 Henry and Catharine Brooke wrote from Nauvoo that Young "favours Br Joseph, both in person, manner of speaking more than any person ever you saw, looks like another." Five days later Arza Hinckley referred to "Brigham Young on [w]hom the mantle of the prophet Joseph has fallen."50

Ezra T. Benson, who was present at the August 8 meeting, later recorded in his autobiography that "many said, when they heard Brigham talk, that it was not Brigham's voice, but the voice of Joseph." Benson made no claim to having seen the transfiguration himself but evidently heard others discussing their experience, which he seems to have accepted without question.51

The diary of William Burton, a missionary who returned to Nauvoo in the spring of 1845, may refer to residents talking about the mantle experience. In May 1845, he recorded events in his diary that had occurred during his absence from Nauvoo:

[That which] had taken place during the time that I was out on my mission; that grievous and hard to be borne. This was the Martyrdom of the Prophet and Seer, and Patriarch, whose voices I could not hear, declaring the truths of Heaven. But their [Joseph's and Hyrum's] places were filled by others much better than I once was supposed they could have been. The spirit of Joseph appeared to rest upon Brigham.52

Burton's use of the past tense—"the spirit of Joseph appeared to rest upon Brigham"—in the context of his discussion of events that had transpired in his absence is significant. If Burton was referring by these words to the mantle experience, he must have heard of the event from others who had been at the meetings. If this was the case, at that early date at least some Nauvoo residents were discussing the incident.

Some discussion also took place via correspondence. In a February 1845 letter, Wilford Woodruff shared the mantle news with fellow Saints in the British Isles by assuring them that on the second day after our arrival August 8th, 1844, we met in a special conference, all the quorums, authorities, and members of the Church that could assemble in Nauvoo. [We] were addressed by
elder Brigham Young, the president of the quorum of the twelve. It was evident to the Saints that the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon him, the road that he pointed out could be seen so plainly.53

Recording the Experience

The spiritual witness received at the August conference was of such magnitude that believers were willing, even eager, to follow Brigham Young and the Twelve.54 However, for one hundred and fifty years, scholars have searched for a witness account written on the same day as the mantle experience.55 If the experience was so “intense and life-changing”56 for followers of the Prophet Joseph, why were none of the accounts that record the miracle written on the day of the manifestation or shortly thereafter? It is a question that unfortunately cannot be answered definitively.

A partial explanation may be that for the Nauvoo citizens of 1844 and 1845 life was chaotic and dangerous. The citizens were stunned by events, and some did not have the luxury of good health, time, money, or even access to writing materials.57 After the death of Joseph and the acceptance of the leadership of Brigham and the Twelve, the Saint’s primary goals were to feed their families and to finish the Nauvoo Temple as quickly as possible58—a charge repeatedly given by Joseph Smith and then amplified by Brigham Young.59 In fact, Judge William Hyde recorded that Brigham Young spoke in the afternoon session of the August 8 meeting concerning the need to finish the Nauvoo Temple.60

The urgency expressed by Young motivated the Nauvoo Saints to complete as much of the temple in the next eighteen months “as had been accomplished in the previous three years.”61 He organized the brethren into work crews and continued to commit the sisters to contribute a penny a week for glass and nails. Furthermore, Brigham “put the missionary work in order, studied Joseph Smith’s plan for an expansion of gathering places, and vigorously pushed industrial development and construction.” Numerous new frame and brick homes as well as the Seventies’ Hall were erected in the next year.62

Additionally, the Nauvoo Saints were threatened by mobs and other lawless citizens, and the stresses that led to the murders of
Joseph and Hyrum immediately reappeared, leading to the abandon-
ment of Nauvoo by 1846. Grief and depression followed the martyr-
dom, and recurring diseases such as malaria and cholera were both endemic and virulent in this river town even during the best of times, which deterred record keeping. Bloody flux, sum-
mer sickness, typhoid, and tuberculosis are all named in the records of the city after Joseph's death, in addition to the normal child-
hood diseases of the nineteenth century that were often fatal.

Thirteen-year-old George Washington Bean summed up the years following the Prophet's death as being filled with hardships such as "scurvy and blackleg." He was forced to grow up fast: "Dub-
ing this season I managed most of the family business as most of my folks were ill." Caroline Barnes Crosby verified that "persecu-
tion continued all around us. The brethren were obliged to be on

 guard all the time. The sickly season soon commenced. I was sick several weeks." One of the brethren on guard was Appleton Milo

Harmon, who wrote:

They arose in mob and broke open the jail and killed Joseph and Hyrum and severely wounded Elder John Taylor, on the 27th day of June, 1844. During this time I was serving as policeman on almost constant duty night and day and in so doing exposed myself to wet and cold and soon after was taken sick with chills and fever and for three months was very sick, in fact the sickest I ever was in my life. My recovery was but slowly.

Emily Smith Hoyt explained that she was often sick two or three months at a time and her life despaired of by her friends. Her husband was in even worse health. In such an atmosphere, jour-

nal keeping was simply not a priority for people who were trying to survive and still accomplish the Lord's work. In his journal, Joseph Grafton Hovey recorded:

The people said let the Lord God of Israel choose. Then the Twelve did explain the subject and made it as clear as the noon day sun of their power and authority given them by Joseph, have not time and space to write all the particulars. For I do work hard on the Temple of the Lord cutting and sawing stone and I do get so fatigued when I leave my labors that I have not much courage to write my life.

Additionally, most of the ordinary folk did not keep records. Diary entries, if kept at all, were generally logs or daybooks. Most
members, even those few who kept journals, were very circum-
spect and may have been uncomfortable with writing about sacred
spiritual and emotional events, as many are today.70 One early Saint
recorded her feelings about a vision she had experienced years
before she spoke or wrote of it:

When a true spirit makes known anything to you, in the daytime, we
call it a vision. If it is a true spirit it will never leave you, every partic-
ular will be as plain fifty years hence as now. I said to myself then, my
[vision] I saw in Kentucky, when I thought I could almost see Zion,
was a true vision, though I did not know what to call it and seldom
ever spoke of it, for I thought it was given to me for my own benefit.71

Others may have not fully appreciated the pivotal importance of
the meetings of that day and of the mantle experience until later in
their lives. Because of the very personal nature of a spiritual experi-
ence, some Saints may have been reluctant to record their impressions.
In a letter to Elder George S. Gibbs, Benjamin F. Johnson explains:

So deeply was I impressed with what I saw and heard in the transfig-
uration, that for years I dared not tell what was given me of the Lord
to see. But when in later years I did publicly bear this testimony, I
found that others had testified to having seen and heard the same.
But to what proportion of the congregation that were present, I
could never know. But I do know that this, my testimony is true.72

By the time they recorded their experiences, the Church’s progres-
sion under President Young’s leadership and the accounts of others
who had attended the meeting had helped to validate their experi-
ence and testifying to its reality had become an honorable activity.

Early Written Accounts—Two Women’s Testimonies

It is not always possible to determine when each account was
first recited or written. Two of the earliest known accounts of the
mantle experience were recorded by Caroline Barnes Crosby and
Emily Smith Hoyt, two formidable pioneer women. They recorded
their mantle testimonies when they finally found the essential ele-
ment they needed—a solid block of time. At the end of 1850, after
six hectic and life-threatening years, Caroline and Emily both
found the time and solitude to begin journals of their experiences.
Each woman felt that the mantle story was important enough to
include at the beginning of her history.
Caroline Barnes Crosby was one of the first women to be called as a missionary for the Church, assigned to serve with her husband, Jonathan Crosby.\textsuperscript{73} In 1846 the indefatigable Caroline left Nauvoo. In 1848 she helped lead her family from Council Bluffs, Iowa, to the Salt Lake Valley.\textsuperscript{74} Then in the spring of 1850, Jonathan and Caroline, along with Addison Pratt and Louisa Barnes Pratt (Caroline’s sister), accepted a mission assignment to the Society Islands, a group of islands in the west part of French Polynesia. During the fall of 1850, Jonathan and Addison conducted business elsewhere, leaving Caroline and Louisa alone on the island of Tubuai Manu.\textsuperscript{75} There, Caroline could finally settle down long enough to write her memoirs, including her account of the mantle experience. An educated witness, Caroline wrote:

Sidney Rigdon came to the stand and tried to show to the people that he was the rightful successor of Joseph. And his arguments were so powerful that many were almost pursuaded to believe him such. But as soon as the twelve apostles with bro Brigham Young at their head took the stand it was shown conclusively where the power rested. It was the first time that I ever thought he [Brigham] resembled bro Joseph. But almost every one exclaimed that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham. For one I never had any doubts afterwards.\textsuperscript{76}

But Caroline did not write with the passion of Emily Smith Hoyt, who arrived in the Utah Territory on October 30, 1851.\textsuperscript{77} Emily was the Prophet’s cousin, the daughter of Joseph Smith’s Uncle Asael, who had served briefly as Patriarch to the Church.\textsuperscript{78} She found time to write her memoirs just before she left her home in Iowa to travel to the Utah Territory.\textsuperscript{79}

In 1840, Emily and her husband, Samuel Pierce Hoyt, had purchased property just over the river from Nauvoo in Nashville (now Galland, Lee County, Iowa); erected a cabin; and then built a very substantial home with ten bedrooms and five fireplaces. Emily described her home as being just “four miles from a certain point in Nauvoo. . . . Eventually we could see the [Nauvoo] temple by standing in my front door.”\textsuperscript{80}

She and her family had supported Joseph Smith from the first moment they read the Book of Mormon in 1834. After learning of the murders of Emily’s two cousins, the Hoyts traveled across the river to Nauvoo. Emily recalled, “We returned from that melancholy scene heart sick and sorrowful cast down but not in despair.”\textsuperscript{81}
A physician was employed who gave J.B. all the medi cines he knew and then went away and left him to die as he thought he must die. But J.B.'s mother was then alive and used to come and help me nurse him. She was a good woman, a good nurse, and did as much good then did the doctor. She is now in the Spirit world. I believe that her last labors were nursing a sick person. She was taken ill herself and died in a few days several years after the murder at our house.

J.B. recovered slowly and finally got well. Long before he was able to sit up any length of time I was taken down suddenly and became almost delirious in a short time at least they thought I was crazy but I remember the agitation of my mind to this day, also how my head felt. I had both sides of me and got well in the course of a long time. In the spring of 1846 J.B. moved to Nashville the place before mentioned. I was hardly able to sit up but was gaining daily. Emily's family had spent the winter there and I, B., wanted to live on a lot he owned in that place. We built a cabin and dived in it one year afterward built a good house in which we lived till we started to move to the west again. We were in Nashville when the mob murdered Joseph and Hyrum. We went to Reesor and saw their earthly forms which the mob had laid low. Joseph had been shot a little above the eyebrows in the center between them almost as if with a good aim his face was mild and pleasant even in death looked good. Hyrum had been shot in the neck and the blood had settled rather more he was a noble looking form. The appearance of true greatness could not be denied. We returned from that melancholy scene heart sick and sorrowful not down but not in despair. We turned away most of them. But returned as soon as possible. We were summoned over the river again and went to hear what was wanted. Brigham Young then President of the Twelve had returned home. The people were convened in the Old Bony where Joseph had last spoken to the people. Sydney Rigdon made a speech and claimed to have authority to lead the Church. Others had similar claims. Mine appeared reasonable to me.
The last one arose. It was the then President of the Twelve, Brigham Young. He spoke to the people altogether in a different style from any of those who had preceded him. A cloud of witnesses rose after E.G. had sat down, and testified to the truth of what he had said. President B.Y. arose from his seat on the second tier and addressed the audience. I had been well acquainted with Joseph, the latter part of his life. We had been at his home many times, and Joseph, Harriet, and families felt at home with us. From a place of refuge before the law, many were sent to S.P. for money to aid him in escaping for a time from the grasp of his earthly pursuers. S.P. sent the money, and they had the power in their own hands to go any place they might choose. They consulted and deliberated. Emma, Joseph's wife, wanted her husband and his brother Oliver to give themselves up, called them cowards, etc. Joseph said if it would save the people he was willing to be sacrificed. After everything was ready for them to get away, Joseph said he would go and give himself up to the State authorities. The Governor was pledged to protect them. Joseph said he felt that it might be like a lamb going to the slaughter. The result of his counsel is well known. They returned and were murdered. And the latter day saints apparently left without a leader. But the God of Heaven who had said it was his business to provide for his saints sent President B.Y. home just in time and clothed him not with the mantle of Elijah, but the spirit and power which had rested on Joseph was on eye, and ear, witness. The morning of reasoning, the expansion of the countenance, the sound of the voice thrilled my whole soul. My own eyes had beheld Joseph's murdered body. My own hands had felt death's icy coldness on his once noble forehead. I knew that Joseph was dead. and yet I often startled one involuntary look at the stand to see if it was not Joseph. It was not, it was Brigham Young, and if any one doubts the right of Brigham to manage affairs for the saints, all I have to say to them is this. Let the spirit of God and know for yourselves. The Lord will provide for his own. Has the end of the world ever failed? The Young will not live forever clothed with mortality. But He who rules in heaven and on earth will control all things by the counsel of his own will. St. Louis, Missouri
She continued, "We were summoned over the river again and went to hear what was wanted." Thus Samuel and Emily were in Nauvoo for the meeting in the bowery on August 8, 1844, where they witnessed Brigham's transformation. For five long years, starting in 1846, Emily's home served as a way station for LDS refugees, a place where Saints could receive aid and nursing care before they followed the Twelve west.

By 1851, Emily was determined that the whole world know of her unflagging testimony concerning her cousin. Knowing that the Smith family was split in their loyalties to Brigham Young, Emily began her record with her mantle testimony and justified her choices in following the Saints west. Emphasizing that she and Joseph were about the same age and that Joseph had spent much time in her home, she explained that on August 8, 1844,

President B. Y. [Brigham Young] arose from his seat . . . and addressed the audience. I had been well acquainted with Joseph the latter part of his life. We had been at his home many times and Joseph, Hiram and families felt at home with us. . . . But the God of Heaven who had said it was his business to provide for his saints, sent President B. Young home just in time, and clothed him not with "the mantle of Elijah," but the spirit and power which had rested on Joseph. I was an eye, and ear, witness. The manner of reasoning, the expression of the countenance, the sound of the voice thrilled my whole soul. . . . I knew that Joseph was dead. And yet I often startled and involuntarily looked at the stand to see if it was not Joseph. It was not, it was Brigham Young and if any one doubts the right of Brigham to manage affairs for the Saints, all I have to say to them is this. Get the spirit of God and know for yourselves. The Lord will provide for his own.

Emily Smith Hoyt was an educated woman, a graduate of a teachers' academy, and not given to hyperbole or superstition. She had family ties to Joseph Smith and knew him well. She was certainly also acquainted with Brigham Young. It seems hard to imagine that she could have been duped by a "bit of theatrical mimicry."

"The Prophet Is Not Dead!"—Children's Testimonies

Adults were not the only witnesses of the mantle event. A number of those present at the meeting were children. William Van Orden Carbine was only nine years old in 1844, but he was
well acquainted with the Prophet Joseph. He remembered sitting in the meeting with his mother, Adelia Rider Carbine, and saying, “The Prophet [is] not dead, for I [see] him on the stand.” William’s experience became a favorite story of his mother, who retold it many times. 85

James Madison Fisher, an eleven-year-old who had often played ball with the Prophet Joseph, also remembered the unexpected vision of his friend:

Rigdon spoke first it did not have the wright [sic] ring to it when he sat down brother Brigham got up, the mantle of Joseph fell upon him, he was the picture of the Prophet [Joseph] and he had the Prophet’s voice it was a great surprise for the people, the saints was shown who was to be their leader. 86

One of the children, eight-year-old Mary Field, specifically identified what she was doing at the time of the event. She recalled:

Mother [Mary Harding Field] had the baby on her knee, who was playing with a tin cup. He dropped it, attracting our attention to the floor. Mother stooped over to pick it up, when we were startled by hearing the voice of Joseph. Looking up quickly we saw the form of the Prophet Joseph standing before us. Brother Brigham looked and talked so much like Joseph that for a minute we thought it was Joseph. 87

The Mantle Testimonies Are Finally Published

Emily Smith Hoyt and Caroline Barnes Crosby wrote their memoirs a few years after the event, long before the first detailed accounts of the mantle experience were published. It was not until the 1870s that a mantle account relating in detail the miraculous vision of Joseph was finally published and made generally accessible to the members of the Church. 88

Orson Hyde’s remembrance of his mantle experience was delivered publicly in Salt Lake City on October 6, 1869, and published in the Deseret News Semi-weekly on November 16, 1869. 89 But it was George Q. Cannon’s testimony that the congregation “both saw and heard [Joseph] with their natural eyes and ears,” published in the Juvenile Instructor in 1870, that became the major source for “transfiguration” accounts by Mormon historians
such as B. H. Roberts in *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*. On April 8, 1872, Wilford Woodruff publicly bore his testimony concerning the mantle experience. This testimony was published in the *Deseret News Weekly* on May 22, 1872. Cannon and Woodruff's published testimonies were followed by other testimonies that were recorded in histories written by Edward W. Tullidge and Orson F. Whitney. A mantle statement from William C. Staines was published in the *Contributor* in June 1891, ten years after his death.

In 1905, the young women of the Church were also presented with the deeply personal testimonies of three redoubtable Mormon women, who remembered August 8, 1844, as a day that changed their lives. Maria Wealthy Wilcox, Jane Snyder Richards, and Rachel Ridgeway Grant each wrote about their memories of Joseph the Prophet for the *Young Woman's Journal*.

Like Wilcox, Richards, and Grant, many witnesses did not write about their experience until late in their lives. Perhaps the published accounts validated their own experience; perhaps they were pressured by their children to write the story they had told over the years. As death approached, they may have felt the need to leave their written testimonies for posterity, or they may have wanted to leave a document that would silence any doubters. Several of the accounts became grand, almost poetic proclamations of belief, as though the writers felt that the formal rhetoric would lend weight to their testimonies.

**Mantle Testimonies into the Twentieth Century**

Mantle testimonies recorded after 1900 begin to read very much alike, probably because the participants had read the published accounts. However, significant and unique renderings were still to come. On July 2, 1902, the first known legal document concerning the mantle event made its appearance in a statement that John Welch swore before the county clerk in Logan, Cache County, Utah. The last documented letter testimony by a living participant of the mantle experience appeared in 1918 by Eliza Ann Haven Westover.
Bishop George Romney twice testified publicly seventy-five years after Joseph's death. Romney was only thirteen when he witnessed the mantle event. At age eighty-eight, he delivered his testimony in the Ensign Ward in Salt Lake City on June 22, 1919. The message was so powerful that a listener immediately recorded his words for posterity:

I shall never forget in this world or in the world to come the scene as Brigham Young arose. . . . When Brigham got up the mantle of Joseph Smith fell upon him. It was Joseph's voice; it was Joseph's appearance, and I testify to you, if I never again do so on this earth, in the presence of God and angels, that this is verily the truth. This is true—that the mantle of Joseph did fall upon Brigham Young and the people knew it.97

With equal power, Bishop Romney also bore his testimony before the Swedish Saints in Salt Lake City on December 17, 1919. It was published for the missionaries of the Church in the April 13, 1920, edition of Liahona: The Elders' Journal.98

Conclusion

At least eighty-two people have declared, through their own or others' records, that Brigham Young took on the appearance, voice, and/or mannerisms of the Prophet Joseph Smith. When we include the records that state without further explanation that "the mantle fell on Brigham," we can increase the number of these testimonies. These records are impressive evidence that must be weighed carefully. The introduction to the legal text Eyewitness Testimony: Civil and Criminal explains the value of eyewitness testimony: "Lawyers can neither afford to exclude eyewitness testimony legally nor ignore it. Sometimes it is the only evidence available, and it is often correct."99

In his book In Search of Stones, psychiatrist M. Scott Peck, states, "One of the tests of proof, of reality, is termed 'consensual
validation;' . . . [that is,] whenever two or more very different people make exactly the same extraordinary assessment of a phenomenon, then . . . it needs to be taken seriously.”

For those who accept with little question the visions and spiritual experiences of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his associates, it is also plausible that a large body of Saints could witness a miraculous manifestation. At meetings of the School of the Prophets and gatherings at the time of the Kirtland Temple dedication, numbers of Saints experienced group manifestations. Nancy Alexander Tracy reported that during the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in 1836, “‘heavenly beings appeared to many.’” As with the mantle experience, not all the Saints present reported having seen these visions, nor did everyone who was reported by others to have seen a vision personally record the experience. Those to whom visions have been opened may well report seeing different things, as was the case with the personal descriptions of a manifestation shared in Hawaii by a group of Saints that included David O. McKay.

In spite of the silence of some in regard to the events of August 8, the time lapse between the event and the written expression of others, and differences in detail or similarities in wording of the written accounts, the simple fact remains that many Saints, most of whom attended that conference in the grove behind the Nauvoo Temple, testified that they saw, heard, and/or felt a manifestation that helped determine or confirm the direction of the rest of their lives.

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NOTES


2Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham and the Twelve,” 325 n. 84.
The term *transfiguration* was used by early LDS writers in reference to the specific meeting of August 8, 1844, when the mantle of the Prophet Joseph descended upon Brigham Young. Although not everyone witnessed a change in the voice and form of Brigham Young, many reported that they did, hence the use of the term. One meaning of *transfiguration* is “an act, process, or instance of changing or being changed in form or appearance.” *Webster’s International Dictionary*, 5d ed., s.v. “transfiguration.” Compare Matthew 17:1–2.

Brigham Young referred to the meeting as a conference. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 5:57–58, July 19, 1857 (hereafter cited as *JD*).

Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 114–15. Arrington acknowledges that it is possible to attribute the mantle experience to “the downcast spirits of the Saints, who had mourned Joseph’s passing for forty days; their yearning to be comforted by their lost leader; their disappointment with Rigdon, whose ambition had diluted his sincerity; their surprise at the presence of ‘Brother Brigham,’ who was thought by many to be still on his way back from Boston, and Brigham’s talent for mimicry” but observes that “the diaries, letters, and later recollections of many of those present testify to an experience that persuaded them that Brigham was the new Joseph.” Most Mormon historians who have written about the mantle phenomenon matter-of-factly report that many Saints later testified that they had witnessed a miraculous transfiguration of Brigham Young. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Things of Heaven and Earth: The Life and Times of Wilford Woodruff, a Mormon Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 114; James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 216; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 84–85; and D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 166–67.


It is important to understand the part that the vote of this conference played in establishing the succession of authority in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The authority of the Twelve as the governing body of the Church upon the death of a President was confirmed as the congregation chose to support Brigham Young in his calling as President of the Quorum of the Twelve. Each time a new President of the Church is sustained, this plan of priesthood leadership is followed. See Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham, and the Twelve,” 301–40. See also Hickman, “Succession.”

The story of the Lake Powell family reunion is found in Victor Watkins, Diary, June 19, 1977, in possession of the author.

See appendix I, Watkins, William Lampard. This narrative of the mantle experience is one of the more well-written accounts. Though a member of a working-class London family, William was one of six scholarship boys at Brewers School and received a classical education. Watkins became the executive secretary of the highly successful Brigham City Cooperative. Lynne Watkins Jorgensen, “The First London Mormons, 1840–45: ‘What Am I and My Brethren Here For?’” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), 69, 100.

See appendix II, Leavitt, Dudley.

See appendix II, Billington, Eliza. Eliza Billington and John Welch were married in Nauvoo on May 18, 1845.

While I was researching this paper, Katherine Adams Peterson, a Cynthia Bowen descendant, learned of my project. She immediately took a table napkin and on it wrote from memory Cynthia’s account. See appendix I, Bowen, Cynthia Harrington Durphy.

See appendix II, Stoker, William.

Andrew Jenson, ed., Historical Record 8 (March 1899): 789.

For attendance estimates, see appendix I, Staines, William C.; and Woodruff, Wilford; and appendix II, Lyman. Amasa Mason; and Murdock, Horace. Brigham Young wrote, “The people assembled by thousands.” Brigham Young, “Diary, 27 July 1837–1 April 1845,” August 8, 1844, holograph, Brigham Young Collection, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives). For testimonies that mention very young children, see appendix I, Field, Mary, and appendix II, Smith, Jane Wadley.

See appendix I, Hyde, William.

See appendix I, Adams, William; Burton, Robert Taylor; Hamblin, Jacob; Haven, Eliza Ann; Hendricks, Drusilla Dorris; Johnson, Benjamin Franklin; and Pace, William Bryam. See appendix II, Harris, Emmeline Blanch Woodward; Knight, Samuel R.; Perry, Eliza Ann; and Taylor, Pleasant Green.

See appendix I, Call, Anson; Judd, Zadoc Knapp; and Tracy, Nancy Naomi Alexander. See appendix II, Carrington, Albert. Charles Wesley Hubbard’s account in appendix II mentions a date of August 4, 1844, and then goes on to describe the meeting of August 8. This date is probably an error in memory or in transcription.

See appendix I, Allred, William Moore; Bullock, Thomas; Burton, William; Gates, Jacob; Hinckley, Arza Erastus; Patten, George; Woodruff, Wilford (1845 account); and appendix II, Angell, Truman O.; Billington, Eliza; Cannon, Ann; Ellsworth, Edmund; Preece, Luvera Ellen Ensign; Smith, John Sivel; Snow, James Chauncey; and Stoker, William.

See appendix I, Gates, Jacob; Merrill, Phileman Christopher; Smoot, Margaret Thompson McMeans Adkinson. Joseph Fielding’s journal entry regarding the conference does not mention a transfiguration but states simply that “I felt doubtful about it [Rigdon’s authority] . . . partly because the Spirit did not bear witness to it.” Fielding continues:

A Meeting was called and Rigdon again addressed us but seemed to have no Liberty or Power after which Elder Brigham Young spoke to [the] People. . . . He had much Liberty and the Power of the Spirit in speaking . . . and the Saints soon began to see how things were and that the 12 must now hold the Keys of Power and Authority according
to the Revelation which says the 12 are equal with the first Presidency. (Joseph Fielding, "They Might Have Known That He Was Not a Fallen Prophet;" The Nauvoo Journal of Joseph Fielding," Andrew F. Ehat, ed., BYU Studies 19, no. 2 [1979]: 155, original in LDS Church Archives, typescript in Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah [hereafter cited as BYU Archives].)

Lorenzo Hill Hatch was serving a mission in Vermont when he received word of the martyrdom; at the same time, he received a spiritual witness that Brigham should succeed Joseph:

I received the sad news of this awful affair [the martyrdom] in the town of Bristol, Addison County, Vermont. While I yet had the letter in my hand this letter was written by my uncle who claimed that Sidney Rigdon was the man to lead the Church—a voice spoke to me and said, "Brigham Young is the successor of Joseph Smith." (Lorenzo Hill Hatch, "Lorenzo Hill Hatch Journal," typescript, 282, copied from original journals by Ruth Savage Hilton.)

23See appendix I, Duncan, Homer.
24See appendix I, Hancock, Mosiah Lyman.
25See appendix I, Johnson, Benjamin F.
26See appendix I, Johnson, Benjamin F. Although Joseph’s tooth had been repaired before his death, to Benjamin Johnson the whistle was proof that he had heard Joseph’s voice.
27See appendix I, Morris, George.
28Young, “Diary,” August 8, 1844. This passage is in Brigham Young’s handwriting with his spelling and punctuation. Dean C. Jesse identifies which diary passages are actually written by Brigham Young and which are written by scribes. See Dean C. Jesse, “The Writings of Brigham Young,” Western Historical Quarterly 4 (July 1973): 284.
29History of the Church, 7:250; italics in original.
30Brigham Young, in JD, 5:57, July 19, 1857.
31See appendix I, Ashby, Benjamin; Crosby, Caroline Barnes; Hancock, Mosiah Lyman; Hoyt, Emily Smith; and Laub, George.
32See appendix I, Cannon, George Q.
33See appendix I, Bullock, Thomas; and Woodruff, Wilford.
34"While the prophet lived, we all walked by ‘sight’; he is taken from us and we must now walk by ‘faith.’ After he [Brigham] explained matters so satisfactorily that every saint could see that Elijah’s mantle had truly fallen upon the Twelve.” “Special Meeting,” Times and Seasons 5 (September 2, 1844): 637.
35See appendix II, Carrington, Albert. Brigham Young referred to Carrington’s experience, which he said took place during the October conference of 1844. Brigham Young, in JD, 5:58, July 19, 1857.
37See appendix I, Romney, George.
39Manuscript Minutes of Brigham Young Sermon, December 25, 1857, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.
Miscellaneous Minutes, February 12, 1849, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church Archives.

1See appendix I, Woodruff, Wilford.
2See appendix II, Hunter, Edward; and Cheney, Talitha Garlik Avery.
3See appendix I, Call, Anson; and Alfred, William Moore.
4See appendix I, Duncan, Homer.

Effie Ensign Merrill, essay for the Sea Gull Camp of Daughters of Utah Pioneers, September 12, 1941, copy in possession of the author.

6See appendix II, Clements, Ada Winchell. Some years later, Albert sent a letter with an elder asking his wife for a divorce, which she granted. Both partners remarried. After the death of both mates, Albert rejoined the Church, traveled to Utah, and he and Ada went with their son to the Endowment House, where they were remarried and sealed. "The Lonely Trail" in Our Pioneer Heritage, comp. Kate B. Carter, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958–77), 3:111–12.

7See appendix II, Leavitt, Jeremiah.
8See appendix II, Clawson, Ellen Spencer.


10Quinn, Mormon Hierarchy, 166; first italics added.


1See appendix I, Burton, William.
3See appendix I, Woodruff, Wilford.


5A few Nauvoo Saints who kept daily records, personal or official, made entries on August 8, recording the results or proceedings of the meeting without mentioning a mantle experience at that time. (See appendix I, Huntington, Zina Diantha.) Wilford Woodruff, concerned with keeping an official record, made careful notes on the comments made by the speakers during the conference but makes no mention of a specific spiritual manifestation at the meeting. See Scott G. Kenney, ed., Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898 (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 434–40. In their personal journals, William Clayton and Heber C. Kimball both briefly mention only the results of the vote taken at the meeting. See George D. Smith, An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 142; and Heber C. Kimball, Journal, LDS Church Archives.

Willard Richards' journal has a two-and-one-half page entry for August 7, a very brief entry for August 8 followed by a blank page, then another long entry for August 9. The entry marked August 8 is made up of a few short lines that simply state that Rigdon spoke in the morning and that the Twelve were voted by the Church to stand as the First Presidency. Then Richards writes, "See Times and Seasons." The first reference to the August 8 meeting in the Times and Seasons is in the issue dated September 2, 1844 (see note 34), indicating that Richards probably made the entry after August 8. Willard Richards, Journal, LDS Church Archives.

Thomas Bullock's personal journal has no entries for August 8, 1844. (See note 64). However, he did attend the meeting and kept minutes. His notes for the
afternoon meeting make no mention of a mantle experience. His minutes of the morning meeting, taken in his particular shorthand, are notes taken during Sidney’s and Brigham’s speeches, with no additional comments of any kind. Thomas Bullock, Minutes, Thomas Bullock Collection, LDS Church Archives.

56Carol C. Madsen comments, “Some human experiences are so intense and life-changing that memory returns not only the event in its fullness, but also the emotions that surround it.” Madsen, In Their Own Words, 158.

57For a discussion concerning the lack of paper in Nauvoo in 1844, see George W. Givens, In Old Nauvoo: Everyday Life in the City of Joseph (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990), 266. On November 13, 1844, the Nauvoo Neighbor announced a lack of paper caused by the “bad state of navigation, &c.”

58After giving his testimony of the mantle falling on Brigham Young, Edmund Ellsworth explained that President Young told them that the temple must be built. He added, “We went to work as one in poverty.” Edmund Ellsworth, Auto-biography [ca. 1892], holograph, 4–5, LDS Church Archives.

59Esplin, “Joseph, Brigham, and the Twelve,” 330. They did complete enough of the temple to enable many to receive their endowments before the exodus in 1846.

60See appendix I, Hyde, William.

61Arrington and Bitton, Mormon Experience, 85.


63Some diarists who had been keeping fairly regular diaries stopped writing around the time of the martyrdom and did not resume until later. For example, Thomas Bullock’s personal journal shows a gap from June 15 until October 8, 1844; Charles Coulson Rich made no entries from June 28, 1844, to January 1, 1845; and Eliza Roxcy Snow ceased writing in April 1843 and did not resume until February 1846. Davis Bitton, Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 47, 289, 331–32. Abraham O. Smoot stopped writing in his journal about the time he returned to Nauvoo (July 28, 1844) and picked up his narrative again on October 9, 1844. Abraham Owen Smoot, “Abraham Owen Smoot Journal, 1844–1845,” Abraham Owen Smoot Papers, BYU Archives.


66Caroline Barnes Crosby, “Memoirs Begun at Tubuai, Society Islands, 1851,” LDS Church Archives.


68Emily Smith Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 1851–1893, 19–20, LDS Church Archives.

69Joseph Grafton Hovey, “Biography of Joseph Grafton Hovey, Copied and Arranged from His Journal by His Grand Son, M. R. Hovey of Logan, Utah,” typescript, BYU Archives. Hovey’s use of the phrase “as clear as the noon day sun,” sometimes associated with a visionary experience (JS-H 1:16; D&C 110:3; Acts 9:3), may or may not have any special significance.
While teaching family history classes for the BYU Salt Lake Center, I asked my students how many of them had personally experienced a spiritual manifestation or knew of a spiritual experience of someone close to them. Nearly every hand went up. I then asked how many had written these experiences down. Nearly every hand went down. Only one or two of the students had actually kept a journal account. When I asked why they had not recorded the experience, they answered that they were uncomfortable writing about sacred events.

Martha Pane Jones Thomas, Autobiography, in Daniel Stillwell Thomas Family History (Salt Lake City: Kate Woodhouse Kirkham, 1927), 30–31; spelling standardized.

See appendix I, Johnson, Benjamin F.


See appendix I, Crosby, Caroline Barnes.

Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 67.


Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 19.

Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 20.

Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 20.

Hoyt, Reminiscences and Diaries, 20–21.

See appendix I, Hoyt, Emily Smith.

See appendix II, Carbine, William Van Orden.

See appendix I, Fisher, James Madison.

See appendix I, Field, Mary.

As previously noted, the only “official” mantle references that had been previously published were Brigham Young’s reference in 1857 to Albert Carrington’s experience and the statements in the Times and Seasons and the Millennial Star.

See appendix I, Hyde, Orson. In this 1869 discourse, Orson Hyde speaks as if he had been present at the August 8 conference in Nauvoo. He mentions Rigdon’s speech to the congregation as well as Brigham Young’s. However, Wilford Woodruff’s diary places Orson’s arrival in Nauvoo on August 13.

See appendix I, Cannon, George Q. See also B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 2:418; History of the Church, 7:236 n. George Q. Cannon’s account has become a widely quoted source for the mantle stories in major histories of the Nauvoo period. It is still accepted as a faithful version and reappears in contemporary LDS historical and educational materials. Elder Cannon’s account was quoted most recently in the Ensign, along with the 1903 Benjamin F. Johnson letter to Elder George S. Gibbs. See Top and Flake, “Kingdom of God Will Roll On,” 25.

See appendix I, Woodruff, Wilford.
92See Tullidge, Life of Brigham Young; and Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah (Salt Lake City: Cannon and Sons, 1892–1904).

93See appendix I, Staines, William C.

94See appendix I, Ivins, Rachel Ridgeway; Richards, Jane Snyder; and Wilcox, Maria Wealthy.

95See appendix I, Welch, John.

96See appendix I, Haven, Eliza Ann.

97See appendix I, Romney, George.

98See appendix I, Romney, George.


102Bachman, Heavens Resound, 300.

103Ezra T. Benson makes no claim to having had a mantle vision personally but mentions and apparently accepts the experience of others (see note 48). A number of Saints, whose reminiscent accounts have been located, are careful to record that they were at the meeting on August 8 but make no specific reference to a transfiguration. See the following accounts: (1) Lucy Diantha Morley Allen, "Joseph Smith, the Prophet," Young Woman's Journal 17 (December 1906): 537; (2) Gilbert Belnap, Autobiography, typescript, 37, BYU Archives; (3) David E. Fullmer, "A Brief Sketch of the Life of David E. Fullmer and His Father Peter Fullmer," holograph, 40, LDS Church Archives.

Appendix I: Firsthand Testimonies

The following are the testimonies of persons who left a record of their mantle experience. These records were either written in the person's own hand or dictated by them to a scribe. Women will be listed under the name they had in August 1844. This section includes names, birth and death dates, person's age in August 1844, testimonies, sources, and appropriate notes.

Adams, William
January 8, 1822-September 30, 1901, age 22

There was a great multitude attending the meeting, more than one half the crowd could not find seats, and stood on their feet. Never were so many at one meeting that I ever saw. I was sitting down and could not see the speakers on the stand. I was listening very attentively, so that I could hear every word.

I heard a voice speaking, I was surprised, and jumping to my feet, expecting Joseph the Prophet was speaking, having heard him often in public and private, so that I was quite acquainted with his voice. This was a strong testimony that the Twelve Apostles were the rightful leaders of the church and that the mouth of Joseph had fallen on Brigham Young.¹

Allred, William Moore
December 24, 1819-January 8, 1901, age 24

Sidney Rigdon one of Joseph's counselors had moved to Pittsburg, and when he heard of Joseph's death he came to Nauvoo claiming his right to lead the Church. At least he said the Church was 14 years old and had the right to choose a guardian, but Brigham Young, the President of the twelve Apostles and others of the twelve (that had been on a mission) just got home as the meeting was called for Rigdon to preach. And after he got through Brigham got up and spoke with such power that it convinced nearly all that were present that the Mantle of Joseph had fallen on him. I was perfectly satisfied.²

Ashby, Benjamin
December 19, 1828-November 19, 1907, age 15

Soon the twelve Began to return, also Sidney Rigdon who endeavored to have himself elected as guardain of the Church and I was present when he made his silly and boastful, speach about leading the Church back to Pittsburg and Twerling the nose of Queen Victoria &c. &c. Too foolish to be worth remembering I did not know Rigdon when he was in the Spirit of his Calling and cannot say what manner
of Man he was. but when I knew him he had lost the favor of God and he was as dry as sticks in his preaching

I was in the congregation when the Question of the succession to the leadership of the Church was before the people and I solemnly assert and testify that the last time I saw the Features. the Gestures and heard the sound of the voice of Joseph Smith: was when the form, voice, and countenance of Brigham Young was tranfigur'd before the congregation so that he appeared like Joseph Smith in every particular. Thus the Lord showed the people that the Mantle of Joseph had been bestowed upon Brigham.3

Barney, Lewis
September 8, 1808–November 5, 1894, age 35

The next day President Brigham Young arrived in Nauvoo with some of the other apostles from a Mission to the Eastern States And Called a meeting and invited Sidney Rigdon to the Stand and in the presence of the assembled thousands of the Saints Said to Sidney Now if you have any thing to say you have the apertunity and you can take the stand[.] But Sidney declined and kept his seat. President young then arose and took the stand his face and Countinence having the apearanc[e] of Joseph his voice and words were the familiar voice and Words of our martered prophet so much so the Who[l]e Congregation was fully satisfied that the mantle of the Prophet Joseph had fallen on him and some of the saints really Believed it was in reality the Prophet himself[.] Well do I remember the feelings that posessed my Breast at that time I knew it was Brigham Young and being familiar with the Countinance voice and the maner of the Speech of the Prophet Joseph Smith I also knew the mantle of the prophet had fallen on Brigham and it was marvellous and a mericle wrought by the Power of God in the Sight and hearing of the Whole multitude that they might never doubt that Brigham was the Chosen leader of the Church.4

Bowen, Cynthia Harrington Durphy/Durfey
November 30, 1811–November 1883, age 32

While at the prayer meeting that was called after hearing Sydney Rig- don speak an event that gave me great strength took place. Brigham Young stood before us & as I listened to him, his countenance changed & I saw the prophet Joseph Smith & heard his voice speaking as well & I knew who was to be the next prophet of the Lord & who was to lead the Saints.5

Brooke, Henry
[no available dates]

On 15 November 1844, Henry and Catharine Brooke wrote from Nauvoo that Brigham Young "favours Br Joseph, both in person,
& manner of speaking more than any person ever you saw, looks like another."

**Buckwalter, Henry Schuler**

May 12, 1831–November 6, 1908, age 13

Was at the meeting when Sid[ney] Rigdon tried to lay claim to the presidency of the Church And President Brigham Young told him different and his voice and looks was precisely like that of the Prophet Joseph.7

**Bullock, Thomas**

December 23, 1816–February 10, 1885, age 27

They [Joseph and Hyrum] were two good men when living, and they died good men; they died martyrs for the truth, and they sealed their testimony with their blood; and their testimony is true. . . .

The mantle of Joseph fell on Brigham Young, the blood of the martyrs became as seed on the earth.8

**Burton, Robert Taylor**

October 25, 1821–November 11, 1907, age 22

This morning, at the Presiding Bishop’s Office, after reading what purported to be an appeal to the Latter-day Saints by Frederick J. Smith in regard to the successor of the Prophet Joseph Smith Jr., I had occasion, in conversation with Bishop O. P. Miller to refer to my experience in Nauvoo, Illinois some time after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and upon his request, I made the following statement:

This to my mind was one of the most critical periods in the history of the Church. A number of persons claimed the legal succession, and to have this authority, among them Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, Aaron and Moses Smith and others. The occasion that I now refer to was a general meeting of the Latter-day Saints, soon after the return to Nauvoo of President Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, from their missions. The meeting had been called to order, and after the usual opening exercises President Brigham Young arose to address the assembly.

At that time I was not acquainted with President Young, but his voice, manner, expression, and in fact, his personal appearance was so strikingly that of the martyred Prophet, that I rose from my seat, as did hundreds of others, to look at the Prophet Joseph Smith Jr. The likeness was so marked that I could hardly make myself believe that the Prophet had not himself returned; not that there was a resemblance between the two men. I am not going to say why this was other than I received it, as an evidence to the people that God
had chose Brigham Young as successor to the Prophet Joseph Smith Jr. There were dozens, even hundreds of others, who were impressed just the same as I was at that time, and I have heard many, many who are now gone make similar statements or expressions to that I am here making.

(signed) R. T. Burton

**Burton, William**

October 3, 1809-March 17, 1851, age 34

We arrived in Nauvoo in May . . . there was one change more that had taken place during the time that I was out on my mission; -that previous and hard to be borne. This was the Martyrdom of the Prophet and Seer, and Patriarch, whose voices I could not hear, declaring the truths of Heaven. But their [Joseph's and Hyrum's] places were filled by others much better than I once was supposed they could have been. The spirit of Joseph appeared to rest upon Brigham. . . . Great and mysterious are the ways of God!

**Call, Anson**

May 13, 1810-August 31, 1890, age 34

That week, Brigham Young and others of the 12 came to the city. On the Sunday following, Brigham and a portion of the Twelve presented themselves in our congregation. He said he had not come to electioneer, nor set up any particular claim, but to do his duty, and it was for the people to judge between truth and error. Before he [Brigham] had spoken many sentences, I discovered that it was the voice of Joseph, and had I have been where my eyes could not have beheld him, I should have believed that Joseph had been speaking. It was Joseph's voice and Joseph's gestures through the entire discourse, I became perfectly satisfied that it was the voice for me to follow in connection with the majority of the brethren.

**Cannon, George Q.**

January 11, 1827-April 12, 1901, age 17

It was the first sound of his voice [Brigham's] which the people had heard since he had gone east on his mission, and the effect upon them was most wonderful. Who that was present on that occasion can ever forget the impression it made upon them! If Joseph had risen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to many present at that meeting. It was the voice of Joseph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard; but it seemed in the eyes of the people as though it was the very person of Joseph which stood before them. A more wonderful and miraculous event than
was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of. The Lord gave His people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man He had chosen to lead them. They both saw and heard with their natural eyes and ears, and then the words which were uttered came, accompanied by the convincing power of God, to their hearts, and they were filled with the Spirit and with great joy. There had been gloom, and, in some hearts probably, doubt and uncertainty; but now it was plain to all that here was the man upon whom the Lord had bestowed the necessary authority to act in their midst in Joseph's stead.12

Cox, Elias
January 15, 1835–May 8, 1917, age 9

I heard Brother Brigham speak and that is the first time that I ever saw two men look and sound so much alike in all my life. And after he had sat down, I wondered where Joseph had gone.13

Crosby, Caroline Barnes
January 5, 1807–February 16, 1884, age 37

Sidney Rigdon came to the stand and tried to show to the people that he was the rightful successor of Joseph. And his arguments were so powerful that many were almost persuaded to believe him such. But as soon as the twelve apostles with bro Brigham Young at their head took the stand it was shown conclusively where the power rested. It was the first time that I ever thought he [Brigham] resembled bro Joseph. But almost every one exclaimed that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham. For one I never had any doubts afterwards. We all soon became comforted concerning our leaders, but persecution continued all around us. The brethren were obliged to be on guard all the time.14

Duncan, Homer
January 19, 1815–March 23, 1906, age 29

I must make mention on one [more] manifestation of the Lord's goodness to me. At the special meeting held at Nauvoo after the Prophet Joseph Smith's death at the time that the mantle of the Prophet of the Lord fell upon Brigham Young. I sat listening to someone speaking with my head down, my face in the palms of my hands and my elbows on my knees. While in this position, Brigham Young came to the stand and commenced to speak with the voice of Joseph the Prophet. Being so well acquainted with the Prophet's voice, I nearly sprang from my seat through astonishment, but I sat and heard the Prophet's [Joseph's] voice as long as Brigham Young was speaking. Not only did the voice of Brigham [sound] like that of Joseph, but the very gestures of his right hand when he was saying anything very
positive reminded me of Joseph. My decision was then made as to who should lead the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints for surely the mantle of Joseph has fallen upon Brigham.\textsuperscript{15}

**Ellsworth, Edmund**  
July 1, 1819–December 29, 1893, age 25

The Prophet concluded to run for the President of the United States. I was called to the State of New York on an electioneer mission to which place I immediately started where I labored until the death of the Prophet when I received a letter from President Young calling the Elders home. I was present at the meeting which tried President Sidney Rigdon, where I plainly saw the Mantle of the Priesthood fall upon President Young with its power and spirit. The testimony of this was given to most of the congregation.\textsuperscript{16}

**Field, Mary**  
February 1, 1836–July 20, 1943, age 8

After Joseph Smith’s death there was some confusion as to who should be our leader. Sidney Rigdon claimed to have had a vision that he should be our head, but I, with my mother, was present at the meeting in the bowery when the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young while he was talking with the people. Mother had the baby on her knee, who was playing with a tin cup. He dropped it, attracting our attention to the floor. Mother stooped over to pick it up, when we startled by hearing the voice of Joseph. Looking up quickly we saw the form of the Prophet Joseph standing before us. Brother Brigham looked and talked so much like Joseph that for a minute we thought it was Joseph. There was no doubt in the hearts of the Saints from that moment on who was to be their inspired leader.

After Brigham Young was sustained as our prophet and leader, the Church was again restored to order under his guiding hand. The Saints were anxious to complete the Nauvoo Temple, as they had been commanded by the Prophet Joseph before his death. By hard work and determination the Saints completed the temple and large numbers received their endowments there.\textsuperscript{17}

**Fisher, James Madison**  
July 22, 1833–January 1, 1907, age 11

The twelve apostles were all away from home, before they got back Sydney Rigdon wanted to call a meeting and have the people choose him for their leader the people said no wait until the twelve comes home. Brigham Young was the first to arrive after they all come home there was a meeting called to choose a leader it was held in a grove where they held meetings in the summer time. I was there, Rigdon
spoke first it did not have the wright ring to it when he sat down brother Brigham got up, the mantle of Joseph fell upon him, he was the picture of the Prophet [Joseph] and he had the Prophet's voice it was a great surprise for the people, the saints was shown who was to be their leader, Rigdon left the Church went to Penn. and started a Church of his own wich soon flatened out.18

Garner, Mary Field
See Field, Mary

Gates, Jacob
March 9, 1811-April 14, 1892, age 33

After the Death of Joseph and Hyrum the Excitement Seemed [?] to die away. Meantime Sidney Rigdon who was a Counsiller to Joseph arived and attempted to userpe authority over the Church as the Successer of Joseph but the Church was saved by the timely arival of the Twelve and the Spirit of God which always teaches right and the result was that Rigdon was cut of from the Church for his miss conduct and went up to Pittsburg followed by a few who were men as himself whose mouth was ful of cursing and bitterness. The Power of the Priesthood rested down upon the Twelve backed up by the Spirit of God which enabled them to give that instruction which [seemed] to unite the harts of the Saints together as the heart of one Man. They moved forward to build the Temple.19

Glines, James Harvey
April 19, 1822-August 31, 1905, age 22

I arrived in time to hear Sidney Rigdon's last lectures before the Church. President Brigham Young and others of the twelve apostles now arrived and appointed a meeting in the grove at the stand east of the temple block. . . .

Sidney Rigdon stopped speaking. President Brigham Young stood up and commenced speaking, and all eyes were turned upon him for he seemed to have the voice of the prophet Joseph, as many testified at the time, for he spoke with great power and authority to the convincing of the Saints that the mantle had fallen from Joseph to Brigham.20

Grant, Rachel Ridgeway Ivins
See Ivins, Rachel Ridgeway

Greenhalgh, Mary Clough/Cluff
March 18, 1814-December 16, 1851, age 30
See Greenhalgh, William
Greenhalgh, William
July 29, 1811–April 3, 1882, age 33

In a few days Sidney Rigdon came up to Nauvoo to see if the people would accept him as a guardian to act for Joseph. He told the people if they did not accept him, God would reject them as a people with their dead. He was to return to Pittsburg and God would raise up a people at Pittsburg for him. With uplifted hands he called on God and angels to bear him witness. He spoke next day to them and (to) see if the people would accept him.

Just at this time came home Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball. The morning following Brigham Young ordered the people to bring a wagon to the south side of the congregation that the people could all hear what he had to say. Brigham rose and said, “I would to God, there was not such a hurried spirit here.” He spoke with such power and the voice of Joseph sounded through him so plain that the people who could not see him, knew that it was the voice of Joseph speaking through Brigham Young. My wife Mary sitting close by me not able to turn her head asked me if that was Joseph. I told her no, but it was the voice of Joseph speaking through Brigham Young. This was a living testimony that the mantle had fallen from Joseph on to Brigham—and from this time many wanted to well off and part from the Saints—But Brigham forbid them and told them that the flock must not be scattered.21

Hamblin, Jacob
April 2, 1819–August 31, 1886, age 25

Come the 24th when I arived at Nauvoo I saw thare was a gertherin of the Saints at the Stand as I drew nere I saw Mr. Sidney Rigdon [a]ddressing the Congregation I listened a few munits and Said in my hart it was not the vois of the trew Sepherd.22

At Nauvoo I found Sidney Rigdon busy among the Saints, trying to establish his claim to the presidency of the Church. He was first Counselor to the Prophet Joseph at the time of the latter’s death. The Church was fourteen years old, and he claimed that it was its privilege and duty to appoint a guardian; and he wished the people to sanction his guardianship.

I was much dissatisfied with the course he was taking, and, as I could not sustain him, I felt to leave Nauvoo for a season. I went into the country, where I had left my wife and two children with my sister Melissa....

On the 8th of August, 1844, I attended a general meeting of the Saints. Elder Rigdon was there, urging his claims to the presidency of the Church. His voice did not sound like the voice of the true shepherd. When he was about to call a vote of the congregation to sustain him as President of the Church, Elders Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt and Heber C. Kimball stepped into the stand.
Brigham Young remarked to the congregation: “I will manage this voting for Elder Rigdon. He does not preside here. This child” (meaning himself) “will manage this flock for a season.” The voice and the gestures of the man were those of the Prophet Joseph.

The people, with few exceptions, visibly saw that the mantle of the prophet Joseph had fallen upon Brigham Young. To some it seemed as though Joseph again stood before them.

I arose to my feet and said to a man sitting by me, “That is the voice of the true shepherd—the chief of the Apostles.”

Hancock, Mosiah Lyman
April 9, 1834–January 14, 1907, age 10

Altho only a boy, I saw the mantle of the Prophet Joseph rest on Brigham Young; and he arose lion-like to the occasion, and lead the people forth. . . .

I remember Sidney Rigdon in his great desire to become Guardian of the Church. But I had seen the Prophet [Joseph] proclaim these words before the people, “I have carried Sidney Rigdon long enough—I now throw him from my shoulders. If my brother Hyrum wishes to pick him up and carry him, he may—I carry him no longer.”

I saw Brother Brigham Young, of the Quorum of the Twelve, arise before the people—and I saw in him the look of Joseph, and the voice of Joseph; and it seemed to me that he was as tall as Joseph too. I knew that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham. I had heard the Prophet say from the frame that he threw the furtherance of this Church and Kingdom upon the shoulders of the Twelve; that they should bear and send this Gospel to every nation under heaven.

Harper, John Nelson
March 9, 1813–March 31, 1863, age 31

When the Twelve returned home the Saints was troubled to know who should lead the Church; Sidney Rigdon was there from Pittsburg and wanted to choose a guardian for the Church, but when Bro Brigham arose on the stand I received a testimony for myself, he appeared to me as if it was Bro Joseph and it was Joseph’s voice and there the mantle of Joseph fell on Brigham. He [Brigham] said it was no enviable place to stand at the head of the people for at them the arrows of the enemy would be directed. But he was willing to stand where God placed him.

Haven, Eliza Ann
May 15, 1829–January 20, 1923, age 15

The question was a general one: “What shall we do without our Prophet?” I was then 15 years of age and we all felt so sad. I was at the
meeting when Sidney Rigdon arose and declared himself our true Prophet and leader. Very few responded to his declaration. I am happy to say that not one of my fathers family felt he was the right one. Soon after Pres. Brigham Young came home from the East, where he had been on a mission. I was at the meeting when the mantle of Bro. Joseph’s encircled him. . . . When he spoke, it was in Bro. Joseph’s voice. I arose to my feet and said to my mother: “Our prophet has come to life, mother we have Bro. Joseph back”, for there he stood as plain as I ever saw him in life; and his voice and features were truly those of our beloved Prophet. Shortly a mist seemed to pass from Bro. Brigham’s face and there stood brother Young talking in his natural voice, but we knew he was to be our leader. Hundreds witnessed the same thing, but not all that were there had that privilege.\footnote{26}

**Hendricks, Drusilla Dorris**  
February 8, 1810–May 20, 1881, age 34

It was not long before Sidney Rigdon called a meeting in order to present his claims to the presidency of the Church. Some of the Twelve had returned from their missions and the day the meeting was held and while it was in session, Brigham Young (President of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles) and others slipped up to the stand and said nothing until Sidney Rigdon was through, he was standing near the center of the audience in a wagon. As the meeting was in the Boury [Bowery]. Then Pres. Brigham Young began to speak. I jumped up to look and see if it was not Brother Joseph for surely it was his voice and gestures. Every Latter Day Saint could easily see upon whom the priesthood descended for Brigham Young held the keys. Sidney Rigdon led off a few, but where are they now. They have dwindled away in unbelief and have come to naught.\footnote{27}

**Hinckley, Arza Erastus**  
August 15, 1827–February 18, 1901, age 16

The entry after 20 November 1844 in the diary of Arza Hinckley at Brigham Young University states: “. . . and Brigham Young on hom the mantle of the prophet Joseph has falen is a men of god and he ceeps all things in good order.”\footnote{28}

**Hoyt, Emily Smith**  
September 1, 1806–August 6, 1893, age 37

[After the martyrdom] we [Emily and Samuel] were summoned over the river again and went to hear what was wanted. Brigham Young then President of the twelve had returned home. The people were convened in the Old Bowry where Joseph had last spoken to the people. Sydney Rigdon made a speech and claimed to have authority to lead the Church others had similar claims. None appeared reasonable to me. The last one arose. It was the then, President of the
twelve Brigham Young. He spoke to the people altogether in a different style from any of those, who had preceeded him. A crowd of witnesses arose after B. Y. had sat down and testified to the truth of what he had said. President B. Y. arose from his seat the second time and addressed the audience. I had been well acquainted with Joseph the latter part of his life. We had been at his home many times and Joseph, Hiram and families felt at home with us. [Emily writes of events leading to martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum.] . . . But the God of Heaven who had said it was his business to provide for his saints, sent President B. Young home just in time, and clothed him not with "the mantle of Elijah," but the spirit and power which had rested on Joseph. I was an eye, and ear, witness. The manner of reasoning, the expression of the countenance, the sound of the voice thrilled my whole soul. My own eyes had beheld Joseph's murdered body. My own hands, had felt death's icy coldness on his once noble forehead. I knew that Joseph was dead. And yet I often startled and involuntarily looked at the stand to see if it was not Joseph. It was not, it was Brigham Young and if any one doubts the right of Brigham to manage affairs for the Saints, all I have to say to them is this. Get the spirit of God and know for yourselves. The Lord will provide for his own. Has the word of the Lord ever failed. Br Young will not live forever clothed with mortality. But He who rules in heaven and on earth will control all things by the counsel of his own will. Saints will live.29

**Huntington, Zina Diantha**

January 13, 1821–August 27, 1901, age 23

I went to meeting in the afternoon, Thanks be to Him who reigns on high, the majority of the Twelve are her[e]. Brigham Youngs spoke and the Church voted that the 12 should act in the office of there calling next to Joseph or the three first presidents.30

Never can it be told in words what the saints suffered in those days of trial; but the sweet spirit—the comforter—did not forsake them; and when the twelve returned, the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham.

When I approached the stand (on the occasion when Sidney Rigdon was striving for the guardianship of the Church), President Young was speaking. It was the voice of Joseph Smith—not that of Brigham Young. His very person was changed. The mantle was truly given to another. There was no doubting this in the minds of that vast assembly. All witnessed the transfiguration, and even to-day thousands bear testimony thereof. I closed my eyes. I could have exclaimed, I know that is Joseph Smith's voice! Yet I knew he had gone. But the same spirit was with the people; the comforter remained.31

**Hyde, Orson**

January 8, 1805–November 28, 1878, age 39

I will tell you that as long as God has a Church on the earth, He will govern it. Now I will tell you a little of my feelings in relation to it.
I know that when President Young returned with the Twelve to Nauvoo, he gathered them around him, and said he: "I want you to disperse among the congregation and feel the pulse of the people while I go upon the stand and speak."

We went among the congregation and President Young went on the stand. Well, he spoke; and his words went through me like electricity. "Am I mistaken?" said I, "or is it really the voice of Joseph Smith?" This is my testimony, it was not only the voice of Joseph, but there were the features, the gestures and even the stature of Joseph there before us in the person of Brigham. And though it may be said that President Young is a complete mimic, and can mimic anybody, I would like to see the man who can mimic another in stature who was about four or five inches higher than himself. —every one who was inspired by the spirit of the Lord, felt it. They knew it. They realized it.

I sat myself down in the midst of the congregation, with my two wives, whom Joseph had given and sealed to me. When President Young began to speak, one of them said: "It is the voice of Joseph! It is Joseph Smith!" The exclamation of the other was,—"I do not see him, where is he?" Well the thought occurred to my mind respecting the Scripture which President Young has just quoted:—"My sheep know my voice and follow me." Where is the one that recognized the voice of Joseph in President Young? Where is she? She is in the line of her duty. But where is the other? Gone where I wish she were not. The sheep of the good shepherd will follow the voice they know; but they will not follow the voice of a stranger.

Now, this was a manifestation of the power of the Almighty—it was the power of God resting on an individual in the eyes of all the people; not only in feature and voice, but actually in stature. This is my testimony. . . . Did it require proof that Joseph was there in the person of Brigham, speaking with an angel's voice? It required no argument; with those who feared God and loved truth, it required none.52

At the time our Prophet and Patriarch were killed, or at least soon afterwards, when the Twelve returned to Nauvoo, their immediate circumstances were not altogether agreeable and pleasant or profitable. But suffice it to say we had a meeting, a Conference, at which President Young was the centre of attraction. On his rising to speak, and as soon as he opened his mouth, I heard the voice of Joseph through him, and it was as familiar to me as the voice of my wife, the voice of my child, or the voice of my father. And not only the voice of Joseph did I distinctly and unmistakably hear, but I saw the very gestures of his person, the very features of his countenance, and if I mistake not, the very size of his person appeared on the stand. And it went through me with the thrill of conviction that Brigham was the man to lead this people. And from that day to the present there had not been a query or a doubt upon my mind with regard to the divinity of his appointment; I know that he was the man selected of God to fill the position he now holds.53
Hyde, William
September 11, 1818–March 2, 1874, age 25

On Thursday, August the 8th, I attended a special conference in Nauvoo. Elder Rigdon addressed the assembly in the forenoon. Elder Rigdon sought, as he expressed it, the guardianship of the Church, but it was plainly manifest that the Spirit of the Lord had withdrawn from him, and that he sought that which did not belong to him. From the time the saints were driven from Missouri he had evidently been on the background, and had not walked up to his station, and on one occasion I heard Joseph Smith say that he had carried Elder Rigdon on his back long enough, and then turning to the Twelve said that if they did not help him at that time in shaking him off, the time would come when they would have to do, and that without his, Joseph’s assistance. And on Thursday, the 8th of August, was this saying of the Prophet brought home with weight to my mind.

In the afternoon President Brigham Young came upon the stand and addressed the vast multitude of anxious listeners as follows: “For the first time the Twelve walk up to the stand in their place, we have walked by sight and not by faith. The Church had had the privilege of coming to Joseph and of receiving, but now he has stepped to the other side of the veil. He loved the Church even unto death, and laid down his life for it.” President Young then asked the following questions: “Do you want to choose a person to lead you into the Kingdom, if so manifest it.” All were silent. “If there is any person present that wishes to draw away party after them let them rise.” But no one rose. “I have wanted,” said President Young, “to fast thirty days, and clothe my house in mourning, but it seems that the saints are determined to drive business. They are not willing to wait and let everything come in its place, but business must be driven, and as it falls to my lot to speak, I shall speak in plainness. Do you want President Rigdon to take Joseph’s place, if so take him. Here are the Twelve. Have my knees ever faltered, have these hands ever slackened?” “No.” and “No.” said voices from all directions. “[T]he Twelve hold the keys and are in authority equal with the First President when the first is absent. Do you want to choose a trustee in trust to take Joseph’s place, if so the Twelve must ordain him, for the power rests in them, and in them alone, the Church cannot do it. . . .”

And then he said that if Elder Rigdon wanted to be a spokesman for Joseph, let him go to the other side of the veil. “Who,” said he, “ever heard of such a thing as a person on one side of the veil acting as a spokesman for a person on the other side.” The President further stated that no person could stand between Joseph and the Twelve. And then turning to the people, said it was their place to rise up and help roll on the Kingdom. “But let us not undertake anything new, let us follow the law and not undertake to divide the Priesthood one hair.”
Elders P. P. Pratt and Amasa Lyman made some very appropriate remarks, confirming what President Young had said. . . .

President Young again arose and spoke concerning the endowments of the Elders. Said that if they did not get them in the Temple, they should have them if they had to receive them in the wilderness, for the Devil could not cheat them out of them. He then called upon the saints to know if they would receive the Twelve and let them stand in their place as the First Presidency of the Church in the absence of Joseph. The vote was unanimous in the affirmative. On this day it was plainly manifest that the mantle of Joseph had rested upon President Young. The voice of the same spirit by which he, Joseph, spake was this day sounded in our ears, so much so that I once, unthoughtedly, raised my head to see if it was not actually Joseph addressing the assembly. The assembly was dismissed by President Young after being blessed in the name of the Lord.34

**Ivins, Rachel Ridgeway**
March 7, 1821-January 27, 1909, age 23

After the Prophet's death when Sidney Rigdon came to Nauvoo and spoke, he thought that it was his right and privilege to be President of the Church. President Young jumped right up on the seat and spoke. If you had had your eyes shut, you would have thought it was the Prophet [Joseph]. In fact he looked like him, his very countenance seemed to change, and he spoke like him.35

**Johnson, Benjamin Franklin**
July 28, 1818-November 18, 1905, age 26

Of Brigham Young as President of the Church, I will again bear this as a faithful testimony that I do know and bear record that upon the head of Brigham Young as chief, with the Apostleship in full, was by the voice of the Prophet Joseph, in my hearing, laid the full responsibility of bearing of the Kingdom of God to all the world. And I do further bear this as a testimony, faithful and true, to the Church and to all the world that at a conference of the whole Church, at Nauvoo, subsequent to the Prophet's death and before the return of the absent Apostles, that I sat in the assembly near President Rigdon, closely attentive to his appeal to the conference to recognize and sustain his claim as "Guardian for the Church." And was, perhaps, to a degree, forgetful of what I knew to be the rights and duties of the apostleship, and as he closed his address and sat down, my back was partly turned to the seats occupied by Apostle Brigham Young and other Apostles, when suddenly, and as from Heaven, I heard the voice of the Prophet Joseph, that thrilled my whole being, and quickly turning around I saw in the transfiguration of Brigham Young, the tall, straight and portly form of the Prophet Joseph Smith, clothed in a sheen of light, covering him to his feet; and I heard the
real and perfect voice of the Prophet, even to the whistle, as in years past caused by the loss of a tooth said to have been broken out by a mob at Hyrum. This vision, or view, although but for seconds, was to me a vivid and real as the glare of lightening or the voice of thunder from the heavens, and so deeply was I impressed with what I saw and heard in the transfiguration, that for years I dared not tell what was given me of the Lord to see. But when in later years I did publicly bear this testimony, I found that others had testified to having seen and heard the same. But to what proportion of the congregation that were present, I could never know. But I do know this, my testimony is true.

The Prophet’s lost tooth, to which I allude, was, as generally understood, broken out by the mob at Hyrum while trying to pry open his mouth to strangle him with acid, from which time, until the tooth was replaced by a dentist neighbor, a year or two previous to his death, there had been a whistle-like sound accompanying all his public speaking which I again plainly heard at the time of which I write.

And while I do know that Brigham Young, as President of the Church, was the right man in the right place, and a great leader for Israel, I still know that he never claimed to be perfect in all his ways, but that, like his brethren, he at times was liable to mistakes.36

At the time of the martyrdom all the Quorum of the Twelve were absent except John Taylor and Dr. Richards, both of whom were with the Prophet in the Carthage jail, and Sidney Rigdon having retained a partial fellowship as one of Joseph’s counselors, came forward claiming the right of Guardian of the Church. James J. Strang also claimed through a spurious revelation purporting to be through the Prophet that he should lead the Church. And so matters stood until the return of the Twelve, when a conference was assembled, and President Rigdon was called upon to put forth his claim before the people, which he did, and after closing his remarks, which were void of all power or influence, President Brigham Young arose and spoke. I saw him arise, but as soon as he spoke I jumped upon my feet, for in every possible degree it was Joseph’s voice, and his person, in look, attitude, dress and appearance was Joseph himself, personified; and I knew in a moment the spirit and mantle of Joseph was upon him. Then I remembered his saying to the Council of which Sidney Rigdon was never a member, and I knew for myself who was now the leader of Israel.37

Judd, Zadoc Knapp
October 15, 1827–January 28, 1909, age 16

Right here I might relate another circumstance that to me was a sufficient testimony of the truth of the Gospel. I had for years been more or less acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith. I had many
many times heard him preach; had heard him talk with others in common conversation. I had known his voice as well as I do that of my most intimate friend. . . . [T]his circumstance I am going to relate happened late in the fall or early winter. The people had usually convened for meeting [in] a little grove near the temple. A bowery had been built, and seats arranged to accommodate all. . . . In the meantime the building of the temple had progressed; the roof was on, the windows were in, the floor was laid, but no seats arranged. It was very cold, wet Sunday and a drizzling rain. The meeting had been adjourned from the grove to the temple for there people could get shelter. While waiting for the people to gather and also for the hour of meeting, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and some others of the quorum of the twelve had come to an upper room or kind of gallery and seemed to be passing and repassing an open door and window and from the position I had chosen, which was next to the wall and near the stand, I could see them very plainly, and although I knew Joseph was dead, I could scarcely make myself believe he was not there. His [Brigham's] look, his motion, his walk, were precisely like that of Joseph and yet it was Brigham Young, and when he came and commenced to speak to the people his voice was like that of Joseph's.

In the meantime people had gathered in and standing, huddled close together, made such an immense weight on the floor that the propping under the center gave way and let the floor settle a few inches, which caused a panic among the people and some tried to rush for the door, but the loud voice of the prophet Joseph soon restored quiet and only a few were hurt by being pushed down and stepped on. No damage was done, only a few broken windows.

The change of voice and appearance I could not account for only that the mantle of Joseph had fallen on Brigham Young. 38

Laub, George
October 5, 1814–November 14, 1877, age 29

Now after the death of Br. Joseph & Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon having A mission appointed him by Joseph to Pittsburg before his death. Now after his death Sidney came in all the hast[e] in him to Nauvoo from Pittsburg to claime the presidency of the church, him not knowing that Joseph Sent him out of the way to get r[i]d of him. Now when he returned to Nauvoo he called all the people to gether to choos them a guardian, as he Expressed himself. Now, Said he, the Church is 14 years old and it was the duty of the church to choose a guardien & preached there for Two days on that subject of guardinism & the Lords way was not as mans ways, But as the heavens are hier than the earth So are the Lords ways above mans ways, etc. Just about the time that the Vote was to be taken for him to be president & guardien, But as the Lord would have the Twelve to come home & I felt to praise God to See Bro Brigham Young walk
upon the stand then. Thes[e] positive Revelations of Rigdon's ware only guess So, & he thinks So & hoop so, while the lord had told him how to proseed before according to his one [own] mouth & after wards ony Suposed them so.

Now when President Young arose to address the congregation his Voice was the Voice of Bro. Joseph and his face appeared as Joseph's face, & Should I not have seen his face but herd his Voice I Should have declared that it was Joseph.69

Mace, Wandle
February 19, 1809–August 10, 1890, age 35

Upon arriving in Nauvoo he—Sidney—immediately appointed a meeting for the people to choose a Guardian for the church. Fortunately the Twelve with the President Brigham Young, arrived in time to attend this meeting.—Sidneys intentions was to hold this meeting before the Twelve arrived.—

The meeting was held according to appointment, Sidney Rigdon addressing us, giving his views upon our situation and called upon the people to choose a Guardian or trustee for the church, but there seemed to be no spirit of the Gospel in his remarks, and it was evident to all that he was not dictated by the Holy Ghost.

A Meeting was appointed or rather continued as a Special Conference and in the afternoon and President Brigham Young addressed the people. At this meeting the soieit [spirit] was truly manifest inasmuch it seemed that Joseph himself was addressing us, the voice, the countenance was Joseph. The mantle of Joseph had indeed fallen upon Brigham Young. There was no dubiayt now, if there had been any before, who held the power. All could see and bore testimony that the spirit had manifested to them that Brigham Young was the right man, and he was in the right place. Said Joseph with his hands upon the head of Brigham Young, in the house of John P. Green at quincy, “While you live no other man can occupy this place.”

. . . President Brigham Young gave his views of the present situation of the church, now our Prophet and patriarch is taken from our midst. He said,

“. . . While the Prophet lived, we walked by ‘sight’ he is taken from us, and we must now walk by ‘faith’.” After he had explained matters so satisfactory that every Saint present could see that as aforetime the—mantle of Elijah fell upon Elisha—so also fell the mantle or the spirit and power which Joseph held in his life time had fallen upon Brigham Young as President of the Twelve, which was the hightest Quorum, and holding the highest—or first Presidency—of the Church of God upon the earth.40
Merrill, Phileman Christopher
1820-1904, age 24

Sad was the day that the Saints met by a call of the Apostles in a Grove, east of our beloved Temple which was unfinished, to listen to what might be said. For where was the good Shepherd? We were left alone as we thought, with none to lead us. It was a gloomy time. Sidney Rigdon talked to us and said we were of age, choose our guardian and he offered himself as that one to lead the Church but it did not satisfy the people. But when President Brigham Young arose and said to the people, "Stand still and see the Salvation of the Lord," the Spirit of God rested upon me, and I received a testimony at that time that upon Brigham Young rested the Authority of the Holy Priesthood.41

Morris, George
August 24, 1816–June 27, 1897, age 27

Sidney Rigdon set up his Claim as Guardain of the Church—Saying that it was not of Age to do Busines for itself being Only about 14 years of Age—and as he was the next in atheraty to Joseph—it was his Duty to act as Guardain for it untill it was Old enough to do Business for itself—on the 5th of August 1844 a special meeting was apointed for the Church to come together to hear what he had to say upon the subject—he ocupied the time in the forenoon.—in the afternoon Presedent Young arose to reply to what he had said—and when he arose to speak I was sitting right Before Him holding down my Head—reflecting about what Rigdon had said—when I was startled by Earing Josephs Voice—he had a way of Clearing his Throat before he began to speak—by a pecuiler Effort of His own—like Ahhem—I raised my Head sudinly—and the first thing I saw was Joseph—as plain as I ever saw Him in my life—and the first words he uttered whare, Right here—is the Atheraty to Lead This Church—and at the same time srikeing his hand upon his Bosam and, after uttering another sentence or two—it was Brigham Young—That was Testemony anough to Convince me where the Proper atheraty rested.42

Pace, William Bryam
February 9, 1832–June 18, 1907, age 12

Sidney Rigdon spent, what seemed to me several hours, arrangueing the people on the importance of making him their Leader, after which, Brigham Young arose and said only a word, when it was observed by the whole congregation that the mantle of “Joseph” was upon him, in word, gesture and general appearance.

The people arose en-masse to their feet astonished, as it appeared that Joseph had returned and was speaking to the people.

I was small and got upon a bench that I might more fully witness the “Phenonomia.”

There was no longer any question as to who was the Leader.43
Patten, George
[October 8, 1825] October 26, 1828-February 16, 1914, age 15

I was acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith, and saw him in
dead, and one of the strongest testimonies I ever had of the truth of
this Latter-day work was when President Young got up before the
people and the spirit of the Prophet [Joseph] rested upon him, and
his countenance resembled the Prophet, and his voice sounded like
the Prophet's, so the Lord showed the people who and where the
leader was for there were several clamoring as to their right to lead
the church. "The mantle which our prophet wore was sought for by
a half a score." But God knew the very man so therefore it fell upon
Brigham Young, and with few exceptions, the people went to their
homes rejoicing and contented.44

Porter, Nathan Tanner
July 10, 1820-April 9, 1897, age 24

It was now a matter of question with Some as to who Should lead the
Church, which caused much comment in private circles, and many
conjectures to arise in the minds of the People, as to who was the
Legitimate Successor in the Presidency of the Church. As Sidney Rig-
don had preseeded the Twelve in his return from the East & claimed
that it was his right, in deavering to get the People together for the
purpose of rattifying his claims by their voice. But the Twelve having
returned before this was accomplished Brigham Young Being the
President of the Quorum appointed a special Conference of the whole
Church, at which it was vissably made manifest to the most if not all
present That he was chosen of God to stand in Josephs Stead in mov-
ing on the cause of Zion[.] For as he arose & began to speak to the
People he was transfigured into Josephs likeness in looks appearance
& the sound of his voice so that a low whisper ran through the vast
Assembly—thats Joseph—thats Joseph while the eyes of the multi-
tude became fastened upon him with wonder & astonishment. this
prodused a firm conviction in the minds of the People beyond all
doubt that he was the Man and thus he was incorporated by a
unaminous voice of all present with Heber C Kimble & Willard
Richards as his Councilloors[.] I being in attendance was also an eye
witness to this marvelous manifestation.45

Pulsipher, John
July 17, 1827-August 9, 1891, age 17

I have been with the Prophet Joseph and heard his instruction
weekly and sometimes daily. The last time I heard him speak in public
he spoke to the Legion. After telling over what he had passed thru and
what he had suffered from men because he preached the Gospel of
Jesus Christ, He says: from my boyhood up to the present time I have
been hunted like a roe upon the mountains. I have never been allowed to live like other men. I have been driven, chased, stoned, whipped, robbed, mobbed, imprisoned, persecuted, accused falsely of everything bad. I have suffered till the Lord knows I have suffered enough.

After the death of Joseph, Sidney Rigdon came and sought to place himself at the head of the church. By his flattery he deceived many. Just before he called a vote of the public congregation, Brigham Young the president of the Twelve, arrived from his mission. This was a joyful meeting. The faithful knew not that Joseph had ordained Brother Brigham and the Twelve to lead the church but they knew that the Twele were the next quorum in authority. They that served the Lord faithful were not deceived. I went to [the] meeting where the church met in the grove east of the Temple where President Brigham Young arose and spoke and behold he spoke with the voice of Joseph. The very moment I heard him speak (August 8th) I thought of Joseph and from that time on his voice sounded like Joseph’s and from that time the church generally were satisfied that the mantle of Joseph was on Brigham. Notwithstanding all this, Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, Lyman Wight, James Emmet and others led away many people from the church.46

Pulsipher, Zerah
June 24, 1789–January 1, 1872, age 55

At this time the mob expected we should rise and give them battle; we thought best not to do it. We just kept still and continued our work on the Temple, finished it and got our Endowments. But at that time most of the 12 were absent on missions. Sidney Rigdon, who aspired for the Presidency came and called the church together and presented his claim for the Presidency. But the 12 soon came home and appeared on the stand at the day appointed for choosing. Sidney made his plea. Brigham Young began to speak and at that time I sat with my back towards the stand as did many others. And when Brigham spoke he spoke with the voice of Joseph and we turned around to see Brigham speaking in Joseph’s voice and behold Joseph’s mantle had fallen on him. The people understood it in the same way. Brigham stood at the head of the Twelve therefore the church turned to him.47

Richards, Jane Snyder
January 31, 1823–November 17, 1912, age 21

Upon the return of the Apostles and Elders a meeting was called and by a unanimous vote Brigham Young was chosen President as he stood on the stand he said he felt as though he would rather sit in sack cloth and ashes for a month than appear before the people. But then loneliness seemed to require somebody to step forward and he felt constrained to do so. And we knew he was [to be
president] because he had the voice and manner of Joseph at the
time as hundreds can testify.48

After his [Joseph's] tragic death I attended the meeting at
which President Brigham Young addressed the Saints, and saw his
face illuminated and appear as the face of Joseph while the voice of
Joseph seemed to address the people through the mouth of Brigham.
I can never forget the divine thrill that passed through the audience
on that occasion and the impression that the appearance and voice
of Joseph produced upon his hearers.49

Richards, Maria Wealthy Wilcox
See Wilcox, Maria Wealthy

Romney, George
August 14, 1831–February 1 or 2, 1920, age 12

Well, the time came when the Twelve returned to Nauvoo.
They called a meeting in the Bowery, and Sidney Rigdon with all the
elegance possible for a man to have, spoke for one hour and a half,
but when he sat down, Brigham Young got up, and I testify to you in
all fervor, before God, that the mantle of Joseph Smith fell upon
Brigham Young. It was Joseph's voice; absolutely Joseph's voice and
manner, as Brigham Young addressed the people and told them who
should be their leader. Now this is no fiction; this is true as I stand
here after so many years, passing from the year 1844 up to the pres-
ent time.50

They were children as it were; and when the man of God, as the
people knew him, was taken away they did not know what would
become of them. That was the condition we were in—sorrow and
anguish for the loss of that man. I said the people were all children.
But they knew the shepherd's voice. Sidney Rigdon and the others
said, "I am the man, I am the man" but it did not take. The sheep
knew better. And when the Twelve returned from the east, I shall
never forget in this world or in the world to come the scene as
Brigham Young arose after Sidney Rigdon had used up an hour and a
half delivering an eloquent discourse. When Brigham got up the
mantle of Joseph Smith fell upon him. It was Joseph's voice; it was
Joseph's appearance, and I testify to you, if I never again do so on
this earth, in the presence of God and angels, that this is verily the
truth. This is true—that the mantle of Joseph did fall upon Brigham
Young and the people knew it.51

Smith, Job Taylor
December 2, 1828–January 3, 1913, age 15

Sometime during this week in August Sidney Rigdon returned
and called the people together to listen to his oratory and special
Appendix I: Firsthand Testimonies

claims. I heard all his discourses and they were lengthy and to the point that the father of the church was dead and needed a guardian and that he was the man to fill that position.

But on the 8th of August the apostles appeared on the stand, having very recently returned from the east. And to me it was a sensation. President Brigham Young arose to sepak and every eye was turned towards him, and as he spoke I fancied it was the prophet's voice speaking through him, I scarcely remember much that he said in the way of reasoning, but the ring of his voice will never cease from my memory as he uttered aloud the words, "If you wish to know who is the president of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints it is I." Historians have given his remarks in full, but I merely write from memory. I also remember his coupling with the motion to sustain the twelve apostles as the presiding authority of the church, the further carrying out of the measures of the prophet in finishing the building of the temple and giving the people their endowments. The votes for these measures were given heartily, for the sheep know the shepherd's voice, and a stranger, or one weakened in time of trouble they would not follow.  

Smoot, Abraham Owen
February 17, 1815–March 5, 1895, age 29

I was present at the meeting held in Nauvoo on the occasion when President Young assumed leadership of the Church, and can testify with hundreds of others that he spoke by the power of God on that occasion and that he had the very voice and appearance of Joseph Smith.  

Smoot, Margaret Thompson McMeans Adkinson
April 16, 1809–September 1, 1884, age 35

I was present upon the occasion when the Twelve Apostles with Pres Brigham Young at their head, took the presidency of the church by the unanimous vote of all Israel there assembled and personally witnessed the supernatural power shown through Brigham Young. And was firmly convinced that he was the legitimate successor to the Martered Prophet. And was as ready and willing from that moment to obey his council, and receive his Revelations, as I was those of Joseph Smith.  

Staines, William C.
26, 1818–August 3, 1881, age 26

After this [a speech from Sidney Rigdon lasting three hours] President Young stated he had listened to all that had been said by the speaker. . . . But as the subject had been broached and the people would be anxious to know something about those who would lead,
he said in a loud voice: “I will tell you who your leaders or guardians will be—The Twelve! I at their head!” This was with a voice like the voice of the Prophet Joseph. I thought it was his, and so did the thousands who heard it.55

Stearns, Mary Ann
April 6, 1833—April 2, 1912, age 11

I was at the great meeting when the mantle of Brother Joseph rested upon Brigham Young until his whole being seemed changed and his voice was like that of the Prophet. The people around me, rising to their feet to get a better chance to hear and see, I and my little companion of the day, Julia Felshaw, being small of stature, stood upon the benches that we, too might behold the wonderful transformation, and I know that from that time on the power of that change remained with Brother Brigham Young as long as he lived on earth. The faithful and honest hearted were quick to discern the right and took up the armor of the Gospel anew, rallied round the faithful Brigham whose rightful leadership had been plainly shown to them.56

Thomas, Catherine
March 17, 1834—September 15, 1927, age 10

The Saints were soon called to the Temple and the great question as to who should be their Leader was settled. Then Brigham Young was chosen to fill the vacancy of our beloved Prophet. I saw Brother Young rise to take his place as President of our Church and testify that he appeared to me and others to be Joseph the Prophet himself in person and voice, and I exclaimed “Oh, the Prophet Joseph is Resurrected.” My sister Rachel said “No, that is Brother Brigham Young.”57

Tracy, Nancy Naomi Alexander
1814–1902, age 30

We bore faithful testimony to our relatives and in the spring, bid our friends [in the East] farewell to return again to our home in Nauvoo. We landed at the City of the Saints about the middle of April, on Sunday morning. But oh, how lonely it seemed, our Prophet and Patriarch was not among the Saints in person, but that day his spirit rested upon Brigham Young, and as the mantle of Elijah fell upon Elisha, so the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham. It seemed that the voice and every gesture was like Joseph, and he was sustained as the prophet, seer and revelator by the voice of the people.58

As soon as we arrived, we went right home and prepared to go to meeting for that day was appointed for us to choose a first presidency to lead the Church. The saints convened in a grove. Sidney Rigdon and his followers were on hand to contest their right to be
the leaders of the Saints. At one time he was one of Brother Joseph's councilors, but he was not righteous, and Joseph shook him off saying that the had carried him long enough and he would carry him no longer. Therefore, it was out of the question to have such a man lead the people.

Brigham Young was the man chosen and sustained by unanimous vote to be the mouthpiece of God to the Saints. I can testify that the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham that day as that of Elijah did fall upon Elisha, for it seemed that his voice, his gestures, and all were Joseph. It seemed that we had him again with us. He was sustained by the voice of the people to be the prophet, seer, and revelator.39

Watkins, William Lampard
February 7, 1827–September 18, 1911, age 17

A meeting was appointed for August 8th [1844] by which time Brigham Young and most of the other apostles had returned home. It was at this meeting Sidney Rigdon made a lengthy and tedious speech presenting his claims, telling the people what wonderful things he had planned for them.

It was a solemn time for he was a man who on account of his experience and talents had been sustained as Joseph's counselor by the people, although contrary to the Prophet's wish for some time past, but the darkness was soon dispelled, for Brigham Young explained before the people on that day, the order of the Priesthood. He was filled with the power of the Holy Ghost. He stood before the people as the Prophet Joseph Smith often had done and we heard the voice of the true shepherd, for he spoke with the voice of Joseph. His manner and appearance were like unto Joseph's and it was manifested to all those present upon whom the responsibility rested to carry on the work of God and lead the Saints.

I sat in that assembly and did not realize for a time but that I was still listening to the Prophet Joseph, so great and marvelous was the manner in which the manifestation before the entire congregation was made, that when the proposition was placed before the people to decide whom they would sustain as the leader of the church, the twelve apostles with Brigham Young as their President were almost unanimously sustained. This circumstance, although the Saints were in deep trouble and filled with sorrow for the condition in which they were placed brought a great relief and gave joy to the Saints for they realized that God was still mindful of them.60

Welch, John
January 6, 1823–November 8, 1910, age 21

I, John Welch, being of mature years desire to leave to my friends and descendants the following statement:
... I was baptized into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the year 1841; emigrated to Nauvoo, Ill., in 1843 and to Salt Lake City in the year 1852. I was well acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith and heard him speak both in public and private many times. I was present at the meeting in the grove at Nauvoo August 8th, 1844, when Sidney Rigdon made the claim. ... I saw Brigham Young, then President of the Twelve Apostles, stand up to speak to the people and he spoke with the voice of Joseph Smith; and I further declare and testify that he, Brigham Young, had the appearance of the Prophet Joseph Smith while he, Young, was talking; that I was convinced then, and have never doubted in all the intervening years from that time up to the present, that Brigham Young was the right man and the man chosen of God to lead the Church.

Signed, John Welch
Sworn before
A. L. Farrell,
County Clerke, Cache Co, Utah

Westover, Eliza Ann
See Haven, Eliza Ann Westover

Whitney, Helen Mar Kimball
August 25, 1828–November 15, 1896, age 15

I can bear witness, with hundreds of others who stood that day under the sound of Brigham's voice, of the wonderful and startling effect that it had upon us. If Joseph had risen from the dead and stood before them, it could hardly have made a deeper or more lasting impression. It was the very voice of Joseph himself. This was repeatedly spoken of by the Latter-day Saints. And surely it was a most powerful and convincing testimony to them that he was the man, instead of Sidney Rigdon, that was destined to become the "great leader," and upon whose shoulders the mantle of Joseph had fallen.

Wilcox, Maria Wealthy
June 17, 1827–January 13 1909, age 17

I well remember the Sunday morning when the sorrowing saints were gathered together, in the little grove where they were accustomed to meet. Sidney Rigdon presented his claim as successor to the Prophet Joseph, making quite an impression upon the people; but Brigham Young, President of the Apostles, had just returned to Nauvoo, from his mission, in time to attend the afternoon meeting, and in a voice not unlike the Prophet's, he told the people that although the Prophet Joseph was dead, Joseph had left behind the Keys of the Kingdom, and had conferred the same power, and
authority that he himself possessed upon the Twelve Apostles, and that the Church would not be left without a leader and a guide. Truly the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon Brigham, and he spoke with power, even to the convincing of the saints, assuring them that they had nothing to fear, as all would yet be well, if they would harken to the Word of God, and to the counsel of his servants, and keep his commandments.\[63\]

Winters, Mary Ann Stearns
See Stearns, Mary Ann

Woodruff, Wilford
March 1, 1807-September 2, 1898, age 37
In an address published in February 1845, Wilford Woodruff shared the mantle news with “[Church] officers and members” in England by assuring them that

On the second day after our arrival August 8th, 1844, we met in a special conference, all the quorums, authorities, and members of the Church that could assemble in Nauvoo. They were addressed by elder Brigham Young, the president of the quorum of the twelve. It was evident to the Saints that the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon him, the road that he pointed out could be seen so plainly, that none need err therein; the spirit of wisdom and counsel attended all his teachings, he struck upon a chord, with which all hearts beat in unison.\[64\]

I know this work is of God. I know Joseph Smith was a prophet of God. I have heard two or three of the brethren testify about Brother Young in Nauvoo. Every man and every woman in that assembly, which perhaps might number thousands, could bear the same testimony. I was there, the Twelve were there, and a good many others, and all can bear the same testimony. The question might be asked why was the appearance of Joseph Smith given to Brigham Young? Because here was Sidney Rigdon and other men rising up and claiming to be the leaders of the Church; and men stood, as it were, on a pivot, not knowing which way to turn. But just as quick as Brigham Young rose in that assembly, his face was that of Joseph Smith—the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon him, the power of God that was upon Joseph Smith was upon him; he had the voice of Joseph, and it was the voice of the shepherd. There was not a person in that assembly, Rigdon, himself, not excepted, but was satisfied in his own mind that Brigham was the proper leader of the people, for he [Rigdon] would not have his name presented, by his own consent, after that sermon was delivered. There was a reason for this in the mind of God: it convinced the people. They saw and heard for themselves, and it was by the power of God.\[65\]
I do not know if there is any one present here tonight but myself who was there at that conference. There are but few living who were present on that occasion . . . and when Brigham arose and commenced speaking, as has been said, if my eyes had not been so I could see, if I had not seen him with my own eyes, there is no one that could have convinced me that it was not Joseph Smith.\textsuperscript{66}

**NOTES**

Abbreviations used in notes:

BYU Archives \hspace{1em} Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah

FHL Archives \hspace{1em} Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City

LDS Church Archives \hspace{1em} Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City


\textsuperscript{2}William Moore Allred, “Reminiscences and Diary, 1883,” holograph, 11, LDS Church Archives.


\textsuperscript{4}Lewis Barney, Reminiscences [1888], holograph, 15–16, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

\textsuperscript{5}Information sent to the author by a descendant. Katherine Adams Peterson to author, August 1996.


\textsuperscript{7}Henry Schuler Buckwalter, “Biographical Sketch of Henry Schuler Buckwalter,” Miscellaneous Mormon Diaries, 11:3, typescript, BYU Archives.

\textsuperscript{8}Thomas Bullock to John O. Angus, Salt Lake City, December 18, 1851, in *Millennial Star* 14 (July 3, 1852): 299.

Appendix I: Firsthand Testimonies

10William Burton, Journal, May 1845 [under entry of April 26, 1845], BYU Archives; William Burton, “William Burton Diaries, 1839-1851,” May 1845, 2–8, LDS Archives; see also Eugene England, Brother Brigham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 75; and Quinn, “Mormon Succession Crisis,” 212. This is one of the earliest contemporary accounts to survive, written ten months after the event. Burton was not in Nauvoo in 1844. He was on a mission.

11Anson Call, “The Life and Record of Anson Call: Commenced in 1839,” holograph, 30, LDS Church Archives. In a note at the end of Call’s journal in the LDS Church Archives, T. Edgar Lyon identifies Mary Flint Call as Anson’s scribe. Anson Call, The Journal of Anson Call (n.p.: Ethan L. Call and Christine Shatter Call, 1986), 31–32. This journal began in 1839 and was dictated to or recopied by “various individuals, presumably his wives.” Call, Journal of Anson Call, publisher’s note.


13Elias Cox, “Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” Young Woman’s Journal 17 (December 1906): 544.

14Caroline Barnes Crosby, “Memoirs Begun at Tubuai, Society Islands, 1851,” holograph, unpaged, LDS Church Archives; Caroline Barnes Crosby, “The Papers of Jonathan and Caroline Crosby,” unpaged, microfilm, FHL Archives. The journal of Caroline Barnes Crosby began in 1851 in the Society Islands while the Crosbys were on a mission.

15Homer Duncan, Autobiographical Sketch, holograph, 22–23, LDS Church Archives.

16Edmund Ellsworth, Autobiography [ca. 1892], holograph, 4–5, LDS Church Archives.


20James Harvey Glines, “Reminiscences and Diary, March 1845–December 1899,” holograph, 41, LDS Church Archives.

21William Greenhalgh, “The History of William Greenhalgh: As Written By Himself,” typescript, 1–2, FHL Archives, copy in possession of the author. This typescript was written in the 1870s based on earlier diary accounts. This copy was given to the author and to the FHL Archives by William’s great-grandson Glade Greenhalgh. The holographic original is owned by Jean Bluth of Colorado Springs, Colorado.
Jacob Hamblin, Journal 8, typescript, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1881), 19–20. Little writes in the preface that Jacob Hamblin “was induced to narrate, for Brother James A. Little’s pen to record, the incidents herein published.” See also Pearson H. Corbett, Jacob Hamblin, the Peacemaker (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1952), 21–22.


John Nelson Harper, Autobiography [ca. 1861], typescript, 10, typed by Jewel B. Furniss, LDS Church Archives. “This book was copied from the old original that was written by John Harper” (title page).

Eliza Ann Haven Westover, “Letter to Son Written 1918,” 4, LDS Church Archives; Seegmiller, Life Story of Robert Taylor Burton, 50; see also Barlow, Israel Barlow Story, 205.


Quinn, “Mormon Succession Crisis,” 212 n. 69.

Emily Smith Hoyt, Reminiscenses and Diaries 1851–1893, holograph, 20–21, microfilm, LDS Church Archives, the original diary is in possession of Jonathan A. Dibble, Salt Lake City.


Hyde, in JD, 19:58, April 5, 1877.


William was baptized in 1834 and kept a dated and detailed record of his Church activities. If this handwritten journal was not kept concurrently, it must have been based on copious and dated notes. He admitted that on occasion instructions were given “which he did not pen.” Hyde, “Private Journal,” 16, FHL Archives. This indicates that the information in his journal was generally written at the time of offering.
Elder George Albert Smith, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, saw the original journal in the home of a granddaughter, Elizabeth Hyde Geary, and scanned its contents. Recognizing the wide sweep of Church history contained in this private journal, he immediately requested it for the LDS Church Archives and had a typed copy made for Sister Geary. Introduction to Hyde Journal, LDS Church Archives.


37Benjamin F. Johnson, My Life’s Review (n.d.; reprint, Mesa, Ariz.: Lofgreen Printing, 1979), 103–4; see also Arrington, Brigham Young, 114–15 n. 8.


The above quotation has been challenged by Richard S. Van Wagoner in his book, Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 351 n. 99. Van Wagoner states Laub’s mantle account was not written until after he arrived in the Utah Territory in 1852. Van Wagoner’s claim is that Laub’s 1845–46 journal was actually copied from another Laub journal dated 1845–52 and that the transfiguration incident was then appropriately inserted. Both journals are currently stored in the LDS Church Archives. Historian Michael Quinn explains:

Eugene England edited “George Laub’s Nauvoo Journal,” Brigham Young University Studies 18 (Winter 1978): 166, which also gives an explicit description of Brigham Young’s transfiguration. However, Van Wagoner, Sidney Rigdon, demonstrates that England had edited Laub’s own revision (dated about 1852) of his original Nauvoo diary that was unavailable to England. Donated to LDS archives after England’s article, Laub’s original diary made no reference to a mystical experience at the August 1844 meeting. (Quinn, Mormon Hierarchy, 393 n. 114)

If Van Wagoner is correct in redating to 1852 Laub’s journal mentioning the mantle, this account is still one of the earliest renderings, written at least seventeen to eighteen years before the first complete published account of the mantle experience.

40Wandle Mace, “The Diary of Wandle Mace” (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1964), 156–57, microfilm, FHL Archives; Wandle Mace, Autobiography
[ca. 1890], holograph, 95–96, microfilm, LDS Church Archives. See also Wandle Mace, Autobiography [ca. 1890], holograph [written in 1911], 113-14, LDS Church Archives. Both of the autobiographies in the LDS Church Archives were copied by his wife, Elizabeth Howell Mace.

41Philemon Christopher Merrill, Autobiography [ca. 1890], typescript, 4, LDS Church Archives. Transcription by Zola S. Hardy, the wife of a great-grandson of Philemon, from a six-page holograph.

42George Morris, “Life Story of George Morris of the Seventeenth Ward, Salt Lake,” holograph, unpaged, microfilm, FHL Archives; see also George Morris, “Autobiography of George Morris,” typescript, 27, BYU Archives. Morris’s autobiography has been edited, but the editor is not given.

43William Bryam Pace, “Diary of William Bryam Pace and Biography of His Father, James Pace,” typescript, 7, BYU Archives. This is a copy from an original in the possession of Sidney A. Pace, Orem, Utah.

44George Patten, “Life Sketch,” 1900, holograph, unpaged, LDS Archives; George Patten, “A Short Sketch [ca. 1909],” typescript, 2, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

45Nathan Tanner Porter, Reminiscences [ca 1879], holograph, 131–33, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

46John Pulsipher, “A Short Sketch of the History of John Pulsipher,” typescript, 7–8, LDS Church Archives; Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 203.

47Zerah Pulsipher, Autobiographical sketch, LDS Church Archives; Nora Hall Lund and Terry Lund, comps., “Pulsipher Family History Book,” 23, FHL Archives.

48Jane Snyder Richards, “Papers 1869–,” holograph, 13, LDS Church Archives; Madsen, In Their Own Words, 174.

49Jane Snyder Richards, “Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” Young Woman’s Journal 16 (December 1905): 550.

50George Romney, “Joseph Smith Was the Chosen Prophet of God—His Mantle Fell upon Brigham Young,” Liahona, the Elders’ Journal 17 (April 13, 1920): 339; Caroline Eyring Miner, Miles Romney and Elizabeth Gaskell Romney and Family (Salt Lake City: Miles Romney Family Organization, 1978), 74. Romney’s last public testimony was delivered at a meeting of the Swedish Saints in the Twelfth-Thirteenth Ward Chapel in Salt Lake City on December 17, 1919, seventy-five years after the August 1844 mantle phenomena. A proud old man of eighty-eight, he bore a powerful testimony of the mantle miracle.

51George Romney, typescript account of testimony, typed by Mary R. Ross, LDS Church Archives; England, Brother Brigham, 75; Gustave Arnt Iverson, “The Mantle of the Prophet,” typescript, LDS Church Archives. Testimony of Bishop George Romney at a stake conference on June 22, 1919, in the Ensign Ward, Salt Lake City.


56Mary Ann Stearns Winters, “An Autobiographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Mary Ann Stearns Winters, daughter of Mary Ann Stearns Pratt,” typescript, LDS Church Archives.

57Catherine Thomas Lieshman, Autobiographical sketch [May 1, 1914], typescript, 2–3, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.

58Nancy Naomi Alexander Tracy, “Autobiography,” holograph, 5, microfilm, FHL Archives; Nancy Alexander Tracy, “A Short Sketch of the Life and Travels of Nancy N. Tracy,” typescript prepared by grandson David E. Ellingson, 19, BYU Archives. See also Madsen, In Their Own Words, 255–56. The account indicates that Nancy and her husband were in the East at the time of the August 8 meeting or that Nancy had confused the dates. Her story may have been secondhand or might be an account of something they experienced later.

59Nancy N. Tracy, Autobiography, typescript, 31, LDS Church Archives.


61John Welch, “Deposition, July 5, 1902,” typescript, microfilm, LDS Church Archives. This is a copy of a statement which John Welch made July 5, 1902, at Logan City, Cache County, Utah. It was signed, sealed, and sworn before A. L. Farrell, Cache County Clerk. Parts of the deposition are also included in Evaline Dunn Snow, “John and Eliza B. Welch Biographical Sketch,” transcript, 2, microfilm, LDS Church Archives.


63Maria Wealthy Wilcox, “Joseph Smith, the Prophet,” Young Woman’s Journal 16 (December 1905): 553–54.

64Wilford Woodruff, “To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the British Islands,” Millennial Star 5 (February 1845): 138.

65Wilford Woodruff, “Remarks,” Deseret News, May 22, 1872; see also Wilford Woodruff, in JD, 15:81, April 8, 1872.

66Wilford Woodruff, “Priesthood and the Right of Succession,” Deseret News Semi-Weekly, March 15, 1892, 3. This testimony was publicly delivered at a gathering of Young Men Mutual Improvement groups. Speaker B. H. Roberts was presenting a lecture on the succession in the presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. At Roberts's request, President Woodruff, who was present in the audience, was asked to present his testimony concerning the events of August 8, 1844, and the mantle experience. See also Arrington, Brigham Young, 115.
Appendix II: Secondhand Testimonies

This appendix contains secondhand accounts of the mantle experience. These accounts concern people who reported a personal mantle experience but did not record their own story. Their oral testimonies were recorded later by others, usually family members. Other accounts in this appendix come from firsthand diaries that are unavailable to the author of this paper; in these cases, secondary sources have been cited. As in appendix I, the accounts are listed by the person's name, birth and death dates, age in August 1844, testimonies, sources, and appropriate notes.

Adams, Sally
May 29, 1825–February 15, 1905, age 19

“I well remember that June day of 1844, when the announcement reached Nauvoo that the Prophet and Patriarch had been killed by a cruel mob. The news fell like a thunderbolt upon the Saints. Their grief was indescribable. Many thought he, like the Savior, would rise again to become their leader. . . . The memory of the occasion can never be erased. This sad occurrence marks the culmination of the devil inspired persecutions of two of God’s greatest and truest noblemen.”

Sally told of being at the meeting on August 8, 1844, when Brigham Young spoke in the voice of the martyred Prophet. He assumed the form and appearance of Joseph, so that the thousands at the meeting believed for the moment that President Smith actually stood before them.  

Angell, Truman Osborn
June 5, 1810–October 16, 1887, age 34

Not only did Truman Angell neglect to record much about his personal and professional life during this period, but he also wrote little of the larger historical events occurring around him. He mentions only that he “suffered much—in common with the rest of my Brethren—during the persecutions in which the Prophet and Patriarch lost their lives.” Angell's loyalty lay with the Apostles in the aftermath of this tragedy. “Although the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum Smith had lost their lives by mob violence,” he writes, “the Twelve Apostles came forward, with Brigham Young at their head, and the mantle of Joseph was upon them in all that was done.”
Barlow, Elizabeth Haven
December 28, 1811-December 25, 1892, age 32

"When Brigham Young, the President of the Twelve, began speaking I saw a change come over him—saw him take on the form of Joseph Smith and heard his voice change to that of the Prophet's. Thousands in that assembly testified to the same thing. From that moment forward I knew whom the Lord had chosen. So did all the true Latter Day Saints. The crowd felt that the Lord had not forsaken them." 5

Benson, Eliza Ann Perry
See Perry, Eliza Ann

Benson, Ezra Taft
February 22, 1811-September 3, 1869, age 33

"When Brother Brigham Young rose before the people and spoke . . . it was very easy to see who possessed the mantle of Joseph. Truly, as Jesus said, 'My sheep know my voice, but a stranger they will not follow.' For many said, when they heard Brigham talk, that it was not Brigham's voice, but the voice of Joseph." 4

Billington, Eliza
December 16, 1825-August 16, 1916, age 18

They [Eliza and her husband John Welch] were both well acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, in life and were permitted to view their remains after the martyrdom. John Welch was one of the guards over the bodies as they lay in state. They were both present at the meeting held August 8, 1844, where the mantle of the Prophet fell on Brigham Young, and they knew Brigham Young had been called by Divine Authority and power, and these facts they related many, many times to their children and grandchildren, greatly strengthening and adding to the testimonies of those who listened. 5

Cannon, Ann
January 28, 1832-July 25, 1921, age 12

After the prophet's death, I was at the meeting where Sydney Rigdon, standing in a wagon box to make his speech, presented his claim to be guardian of the Church. When Brigham Young presented his claim, the mantle of the prophet rested on him and we knew he was to be the new leader. 6
Carbine, William Van Orden
February 17, 1835–May 11, 1921, age 9

I was nine years old when the Prophet was martyred. I remember the excitement at that time. The people hardly knew what to do. The Prophet was gone and Sidney Rigdon wanted a guardian put in for the Church. Brother Thomas Grover, one of the High Council, spoke and told the people not to be in a hurry: the Twelve would be home soon and they would tell the people what to do. When Brigham Young came home he held a meeting at which time, the mantle of Joseph fell on him. It was a manifestation to let the people know who was to lead the Church. His looks and ways were like the Prophet. I, as a boy, was quite well acquainted with the Prophet. I was sitting with my mother in the meeting and I thought it was the Prophet and told my mother so. There are a good many who have heard my mother tell this.7

Though I was only a boy, I remember it quite distinctly. I told my mother [Adelia] that the Prophet was not dead, for I had seen him on the stand.8

Carrington, Albert
January 8, 1813–September 19, 1889, age 31

In his conference address delivered in the Bowery in Salt Lake City on July 19, 1857, Brigham Young referred to Albert Carrington’s mantle experience which is reported to have taken place during the October conference of 1844:

Do people imagine that they can kill “Mormonism?” I may die for my religion, and who cares for that? Brother Carrington has told you that God can carry on his own work, and the spirit of Joseph which fell upon me [Brigham] is ready to fall upon somebody else when I am removed. . . .

. . . Brother Carrington’s testimony proves to you that men’s eyes are liable to be deceived. It may appear strange to some that he [Carrington] could not tell me from Joseph Smith, when I was speaking in the stand in Nauvoo during the October Conference of 1844. Somebody came along and passed a finger over his eyes and he could not see any one but Joseph speaking, until I got through addressing the congregation.9

Cheney, Talitha Garlik Avery
September 22, 1824–April 17, 1902, age 19

I was in Nauvoo when Sidney Rigdon came from the east after Brother Joseph and Hyrum were killed to take lead of the church. There were none of the Twelve Apostles at home but Brother Taylor
and Brother Richards. Brother Taylor had been badly wounded so Sidney Rigdon thought he would have things his own way, but he was mistaken; he called a meeting and said the church was old enough to choose a guardian for itself, it had been fourteen years since it was organized. But Brother Brigham and the rest of the Apostles got there in time to be at the meeting. After Rigdon sat down Brother Brigham got up and said, "All who want Brother Rigdon to lead them can have him, but I tell you the Keys of the Kingdom are in the hands of the Twelve Apostles. They are the ones to lead this people."

As soon as Brother Brigham got up to speak, I said to myself, "That is the man to take the lead of this people." He looked just like Brother Joseph and spoke like him, I said "Surely the mantle of the Prophet Joseph has fallen on Brother Brigham." I never had a doubt, I knew Brother Brigham was the man to fill the place of our beloved Prophet. I knew Joseph Smith was a true Prophet of God and was the mouthpiece of God to the people and that Brother Brigham was his lawful successor and a man of God.10

Clawson, Ellen Spencer
November 21, 1832–August 24, 1896, age 11

Aurelia Spencer Rogers writes the following concerning her sister Ellen:

My sister Ellen’s testimony has also strengthened my faith in the truth of Mormonism, and it seems to me appropriate to give it here, as it may prove a help to others. She was at a meeting of the Saints, held in a grove west of the Temple in Nauvoo, soon after the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith. The question under consideration, who should take the Prophet’s place in presiding over the Church. Sidney Rigdon, who had been one of Joseph’s Counselors, claimed the right to the position; yet the spirit he manifested was not in accord with the spirit of the Gospel. At this meeting, Brigham Young, who was President of the Quorum of Apostles, arose to speak, when “The Mantle of Joseph” fell upon him, and he was like one transformed; his countenance, voice and form were like those of the late Prophet. Many in the congregation, even children saw this miracle; it satisfied the people and decided the question who was to be the leader. Sister Ellen occasionally referred to this circumstance, and said whenever she was tired, or felt to doubt any of the principles of the Gospel, this testimony came up before her.11

Clements, Ada Winchell
December 24, 1801–March 4, 1890, age 42

When Joseph and Hyrum Smith were martyred, Albert [Ada’s husband] was away from home, working for the Church interests and also the support of his family. When he heard of the terrible news he
immediately started for home. On the way his horse took sick and he stopped at a store to obtain medicine. Here he met his friend Sidney Rigdon. Sidney told Albert he was hurrying back to Nauvoo to be with the Saints during this time of sorrow, and to take his place as their leader. Albert was happy to learn of Mr. Rigdon's decision. On August 15, 1844, Albert arrived home, and Ada immediately told him all that had happened, including the meeting she had attended wherein the Saints had chosen Brigham Young as their leader.\textsuperscript{12}

Ada related the events of this meeting. She told Albert how Elder Young had actually sounded and looked like Joseph Smith. Albert was surprised! He inquired about Sidney Rigdon. Ada said he had spoken, but the spirit was not with him. Albert took the side of his friend Sidney Rigdon. This was a sad day for the Clements family. Albert asked Ada if she were going to leave him and go west with Brigham Young? She said she would continue with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. However, she said she would always love him and pray for Albert to see the truth.\textsuperscript{13}

**Corless, Catherine Stephenson**

December 13, 1807-September 27, 1902, age 36

John Coreless [a son of Catherine and Edward] "was with his parents at the meeting and John said he heard his mother and others say when Brigham Young arose and began to speak, 'O! It's Joseph himself.'"\textsuperscript{14}

**Corless, Edward**

March 14, 1804-January 18, 1873, age 40

After the opening of this meeting President Brigham Young, President of the Twelve Apostles, spoke on the duties of the Twelve Apostles, and while he was speaking the Mantle of Joseph fell on President Young and he looked like Joseph and he spoke in Joseph's voice, and many thought it was Joseph himself.\textsuperscript{15}

**Decker, Sarah Louisa Norris**

about 1824-1914, age 20

Not satisfied yet those opposed to us began a series of persecutions; also a great apostasy took place and jealousy arose as to who should lead the Church. Sidney Rigdon, Lyman Wight and Strang had their followers but when a meeting was called and Brigham Young arose and spoke with power, it was as if the Prophet Joseph's very voice spoke through him. I heard my father and mother when they returned from meeting testify to this, and many others since then. I believe it was the largest attended meeting ever held in Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{16}
De Mille, Oliver
March 30, 1830–July 8, 1908, age 14

"After talking about a minute, his voice changed to the voice of Joseph, his countenance and every appearance and motion was that of Joseph, and his language was so convincing and prophetic that it seemed to bring conviction to the hears of all who were present. I was in the meeting and see with my own eyes and heard with my own ears all that was said and done and know for asurity whereof I speak and I lie not."17

Ensign, Luvera Ellen
See Preece, Luvera Ellen Ensign

Fisher, Evaline McLean
December 25, 1805–July 19, 1893, age 38

They [Evaline and her husband, Joseph] were in Nauvoo at the time of the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum and supposedly was at the meeting when the mantle of the Prophet fell upon Brigham Young.18

Fisher, Joseph
November 25, 1801–March 21, 1867, age 43

See Fisher, Evaline McLean

Harris, Emmeline Blanche Woodward
February 29 1828–April 25, 1921, age 16

"The people were gathered in the grove where there was a rude stand to speak from and very rude benches for the choir and others. The crowd extended through the grove and even outside the trees, many people standing in their wagon boxes, drawn up against the trees, to listen to what was going on. . . . But when Brigham Young rose in the midst of the people, most of them rose to their feet. . . . Well, we all stood on our feet, and as President Young spoke, everyone that had known the Prophet Joseph declared in a loud voice, as loud as they could, almost, that it was the Prophet Joseph himself risen again . . . that it was his voice, his manner, his clothing, himself, that stood there in the midst of the people. Of course this talking after a while subsided, and by and by most of them doubtless realized that it was Brigham Young. But it was a transfiguration real and convincing."19

I was standing in a wagon box on wheels, so I did not have to rise, but those who were seated arose and made the exclamation. I could see very well, and every one of them thought it was really the Prophet Joseph risen from the dead. But after Brigham Young had spoken a few words, the tumult subsided, and the people really knew that
it was not the Prophet Joseph, but the President of the quorum of the Twelve Apostles. It was the most wonderful manifestation, I think, that I have known or seen, and I have seen a very great number.\textsuperscript{20}

**Hubbard, Charles Wesley**

February 7, 1810–December 19, 1903, age 34

On the morning of 4 August 1844 \textit{sic} when Rigdon was given the opportunity of laying his claim before the whole church, Brigham Young addressed the gathering in the afternoon. \ldots Charles Hubbard later recorded that before his death in Willard, Utah, he walked two blocks to fast meeting and bore his testimony in a language and spirit that held the audience in silence and attention. One of the men present said: \textquote{There was not a sound in the room other that his [Charles's] voice; many were in tears, the spirit was so strong as he declared he knew that Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God and that Brigham Young was the rightful successor, for he was at the meeting when the mantle fell on Brigham Young. Brigham Young looked like the Prophet [Joseph] and no one who was present could ever doubt that Brigham Young was called of God.} \textsuperscript{21}

**Hunter, Edward**

June 22, 1793–October 16, 1883, age 51

\textquote{I went to the meeting that had been called and listened thoughtfully to what was said and done. The longer I listened the more mystified I became. I bowed my head in my hands and prayed for God to give me understanding. While I was in this attitude, Brother Brigham rose to speak, I suppose. I heard a voice—the Prophet's [Joseph's] voice as natural and true as I ever heard it. I raised up quickly, fully expecting to see the Prophet [Joseph], and I did. There he stood and gradually changed to that of Brother Brigham, but the voice was not Brother Brigham's. It was still the Prophet's [Joseph]. Then beside Brother Brigham I saw the Prophet [Joseph], who turned toward the speaker and smiled. My heart beat rapidly with joy and I know beyond the shadow of a doubt that Brother Brigham was called of God to lead the Church.}

Others of the assembled Saints received the same remarkable manifestation; and when a vote was called for, the Council of the Twelve was unanimously sustained as the ruling body of the Church.\textsuperscript{22}

**Johnson, Joseph Ellis**

April 28, 1817–December 17, 1882, age 27

During the dismal days following the murders of Joseph and Hyrum, JEJ [Joseph Ellis Johnson] and others of the family lived through the grief, fears, uncertainties and confusion into which all had been plunged. They were present when Sidney Rigdon voiced
his plea to be named Guardian of the Church, which fell on unresponsive ears. They also saw Brigham Young rise to begin his speech and they declared that they witnessed a miracle. As he began to speak his voice suddenly became that of the slain prophet, and they and the audience were electrified by the change in his appearance which became that of Joseph Smith. So lifelike was he that BFJ [Benjamin F. Johnson] said he jumped to his feet in amazement and awe. They with the others of the congregation, convinced that the mantle of the prophet had fallen upon Brigham, voted to sustain him as leader of the Church. Later the rejected Sidney Rigdon, who was really a brilliant man in many ways, apostatized and formed a small church organization in Pittsburg, Pa.  

Kelley, Sophronia Eldridge Corbitt Stowell  
July 22, 1825-January 24, 1907, age 19  

Mother [Sophronia] was present when the cornerstone of the Nauvoo Temple was laid. She had seen the Prophet Joseph Smith and heard him talk many times. She was present when Brigham Young, as President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, assumed leadership of the Church. She has testified many times that he was transfigured and appeared both in voice and general appearance to be the Prophet Joseph himself.  

Knight, Martha McBride  
March 17, 1805-November 1, 1901, age 39  

She [Martha] often told her grandchildren of the cruel martyrdom of the prophet, the sorrowing of the Saints and the solemn services; her witnessing the form of Brigham Young change to the person of Joseph Smith, and Brigham's voice ringing out in the tone of Joseph's voice, declaring him the leader of the wondering Saints.  

Knight, Samuel  
October 14, 1832-February 11, 1910, age 12  

Another incident I have heard him [Samuel Knight] narrate was when the succession to the presidency of the Church, after the martyrdom, was being discussed, and he was in attendance at the meeting. As a small boy, perhaps playing with his marbles or otherwise passing the time, he was surprised to hear what he thought was the voice of Joseph Smith. He [Samuel] arose in astonishment and beheld the transfiguration of Brigham Young as related in Church History.  

Lake, James  
October 17, 1788-October 7, 1874, age 55  

See Lake, Philomela Smith
Lake, Philomela Smith
April 13, 1794–March 20, 1873, age 50

After the awful scene at Nauvoo, when they saw the forms of the Prophets they had loved so well laid in the grave, they sought a testimony from God as to their future procedure, and this testimony they received at the great meeting held in the grove at Nauvoo, August 8, 1844, where they witnessed the sublime personality of Joseph Smith as it cast its mantle of splendor around the chosen form of Brigham Young, he being transformed before the eyes of the people, as a heavenly witness to them that God had caused the Majesty of His High Priesthood to fall upon “whom he would,” that His work might continue. Father and Mother Lake received that testimony and took up their march again with the Saints.27

Leavitt, Dudley
August 31, 1830–October 15, 1908, age 13

It was not until Brigham Young and a number of the Twelve had returned that a public meeting was held to determine the successor to Joseph Smith.

All the Leavitt family were present on that occasion, August 8, 1844, for, to them, this was a matter of great importance. Fourteen-year-old Dudley was with his friends near the back of the large audience which had gathered to hear the talks of the authorities. . . . Brigham Young arose to speak. . . .

On the edge of the crowd, Dudley whispered to some of his companions. Suddenly they all stopped and listened. It was their Prophet Joseph speaking! How well they knew his accents. They raised up and looked toward the stand. For a second, they thought it was the Prophet who stood there. But they knew it was not, and soon the vision passed. It was so real to Dudley that it made a lasting impression. For him, the mantle of Joseph had in reality fallen upon Brigham. As long as he lived he loved to re-tell the incident.28

Leavitt, Jeremiah
May 30, 1796–August 20, 1846, age 48

Sarah Studevant Leavitt (September 5, 1799–April 5, 1878, age 45), Jeremiah’s wife, wrote:

When the news came the whole city of Nauvoo was thunderstruck. Oh such mourning and lamentation. . . . There were many, myself among them, that would gladly give our lives in place of his, if his life could have been spared in so doing. I never had spoken to Joseph Smith in my life. My husband, Jeremiah, had, but I had heard him preach and I had seen him and knew that he was a Prophet of God. He had been sent here to set up his Kingdom upon the Earth. I knew
that the God of Heaven was back of this latter day Kingdom, and I knew that it never could be thrown down by mortal man.

As I looked around me in despair, I wondered how that great work was to be accomplished. The answer was not long in coming. My husband, Jeremiah, was attending a meeting where this question was being discussed. Brigham Young was speaking when suddenly he seemed to be clothed with all the authority of Joseph Smith. Jeremiah said that he had the same appearance, the same voice, as the Prophet. If he had not known that Joseph Smith was dead, he would have thought that Brigham Young was Joseph Smith. Tears dampened many cheeks. Joy and gladness filled many hearts. The Lord had not forgotten his people. Brigham Young was absent in the east when Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been killed. Sidney Rigdon tried hard to take Joseph Smith’s place and assume the Presidency of the Church, but his lies and deceit were proven by the Twelve Apostles, that returned about this time. And also by the incident I have just related. After that there was no one to doubt that Brigham Young was to be our new leader and Prophet. If Brigham had any doubts, my husband Jeremiah did not. From that moment on he was our Prophet and our leader.29

LeBaron, Esther Meleta Johnson
January 12, 1828–March 15, 1874, age 16

Esther Meleta was at the meeting in August 1844, when Brigham Young was transfigured before the audience. She said Sidney Rigdon had spoke long and tried to convince the people that he was the rightful leader of the Church. When Brigham Young arose and began to speak, he was changed so that he looked like the Prophet Joseph Smith and his voice and manner of speech was the same so when the Saints saw this change there was no doubt as to who should lead the Church, the President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles with Brigham Young as the Prophet.50

Lee, John Doyle
September 6, 1812–March 23, 1877, age 31

Time passed on until the whole twelve got in from their missions, and a conference was held, and the several claimants come forward with their claims. Sidney Rigdon was the first who appeared upon the stand. He had been considered rather in the background for sometime previous to the death of the Prophet. He made but a weak claim. Strong (Strang) did not file any. Just them [sic] Brigham Young arose and roared like a young lion, imitating the style and voice of Joseph, the Prophet. Many of the brethren declared that they saw the mantle of Joseph fall upon him. I myself, at the time, imagined that I saw and heard a strong resemblance to the Prophet in him, and felt that he was the man to lead us until Joseph’s legal successor
should grow up to manhood, when he should surrender the Presidency to the man who held the birthright.31

Lyman, Amasa Mason
March 30, 1813–February 4, 1877, age 31

He [Amasa Lyman] was not blinded with foolish ambition. He had recognized the true ring of authority in the voice of Brigham Young. . . .

"I do not rise to electioneer," he declared, wanting the Saints to know at once that he was making no claims to leadership. . . . "I have been at the back of Joseph Smith and I will be at the back of the Twelve forever, and then I will be saved."

. . . Being awake with "his lamp trimmed and burning" at the momentous occasion, he was able with thousands of Latter-day Saints to see the splendid and undisputed manifestation of the power of God in presenting Brigham Young before the Saints as the martyred Prophet, for Brigham spoke with the Prophet's voice and appeared so nearly like the martyred leader that many of the people thought it was really Joseph Smith, and in this way they were shown clearly that the Prophet's mantle had fallen on Brigham Young.32

Murdock, Horace
December 24, 1824–May 1, 1915, age 19

After the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith, the presidency of the Church developed upon the quorum of the Apostles, and President Brigham Young stood at their head as captain and file leader, to carry out the plans that had been designated by the Prophet Joseph. There were many hundreds, perhaps thousands, present at the meeting held in the grove near the Temple at Nauvoo, in August, 1844, when President Young was recognized by miraculous manifestation as the leader of the Church, and they have testified it was evident that the mantle of Joseph the Prophet fell upon him. . . . I had a letter recently from Brothers Horace and John R. Murdock of Beaver, who testify that they were eyewitness to the wonderful transformation and power manifested through President Brigham Young on that occasion [when the mantle of Joseph the Prophet fell upon him]. 33

Murdock, John Riggs
September 13, 1826–November 12, 1913, age 17

"It was the greatest manifestation I ever beheld, for the voice, the gesture, the whole appearance of President Young was just exactly as if the Prophet Joseph stood there in person."34

I had a letter recently from Brothers Horace and John R. Murdock of Beaver, who testify that they were eyewitness to the wonderful transformation and power manifested through President Brigham
Young on that occasion [when the mantle of Joseph the Prophet fell upon him].

**Owens, James Clark**

**July 7, 1832–February 1, 1901, age 12**

With his parents he passed through the trials and drivings of the Saints, first in Missouri and afterwards in Illinois. . . . He attended the conference at Nauvoo, August 8, 1844, and remembered how Brigham Young was transformed in the eyes of the people.

**Palmer, James**

**August 6, 1820–October 6, 1905, age 24**

Brigham Young, the President of the Twelve Apostles, came to the front and stated in a public meeting that the Twelve in their organized capacity had the authority and the legal right to preside over the Church in all the world. As he was speaking in a public meeting, the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham and it was as if the Prophet were speaking. It was truly the voice of the Prophet, and it seemed to be the Prophet in person! It was a convincing and a remarkable demonstration of the power of God unto His people. In the minds of the faithful there was now no further question about who our rightful leader was, and this was acknowledged by the main body of the people. Those who did not accept this order of things went their own way.

**Perry, Eliza Ann**

**March 20, 1828–May 13, 1913, age 16**

After Eliza Ann Perry arrived in Nauvoo, she met the Prophet, Joseph Smith, and became well acquainted with him. Eliza Ann was a member of the Nauvoo Choir. She also contributed to the purchase of glass for the windows of the Nauvoo Temple. She was present at the meeting called by Sidney Rigdon to choose a guardian for the church. In her diary she said, and I quote, “Suddenly, Joseph came on the stand to all appearance. But, the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young, his voice, the color of his hair, his general appearance. People raised from their seats enmass and exclaimed, ‘Joseph has come! He is here!’ Then they knew that Brigham was the man to lead these people.”

**Preece, Luvera Ellen Ensign**

**June 24, 1826–June 14, 1898, age 18**

[On] August 8, 1844, she [Luvera] was at the meeting called to appoint the new leader of the church and witnessed the mantle of Joseph Smith cover Brigham Young as he talked to the assembled Saints.
Smith, John Sivel
March 10, 1809–February 12, 1905, age 35

John was present when the Prophet Joseph Smith delivered his last address to the Nauvoo Legion, and he also attended the memorably [sic] meeting held at Nauvoo August 8, 1844, when the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young. He often testified that Brigham Young was the Lord’s chosen prophet.40

Smith, Jane Wadley
January 2, 1814–?, age 30

Mother and father were present at the meeting when the mantle of Joseph Smith fell on Brigham Young. She said Brigham Young was not present at the meeting when it started, but he had been called back from a mission because of the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph and his brother, Hyrum. Brigham Young came up from the boat and took his place on the stand. Mother had leaned over her baby and just then Brigham Young started to speak. She said she raised up suddenly because she heard what she believed was the Prophet’s [Joseph’s] voice, although she knew he was dead. This thoroughly convinced them that he was the successor to Joseph Smith, chosen of God.41

Snow, James Chauncey
January 11, 1817–April 30, 1884, age 27

Bro. Snow, together with other missionaries, was called home shortly after the martyrdom, and he was present at the meeting when the mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young—an event of which he often testified afterwards.42

Snow, Sally Adams

See Adams, Sally

Stoker, William
March 26, 1819–May 19, 1892, age 25

From the age of six, he [Bishop W. E. Stoker] was raised by his grandfather [William Stoker], who knew the Prophet Joseph Smith personally and was present when the Mantle of Joseph fell upon Brigham Young, and received a personal testimony. Bishop Stoker felt he owed much to his grandfather for building up his faith through the relating of this Church experience.43
Taylor, Pleasant Green  
February 8, 1827–May 16, 1917, age 17  

After the death of Joseph the question arose as to who should lead the church. The twelve apostles being away on missions. Sidney Rigdon claimed the right to lead the church though his claim was not looked on with favor by the majority of the Saints. He was present and saw Brigham Young come into the bowery where the Saints had assembled. He, as well as hundreds of others, arose to his feet and felt sure that Joseph had been resurrected. And even after Brigham began to speak he still thought it was the Prophet Joseph who was speaking to them.44

Van Orden, Peter Edmund  
January 27, 1830–September 25, 1911, age 14  

Peter remembers that after the Prophet’s funeral, Sidney Rigdon, came and claimed the right to rule the Church. He held a meeting and talked to the people about it, asking them to return later to make a decision. It was at this later meeting that Brigham Young spoke and the Mantle of the Prophet fell over his shoulders. The people knew this was their sign that Brigham was to be their leader. Peter witnessed this event and bore testimony of it until his dying day.45

Walker, Henson  
March 13, 1820–January 24, 1904, age 24  

At the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young who was President of the Quorum of the Twelve apostles, assumed the leadership of the Church. Sidney Rigdon, one of the counselors to Joseph in the Presidency, felt it was his right to take the place. Henson was present at the public meeting held in the bowery at which both Sidney and Brigham spoke. Sidney Rigdon made his claims first. Henson said that Brother Rigdon was an eloquent speaker and made a forceful appeal to the people. When he finished Brigham Young arose to speak. In the words of Henson, “The mantle of Joseph Smith fell upon Brigham Young and the congregation knew who their leader was. He looked like the Prophet Joseph and the tone of his voice was like his.”46

Henson was present at the time that Sidney Rigdon set forth his claims to the presidency. He also witnessed the mantle of Joseph resting upon Brigham Young and was fully convinced that he was the future Prophet of God.47
Welch, Eliza Billington
See Billington, Eliza

Wells, Emmeline Blanche Woodward Harris Whitney
See Harris, Emmeline Blanche Woodward

Woodland, William West
January 2, 1832–February 19, 1906, age 12

[William] accompanied his parents through all the drivings that took place in the early days of the Church and was exposed to the many spiritual manifestations that happened . . . even as a youth witness to the grand experience of the mantle of the Prophet Joseph falling upon Brigham Young after the death of the Prophet Joseph. This did more to influence him in future years than most any other experience.48

Woolley, Samuel Amos
September 11, 1825–March 23, 1900, age 18

"During the troublesome times of 1844 I served as a city guard in Nauvoo. After the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith I was present at the important meeting where President Brigham Young first spoke to the Saints of Joseph’s death, and I received a testimony that the mantle of Joseph had fallen upon Brigham Young’s shoulder, for when he spoke it seemed as if Joseph himself were speaking, his voice and gestures being exactly like those of the martyred Prophet."49

NOTES

Abbreviations used in notes:

BYU Archives Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah
FHL Archives Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City
LDS Church Archives Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City

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1984), 134.
William G. Hartley, Kindred Saints: The Mormon Immigrant Heritage of
Alvin and Kathryn Christenson (Salt Lake City: Eden Hill, 1986), 25; see also
Grace Wilson Norris, “Biography of John Corless,” and “Catherine Stephenson
Corless: A Pioneer of 1848,” Christenson Family Archives, in possession of
Richard A. Christenson, Salt Lake City, copy given to the author by Pat Heilpren,
a Corless descendant. Grace is a great-granddaughter of Edward and Catherine.
Grace Wilson Norris, “Edward Coreless: A Pioneer of 1848,” 3, Christen-
son Family Archives, copy in possession of the author.


18Lucy E. Fisher Brown, comp., “Genealogical and Historical Record of the Fisher Family,” holograph, 3, microfilm, FHL Archives. Lucy is Evaline’s granddaughter.


20Emmeline B. Wells, “My Testimony,” in Preston Nibley, comp., Faith Promoting Stories (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1943), 137. In his foreword, Nibley states, “The stories contained in this volume have been selected with care from books and periodicals on file in the Church Historians Library.”


25Florence R. Ellison, “Martha McBride Knight,” in Historical Pamphlet, 1942, comp. Kate B. Carter (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1942), 242; and see also Martha McBride Knight, in “Biographies of the Belnap and Knight Families,” 18, BYU Archives, copy in possession of Della Belnap of Ogden, Utah.


27Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, 2:389. This narrative is related by Philomena’s granddaughter Samantha T. B. Foley.

28Juanita [Leavitt] Brooks, Dudley Leavitt: Pioneer to Southern Utah (n.p., 1942), 9. Juanita is a granddaughter of Dudley. In Brooks’s foreword, she writes, “In 1933 I began collecting the diaries and journals of pioneers of the southwest. In many of them I found references to Dudley Leavitt. These, with the material from the family records, have formed the basis of this work.”


30Dollene LeBaron Noson, “Esther Meleta Johnson LeBaron,” essay for the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Archives, Salt Lake City, copy in possession of the author. Dollene is a granddaughter of Esther.

31John Doyle Lee, Mormonism Unveiled; or, The Life and Confessions of the Late Mormon Bishop, John D. Lee (St. Louis: Bryan and Brand, 1877), 155; see also Juanita Brooks, John Doyle Lee: Zealot, Pioneer Builder, Scapegoat
(Glendale: Arthur H. Company, 1962), 63. Historian D. Michael Quinn considers Lee’s statement as an important witness that Lee had a mystical mantle experience. Quinn states, “John D. Lee’s bitter rejection of Brigham Young in later life actually verified the honesty of Mormons who waited years before speaking and writing about Young’s transfiguration.” D. Michael Quinn, Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1996), 167. When considering the timing of the mantle experience, one should note that Lee did not arrive in Nauvoo until August 20, 1844, according to his diary. Because of controversy surrounding the publication of Lee’s memoirs and because his original manuscript is not available, we have included this account in appendix II.

32Albert R. Lyman, Amasa Mason Lyman: Trailblazer and Pioneer from the Atlantic to the Pacific, ed. Melvin A. Lyman (Delta, Utah: Melvin A. Lyman, 1957), 119–20. Amasa Lyman became a counselor to Joseph Smith just before his death. Elder Lyman was asked by Brigham Young to present his case at the August 8 meeting to be considered as Joseph’s successor. This rather florid account is based, according to the authors, on information from Amasa Lyman Journals, 23 vols., LDS Church Archives. However, source checkers could find nothing in the journals other than the statement that Lyman spent the day with the brethren, so this account of the transfiguration may come from other family sources.

33Seymour B. Young, in Seventy-Sixth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1906), 12.

34J. M. Tanner, A Biographical Sketch of John Riggs Murdock (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1909), 71. This biography was written in 1909 by Tanner, a friend of John Riggs Murdock for many years, and was read to Murdock for his approval. Also in Barlow, Israel Barlow Story, 204.

35Young, in Seventy-Sixth Annual Conference, 12.

36Jenson, Biographical Encyclopedia, 3:191.

37James Palmer, James Palmer’s Travels and Ministry in the Gospel, ed. Fannie Palmer (Utah: Mrs. Fannie Palmer Gleave, 1963), 61. Fannie is a daughter of James. In Palmer’s holograph account, he is less specific: “Brigham Young, the President of the Twelve Apostles, came to the front and stated in a public meeting that the Twelve in their organized capacity had the authority and the legal right to preside over the Church in all the world and their rights were acknowledged by the main body of the people.” James Palmer, “Journal: James Palmer’s Travels and Ministry in the Gospel,” holograph, 80, LDS Archives.

38Donald Benson Alder and Elsie L. Alder, comps. The Benson Family: The Ancestry [sic] and Descendants of Ezra T. Benson . . . (Salt Lake City: Ezra T. Benson Genealogical Society, 1979), 151. Written from diaries, records, letters, histories, and interviews from family members. This section is quoted from Eliza Perry’s diary. Donald is a great-grandson of Eliza’s husband Ezra T. Benson through a different wife.

39Lucy Preece Stewart, “Biography Sketch of Luvera Ellen Ensign Preece,” typescript, 2, Margaret Steed Hess Pioneer Histories Collection, BYU Archives. Lucy is a daughter of Luvera. Margaret Hess is noted as “Camp Historian.”


45“Peter Edmund Van Orden 1830–1911,” 2, Van Orden Family Archives, in possession of Bruce Van Orden, Springville, Utah. This was recorded by an unnamed grandchild of Peter after listening to many of Peter’s accounts.


Book Reviews


Reviewed by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, Assistant Professor of Church History at Brigham Young University.

Much of today's visual experience is vicarious—mediated through films, television, videos, and reproduced photographs in printed materials. Visual images reproduced in media as a source of information are both entertaining and enlightening, often providing multiple layers of information—particularly when coupled with text material such as a caption. The viewer's experience of the image may be informed as much by the caption as by the details within the image itself. Roland Barthes, a cultural historian, argues that the text may simply amplify a set of connotations already given in the visual image or it may produce an entirely new significance that is retroactively projected into the image, so much so as to appear denoted there.¹

Thus, a portrait of a woman and a small baby painted in the primitive style looks simple and unimportant in Images of Faith until one reads the caption: "Phoebe Carter Woodruff and Son Joseph ... the portrait held special significance for the Woodruffs. To them young Joseph was a 'covenant' child because he was their first child born after they were sealed in the Nauvoo Temple. Less
than a year later, little Joseph died at Winter Quarters” (8). Suddenly, the visual image becomes an artifact charged with both historical and emotional significance. Consequently, the portrait has value not only for its artistic merits, but also for the viewer’s associations with the thing it pictures. Nothing could be more true than Barthes’s observations for the visual images presented in these three outstanding books, which express very different points of view.

I

Utilizing hundreds of historic photographs, William W. Slaughter’s *Life in Zion* is a successful attempt to create a “family photographic album” for the institutional Church. Format and content lead the viewer on a visual tour of the Mormon past, covering the period of 1820 to 1995. Slaughter’s choice of images, coupled with the captions, give us a point of view that represents an intimate look at the Latter-day Saints. One spends time with some old familiar friends as well as some new ones.

It is virtually impossible to reproduce a significant collection of Latter-day Saint images from the nineteenth century that has not been previously published, given the relatively small collection of photographs of Church leaders and historic sites from this period. Images of Joseph and Emma Smith, Eliza R. Snow, Alexander Doniphan, Palmyra, Kirtland, Nauvoo, and Salt Lake City found in the pages of this work are well known to many Latter-day Saints. Yet Slaughter unearths some remarkable images that previously had not seen the light of day in the twentieth century. The 1856 image of Fort Bridger (28) is fascinating—a remarkable find.

Additionally, two images placed on the same page apparently taken during the same year (1860) are most interesting. The first photograph is of nineteen-year-old Joseph C. Rich as he began his first mission, and the second photograph is of sixteen-year-old Ann Eliza Hunter. The caption brings the two images together, informing the reader that the two young people married nine years later (42). One would expect such discoveries from the photographic archivist for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for he has spent years helping patrons identify photographs in the Church collection. There are many more hidden treasures in this book, making it an important contribution to Latter-day Saint visual history.
**Life in Zion** is divided into five chapters covering specific periods of Church history. The first basically covers the Joseph Smith period, ending when the Saints made their departure from Nauvoo in 1846; the second reflects Brigham Young's administration; the third covers the administrations of John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow; and the fourth treats the administrations of Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant. The remaining Church Presidents' terms of service are included in the final chapter.

Unlike the earlier periods in Church history, the time periods covered in the last three chapters have a much larger collection of Latter-day Saint-related photographic images (particularly those of individuals and families and those from settlements and growth areas beyond Salt Lake City). Some of the classic views are present, like the sacrament service in the Ephraim Tabernacle about 1900 (104), but many images appear in print here for the first time.

In particular, the last chapter is a who's who of employees in the Historical Department of the Church where Slaughter works. Readers who have done research in the Church archives may recognize these people, but for those who do not, the images are still important because they represent the growth of the modern Church.

Additionally, because this section includes many images that are taken by nonprofessional photographers, it looks more like a personal photo album than do the earlier chapters and gives the reader a familiar, yet original, view of the Latter-day Saint experience. Photographs of "regular people" from around the worldwide Church—like the view of the missionaries in the California San Jose Mission in October 1983 (177)—lend personality and a sense of intimacy to the work.

In an effort to present historic photographs in an interesting manner, Slaughter gives us an image and then some contemporaneous source (diary, letter, or autobiography) that brings the image to life, thereby layering the information from text and image. Among the small group of photographic historians interested in the Latter-day Saints, such sharing of photographic images and design elements has yielded wonderful fruits, and this is one of the best to date. When he cannot provide such a gem as a contemporaneous source document, Slaughter gives us some basic information about the individual(s) or place shown.
Missionaries in the California San Jose Mission, October 1983. *Left to right:* Elders Steven H. Moore, Randy Barney, Brian A. Coleman, Scott R. Christensen, Yotin Tanomart. Representative of several informal shots in *Life in Zion*. Courtesy Scott Christensen.

Deseret Book is to be congratulated on the fine quality of this publication: they provided the author with quality paper to showcase these important documents of the past. Some of the images are crystal clear, perhaps because Slaughter, due to his employment, was able to assure quality control on the reproduction of some of these images by eliminating one step in the reproduction process when he provided original photographs to the publisher. Other photographs, however, are not sized carefully or are second-generation images and thus on occasion appear blurred or out of focus.

Slaughter's work is a model of the documentation that is required when an author uses any type of sources (holographic or published secondary sources), including photographs. The LDS historical community could learn from his work. Unless historians begin to take photographic documents as seriously they do written ones, Latter-day Saint historical activities associated with visual documents will fall below the professional standards being set in the larger historical community.
Slaughter provides an important window to the past. His professional expertise and knack of identifying interesting photographs is no better evidenced than in this exceptional effort. It represents another important step in utilizing historic photographs in a responsible way. There are so many wonderful images in this book that provide "an intimate look at the Latter-day Saints" that Life in Zion should become an important resource for historians—a visual library.3

II

The Mission is also a photographic work recently released but this time by a large national publisher who hopes that sales will go beyond the Mormon market. According to promotional material by the publisher, it is "an extraordinary look by a team of international photojournalists at the customs, culture and spirit of the people of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."4 It reminds one of the popular photographic series A Day in the Life, in which professional photojournalists spread out across a country, state, or city and in a twenty-four-hour period photographed everything from a hospital delivery room early in the morning to a mechanic working on a truck in a garage late at night. In the case of The Mission, the photojournalists spent one year journeying to six continents to capture the Latter-day Saint story. Unlike Life in Zion, which utilizes historic photographs found in archives, this collection presents many "never-before-seen," recent color photographs that do not require the daunting task of identifying photographer, location, and dates.

Joseph Walker, communications director at Geneva Steel Corporation and the editor of Pioneer, a magazine for the National Society of the Sons of Utah Pioneers, wrote the captions. Because Walker is a Latter-day Saint, the photographs, taken by photographers who are not LDS, are placed in the context of a believer's understanding of what the images mean. This is not the first time a non-LDS photographic effort has been supplemented by the writing of practicing Latter-day Saints for an audience larger than the Church.5

This book is a perfect example of a publisher's efforts to use layers of information to lead the viewer to specific conclusions—in
this case, respect for the personal lives of the members of the Church and for the institutional Church itself. Text and photographs are often tied together, although some are tied only by association with their placement in a section.

Some of the images included in *The Mission* are absolutely moving to me. The two photographs of Emmitt Young, a Black convert from Los Angeles, are among the most dramatic of the book (66–67). For long-time members of the Church in the United States, the book vividly reminds them that the Church has truly become international and multicultural. Particularly touching are the images of Black Saints in the Dominican Republic (34), a Filipino branch president in the streets of Manila (26), a Native American convert in her scrub-oak lean-to (24), a Samoan schoolteacher in his lavalava (49), a Chinese missionary serving in the United States (102), a young Kenyan convert being confirmed (117), and two young Peruvian children climbing a hill (125).

The organization of the book presents a rather insightful look at modern Latter-day Saint culture. *The Mission* reveals the contours of Latter-day Saint life in a visual way that few other books have done. Three basic divisions—"Families Are Forever," "A New Church for a New Land," and "Spreading the Word"—are each divided into smaller sections that also feature several essays providing depth to the subject. Unlike the single photographic images provided in many books, the theme of each section is enhanced by related images of the same people.

Certainly, the life story of nine million Latter-day Saints living in thousands of communities cannot be adequately portrayed in a book of 226 pages, yet there is something pleasing with this work that reveals the heart of Latter-day Saint life by detailing such events as death, marriage, baptism, teaching, recreation, public and private worship, and, most importantly, service to family, community, country, and world. Again, as in most publications, little errors find their way into this lavishly illustrated publication. For example, Wilford Woodruff's name is once misspelled (5).

An added bonus in this oversized book is two essays written by two observers of the Latter-day Saint community, one an insider and the other an outsider. President Gordon B. Hinckley's introduction is personal and provides a non-Latter-day Saint audience
a view of the Church’s beliefs. Roger Rosenblatt’s tribute to his Mormon high-school English teacher in New York is a fitting addition to a book that leaves empty spaces between the photographs, allowing personal reflections of those who open the book to communicate something that no text can tell.

III

Finally, *Images of Faith* is a team effort by the staff at the Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City. Richard G. Oman and Robert O. Davis, senior curators at the museum, are primarily responsible for selecting the artworks and preparing the essays that highlight the Latter-day Saint art tradition. Museum Director Glen M. Leonard served as general editor of the project and wrote a brief introduction.

Deseret Book deserves recognition again for the quality of this publication. The oversized book allows the visual images to assume a more natural appearance. The paper quality enhances the items selected for inclusion in this publication.

The book is divided into five chapters covering different periods of artistic expression among the Latter-day Saints. Ending the book with a chapter on twentieth-century international folk art was a strong, natural move—visually and textually demonstrating that the Saints throughout the world enrich the cultural and spiritual aspects of the Church. With the publication of this work, many people can become familiar with these rich museum treasures and with the people whose talents make life a little more interesting in Zion.

Of course, the book highlights only a portion of Latter-day Saint art and of those individuals who have contributed to our artistic heritage. Talented individuals like nineteenth-century daguerreotypist Marsena Cannon and twentieth-century artist Walter Rane are not represented. Hopefully, many more volumes detailing other deserving artists will appear in the future.

The visual story of the Church and its people is too large, too important, and too pervasive to be treated adequately from any single point of view. Yet, through these artists’ creative vision and interpretation of their experience, the reader can catch the spirit of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latter-day Saint life, history,
and culture. Those willing to steal a few minutes or a few hours from their busy schedules will be richly rewarded as they ponder over these treasures of the past and present so beautifully presented in Images of Faith.

NOTES


3In fact, the book has already been used as a resource for at least one publication. I identified a number of images and written sources from Slaughter’s work for my recent book, Their Faces toward Zion: Voices and Images of the Trek West (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996).

4Dust jacket flyleaf.


Reviewed by Davis Bitton, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Utah.

One does not have to read E. H. Gombrich on art and illusion\(^1\) to realize that any picture is inevitably a choice: the photographer or painter chooses what goes within the frame and, beyond that, chooses what to highlight—the expression on human faces, even the time of day, light and darkness. And the artist also chooses from a range of stylistic possibilities, including a kind of photographic realism, impressionism, expressionism, various symbolic and fantasy combinations, and of course different degrees of abstraction. When visual works are compiled into a book or an exhibit, drawing from a large pool of potential candidates, again there is selection.

**I**

Why William W. Slaughter chose the particular photographs in his *Life in Zion* is not always clear. A certain number of these photographs appear in print for the first time, while others are already familiar. But almost all of the pictures deserve more than a quick look. Not only do these historical photographs show how certain individuals appeared at different dates, but also by applying intensive examination known as photoanalysis, we can discover valuable information and ask many questions. One can imagine an enjoyable hour as two or more people examine picture after picture, saying, "Look at this . . . and this." Why is one woman holding a basket over her head and another an umbrella at Plymouth, England, in 1863? (45). Do the linked arms and hands on shoulders in the famous group portrait of "The Big Ten," some of Brigham Young's
daughters, indicate genuine affection and solidarity between these prominent young women? (47). If so, does the same stance depict unity between the males of American Fork's brass band? (49).

The photograph showing the funeral cortege of Wilford Woodruff in 1898 reveals telephone poles in the middle of South Temple Street, still a dirt road, and a trolley car but of course not a single automobile (97). A wonderful photograph of a wagon train at Hams Fork in 1900 reminds us that pioneering continued long after 1847 and even long after the coming of the railroad in 1869 (102).

Pictures of individuals and groups abound: missionaries and their wives in Japan (106); Ella Wheeler Wilcox meeting with Mormon women (109); a group at Old Folks Day in American Fork, with Ebenezer Beesley holding his violin (110); missionary Spencer W. Kimball bathing his tired feet (126); Church leaders and their families bathing in the Great Salt Lake (129); President Heber J. Grant at the 1922 inauguration of radio station KZN (130); missionary Gordon B. Hinckley in the British Mission (142). And on and on. One of the last pictures shows a group of Primary children in Sierra Leone, West Africa. This is a photo album not just for a family, but for the entire Church.

One thing I look for in such a book is documentation of the individual works. Who was the photographer? Which repository has the picture? The regrettable editorial decision of placing this information in small type at the back of the book means that the photographer will get no credit in the eyes of most readers.

My other regret may have as much to do with the original photography as with the reproduction in the present work. Several of the photographs seem too hazy or too small for adequately seeing what is there. Serious readers may wish to have a good magnifying glass on hand. In any case, they will be well rewarded.

II

With The Mission, the question of documentation does not arise. The forty-one photographers are identified at the back of the book, and captions give proper credit for the individual photographs. If this is history in the sense that the events photographed are past, it is contemporary history, for the photographs are so recent as to be thought of as the present. From Slaughter's survey,
more than half of which focuses on the nineteenth century, we shift to the 1990s.

And so we see a baptism in Alaska (8-11), sixteen-year-old Brittany Fairclough receiving a father's blessing (16), and Mejkin Legler writing in her journal (17). A magnifying glass enables us to read Mejkin's reminder in the frame of her mirror: "Don't give up what you want most for what you want now." We see dancing in Perth, Australia (20-21); Native American Mormons on the Jicarilla Apache Reservation (24-25); a pedicab driver in the Philippines (26); the rodeo club at Ricks College (50-51); ballroom dancing at BYU (55). Samoa, Flat Island, Ireland (the "Stormin' Mormon" middleweight boxer, Ray Close [32-33]), the Dominican Republic—the geographical jumps are wide and unpredictable, but somehow all of the images reflect a common faith.

Death is not left out. We look in on the funeral of a young father in Utah (64-65) and the death of a young black convert, determined to spend his final months as a missionary (66-67). Family history research and records, general conference, pageants at Cumorah and Castle Valley, workers on welfare projects—the reader is treated to Church members engaged in quite a number of activities.

The importance of ordinances in the lives of Latter-day Saints is shown by touching pictures of baptism, blessing of children, and the sacrament. Temples are captured from the outside, showing the excitement of weddings. An unforgettable picture shows a line of Filipino youths dressed in white, waiting patiently to perform baptisms for the dead (118).

Humanitarian activities are represented by pictures showing Relief Society service, welfare projects, doctors performing surgery in China (166-67), an English Relief Society president and her overland van journey to take supplies to Croatia (168-73), and the prison ministry of Bishop Heber Geurts (152-55).

Missionaries are shown preparing at the Missionary Training Center, saying good-bye, then laboring in Russia, Thailand, the Philippines, Poland, Belize, Australia, Hong Kong, the Dominican Republic, Japan—and the Bronx.

These pictures are all positive. I like that. We have enough of the other. The purpose here is to catch the spirit of the religion: its goodness, its multifacetedness, its international character.
It is not, I think, a criticism to recognize that the diversity and complexity of Mormon life are so great that they simply cannot be captured photographically in a single work. And it is fair to recognize that many world settings are not represented in this book. France. Chile. Malta. Polynesia. Haiti. Fiji. Siberia. Zaire. Papua New Guinea. These and many other places where members live and missionaries labor are not represented. But The Mission does convey the important fact that Mormonism is not limited to the white Anglo-Saxon visage of Utah. I wish we could see young missionaries coming out of their training in India or Brazil. And the missionaries shown in their fields of labor, practically all Americans it seems, should have been supplemented by a few showing young Filipinos, Mexicans, Indonesians, or Nigerians laboring together. We do see blond Elder Albert Kemp of Kansas City, Missouri, and his Black companion Elder Prince Henry Omondi as they preach the gospel in Kenya (208–9). One book simply cannot do it all.

Especially interesting is the epilogue, “Images of Faith” by Roger Rosenblatt (215–17), well known as a contributing editor of Time magazine and frequent commentator on public television. Rosenblatt does not discuss the individual pictures but is marvelously insightful and willing to recognize good in Mormons. How refreshing! It seems that a key player in influencing Rosenblatt was a high-school English teacher by the name of Jon Beck Shank, a Mormon and a poet. Rosenblatt tells how he, obviously a precocious and educable young man, drank in the words of Shank, a gifted and inspiring teacher.

This I can well believe, for I knew Shank. In fact, Jon and I were friends at Brigham Young University during the school year 1949–50 and collaborated on a prize-winning varsity show; he wrote the script and the lyrics, while I composed the music. I later lost track of him. It is satisfying to learn that his New York City students knew he was a Latter-day Saint. Of course, if they studied his marvelous little book Poems, published by Knopf in 1945, they could not fail to notice references to the Book of Mormon. At least one young student in Shank’s classroom, Rosenblatt, was so touched that many years later he can tell us that “what matters most in these images are the things unseen; and what is most real is the life that is guessed at” (217).
Joseph C. Rich, 1860. An example of one of the photographs that had not been previously published. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
And no one, I think, will fail to be moved by President Gordon B. Hinckley’s introduction, entitled “Why Am I a Member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints?” (1–4). Explaining that his faith is much more than a matter of inheritance, he goes on to give nine carefully selected articles on his personal faith, all beginning with “I believe.” This is a beautiful, open-ended statement to the world.

*The Mission*—with Rosenblatt’s essay; the superior photography, often showing unusual angles; and Walker’s captions—is a poignant and delightful showing of the Church in the lives of the people today.

Before I leave photographs, it would be a shame not to recall *Something Extraordinary: Celebrating Our Relief Society Sisterhood* (Deseret Book, 1992), which might well be regarded as an earlier companion volume to *The Mission*. Also showing the contemporary Church, it captures the great variety of women’s activities throughout the world. Its photographs, identified in microscopic print by country and photographer, cry out for adequate captions. Even so, it is a delight.

**III**

*Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-Day Saints* is a team project of the staff of the Museum of Church History and Art. The preliminary selection from the Museum’s collection was made by Richard G. Oman and Robert O. Davis, who also prepared the text, but a dozen or so other staff members and docents assisted in the selection. In a preliminary statement, Museum director Glen M. Leonard is careful to acknowledge that “many important Latter-day Saint artists are not represented” in the Museum’s collection (xii). Likewise, many artists whose works are in the Museum’s holdings could not be included because of space limitations. Again, selection is basic to what we see on the page as representative of Church art.

Nonphotographic art and crafts are the focus: furniture, ceramics, quilts, wood carvings, sculpture, and especially painting. As in Mormon history and Mormon literature, one has to decide whether it is the Mormon producer or the Mormon subject that determines inclusion. It is not entirely clear to me why LeConte
Stewart’s painting *Private Car* (1937), for example, is Mormon art. Would a history of the Crusades by a Mormon historian be Mormon history? Still, a generous definition is probably preferable to a narrow one, and we can enjoy the works here compiled.

The photographic reproduction is superior. The textual accompaniment is precise and professional: title, artist, medium, size of the work, and location are all given. Knowing the attraction of pictures and the aversion of many people to reading the printed word, I am not sanguine that the text by Oman and Davis will be properly appreciated. But their comments and insights deserve praise.

The use of painting and sculpture in the Mormon artistic tradition began surprisingly early. Both individual and group portraits are numerous, some few of them originating during the Nauvoo period. During the second half of the century, romantic landscapes were being produced by George Beard, H. L. A. Culmer, John Tullidge, and Reuben Kirkham. The marvelous C. C. A. Christensen painted many historical scenes, and Danquart A. Weggeland did portraits and genre scenes. George M. Ottinger, an underappreciated Renaissance man of the territorial period, depicted Chimney Rock at sunrise and the arrival of the Mormon Battalion at Carrizo Creek. With all of the arduous toil required to settle a wilderness, it seems some Mormons found space in their lives for the appreciation of artistic beauty.

Robert O. Davis gives us a lovely chapter on “The Impact of French Training on Latter-day Saint Art, 1890-1925.” The label is too simple for this fertile thirty-five year period, but the influence of study in France was doubtless strong on Edwin Evans, James T. Harwood, J. Leo Fairbanks, Herman H. Haag, John Hafen, and others. Gifted sculptors Cyrus E. Dallin and Mahonri M. Young, not forgetting their Utah roots, created memorable works, such as the eloquent panel “Deliverance” on the Seagull Monument by Young.

“Developing a Regional Latter-day Saint Art, 1925-1965” becomes the theme of the next chapter, with such artists as Minerva K. Teichert, Edward Grigware, LeConte Stewart, and the prolific sculptor Avard T. Fairbanks. Maynard Dixon’s vivid *The Hand of God*, a good selection from LeConte Stewart, four of Arnold Friberg’s narrative images, Richard Burde’s emotionally gripping *Return of the Prodigal Son*, and Mabel Frazer’s strongly conceived...
The Furrow are all here to enjoy, not to mention many individual portraits. I mention these only to give some idea of the richness of Images of Faith.

Most exciting in many ways is the section entitled “Contemporary Latter-day Saint Art, 1965–1995.” Many of these works evoke strong emotions in me, and I am sure they will in many others. The gospel is for every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, and talented artists are found in many places and cultures. Consider Lehi’s vision of the Tree of Life as conveyed by Juan Escobedo, Robert Yellowhair, Victor de la Torre (wood carving), Harrison Begay Jr. (blackware pottery), and Tammy Garcia (fired clay).

Henri-Robert Bresil’s Baptizing in the Waters of Mormon and Ljiljana Crnogaj Fulepp’s Early Morning Baptism near Belgrade capture something that evades even the skilled photographers of The Mission. And for simple depth and reverence it will be hard to surpass Thomas Polacca’s The Faithful History of Tom Polacca, a ceramic. A photograph, however excellent, is of course inadequate for the full appreciation of such a three-dimensional work. It may be useful to remind ourselves that photographs of paintings are also inadequate, offering a diminished experience. Diminished, but still quite good. One hopes that more than a few who come across this book will “hie” to the Church museum “in the twinkling of an eye.”

It would be both undiscriminating and unconvincing to maintain that all Mormon art is meritorious. But it is more vital and diverse than most people realize. This book does what a book can—instructs and shows much of the best of the artistic production within the Mormon community.

All three of these books are selective, but, come to think of it, so is life as we individually experience and remember it.

NOTE


Reviewed by Becky Bartholomew, editor of Uintah Springs Press and author.

Whether documenting the first leg of the prairie trek, reporting the temporary life in the Missouri River settlements, or transmitting hearsay about the Battle of Nauvoo, Mary Richards's 1846–48 journals are a superb source on one brief period of Mormon history. For example, the journals make tantalizing reference to a little-known religious reformation and to Winter Quarters' overzealous police force. Seen through Mary's eyes, the gradual formulation of plans for going further west was less hierarchy-centered and more communal than previously depicted. Then there are her intimate portraits of sundry Church leaders and her even more fascinating glimpses into the dynamics of the Richards tribe.

In addition, Mary gives picturesque reports on frontiering in general. Sky "very lowery" (86), one entry reads simply. Another night she could not sleep, the "Misskateos having taken possession of our tent" (87). She tells of being drenched out of her tent, smoked out of her cabin, and almost chased away from Sunday meeting by a dust storm. But neither her role as travel writer, Mormon scribe, nor frontier reporter is central to these documents. Mary's real drama, and what makes her story so riveting, is her fate as a Mormon wife.

An Overview of the Plot

In 1846, Mary Haskins Parker, a twenty-year-old immigrant from Lancashire, England, married twenty-one-year-old Samuel W. Richards, the Massachusetts-born nephew of Apostle Willard Richards, in the Nauvoo Temple. Several months later Samuel escorted his bride across the Mississippi River, tenderly nursed her through a severe but brief illness, then left her with his parents as he turned east on a mission to Scotland.

Before parting, Samuel urged Mary to keep a journal. Probably he suspected there would be no mail service where she was
going, and diarizing might relieve her sense of isolation and anxiety for him. This idea is supported by the fact that Mary made her last entry about the time she learned his return steamship was only three days off.

The resulting record consists of a brief autobiography, six journals, and twelve-plus letters penned by a lonely bride, mostly to her bridegroom, during their two-year separation. They vent her disappointment at not getting letters from Samuel, her fears for his life and safety, and her yearning for a future together in a home of their own without plural marriage to mar their bliss. They also detail her sufferings from muscular dystrophy and malaria, with complications that included susceptibility to chills, fever, and pain in the bowels, lower back, and limbs.

The Plot as Women’s History

Mary’s writing is remarkable for its expressiveness, color, and breadth of observation. It shows her to have been an alert, composed, pious, and very congenial young woman who often received overnight invitations from other families and almost always was asked to stay longer. She was completely devoted to Samuel, with whom she had lived only four months. When she did not hear from him for six months, she only mildly chastised him, remaining steadfast in placing his well-being above her own. Samuel was a lucky young man.

Fortunately, Mary’s perspective takes in more than her husband. She gives pithy renderings of Sunday sermons and delightfully nonjudgmental reports on household tensions elicited by her father-in-law’s cranky improvidence and her mother-in-law’s difficulties with plural marriage. There are even chaste allusions to sex and menstruation, only my second such find in twenty-two years of reading pioneer journals. And she joins a handful of diarists who shed light on early sisters’ interpretations of the Word of Wisdom.

Unlike some of her peers, Mary does not depict the Winter Quarters experience as tragic. Despite her loneliness and regular mention of misfortunes, illnesses, and deaths, she dwells more on singing school and winter dances, prayer meetings and summer parties. She charts a weekly schedule (not grind) of cooking, cleaning,
washing, sewing, braiding, quilting, churning, gathering, and “cleaning a hog’s face and putting it to boil” (106). Interestingly, she notes, “I have chosen the straw business as my occupation” (133), with an air suggesting that women customarily assumed a cash-producing trade in addition to their domestic duties.

And she documents the visiting. Many afternoons Mary could not get her work done for the many guests—mostly sisters but brethren, too—who frequented her tent and later her cabin. Mary describes a tight-knit community where nearly everyone was directly or indirectly related and where their primary social outlet was “talking about the things of the Kingdom” (111).

Other than the visiting, a sense of gender is not strong in Mary’s writings. Usually when she goes a-calling, she goes to Brother So-and-So’s house. Mary does mention two women-only prayer meetings. One was in her behalf; in another, participants spoke in tongues and disappointingly “only got part of the interpretation” (188). These meetings could be evidence that a female subculture developed in the pioneer settlements. However, Mary makes a stronger case against such a subculture by her equal association with men and women and her habit of turning to Uncle Willard for emotional support.

In their way, these journals are as eloquent as the better-known writings of Jean Rio Baker Pearce, a mature matron with vastly greater experience and education. Both works are not mere history but are also literature.

Even closer comparison can be made to the diary of Catherine Mehring Woolley, Mary’s nearest neighbor in Winter Quarters. While Catherine’s journal pertains mostly to the Salt Lake Valley, both contain the same preeminence of physical detail (perhaps arising from the brides’ newfound pleasure in housekeeping) and youthful sturdiness in the face of family quarrels and minor adversities. Among the differences are that Catherine’s husband was present, depriving her writing of much of Mary’s pathos, and that Catherine is more particular, spelling out menus, recipes, even prices for household goods, while Mary (perhaps because she was childless and therefore freer to get about) captures a larger view of pioneer Mormon society.
The Drama Plays Out

Mary’s writings have a distinct, even feminine, character deriving from their definite focus on Samuel, with domestic and communal events as secondary and tertiary themes. Whether addressing Samuel directly or shaping an observation for him to read later, Mary wrote for her bridegroom; she did not intend to write for posterity, to leave a record of epochal events, or even to satisfy a need for personal expression. Her audience was her beloved, and she fashioned her message as a lover would.

Readers must discover for themselves whether Mary’s dream of a quiet married life was fulfilled by Samuel’s return. And readers will want to know, for Mary has laid the background of her story so commandingly it deserves an equally well-told ending. Maureen Carr Ward provides some clues—the roots of a full-length biography are found in her extensive introduction. Moreover, readers will want to learn more about Mormon history from the women’s point of view. For all their charm, these documents are somewhat disturbing. It isn’t easy to reconcile women’s history with religious tranquillity. Mary’s Mormon experience was considerably different from her husband’s.

A final note of approval for Ward’s treatment of these documents: her bracketed text notations are helpful, neither overdone nor obtrusive. I question only the decision to not tidy up Mary’s punctuation. Clarity is the foremost concern, and Mary’s blotting-marks interfere unusually with her meaning; in any case, the manuscript is already radically altered because it is presented typed rather than handwritten. These issues may form a case against using a blanket protocol and for considering each document’s own merits and peculiarities.

In a foreword to this first volume of a new series, Life Writings of Frontier Women, series editor Maureen Ursenbach Beecher provides a valuable overview and rationale for the project. Both Beecher’s essay and Ward’s introduction leave the reader wanting more—a solid achievement.

Reviewed by Lawrence Coates, Professor of History, Ricks College.

After one hundred and thirty-nine years, and even after the 1990 reconciliation that occurred with the dedication of the monument at the massacre site near Cedar City, the Mountain Meadows Massacre still evokes a wide range of emotions. Early in life, Anna Jean Backus was troubled by this tragic incident after her mother told her that her ancestor Philip Klingensmith was involved in the massacre. Anna’s mother warned her, “Never tell anyone [he] is your great grandfather” (15). Driven by a desire to unlock the mysteries surrounding this man, Backus embarked on a quest to uncover his life, even though her mother cryptically claimed that her own mother was not Philip’s actual daughter, but that “he only raised her” (16).

Anna Jean Backus has contributed to unraveling some of the secrets of Mountain Meadows. She also has argued that her “grandmother, Priscilla Klingensmith Urie, was one of the surviving children of the massacre . . . [and] was raised by Philip Klingensmith and his third wife, Betsy, in the Mormon faith” (16). Most of the book focuses on the life of Philip Klingensmith. Klingensmith interests Mormon historians because he was an eyewitness to the Mountain Meadows Massacre, was accused of complicity in the affair, and testified at John D. Lee’s first trial. He was also involved in caring for the children who survived the massacre and in placing them in homes.

Backus creates a framework for each chapter by quoting some of Klingensmith’s testimony at John D. Lee’s first trial, then draws from numerous other sources to fill in many missing details of Klingensmith’s life. In trying to establish the facts, Backus uses numerous long quotations from letters, diaries, journals, newspapers, autobiographies, and secondary sources, but these are often used without critical analysis of the source. In chapter 13, for
example, Backus relies on articles written in the twentieth century by survivors of Mountain Meadows, who were only three and five years old at the time of the massacre. While Backus's diligent research provides a good road map to many valuable sources, she fails to deal with several major discrepancies between Klingensmith's testimony and what other sources claim happened.

Backus has a difficult time with Klingensmith's reticence to say much about the placement of surviving children after the massacre. She simply says, "Philip may have forgotten where the children were placed; perhaps he did not know which children had been gathered up and taken back to Arkansas because of his years of hiding out" (161). She makes it clear that he was given the task of finding homes for the children, yet his testimony reveals very little about their placement in various homes. If Klingensmith did keep one of the children, as Backus claims, he may have had personal reasons for saying very little about them. His reluctance to divulge information on this topic again raises questions about how much of his testimony at the trial, as well as that of other witnesses, can be taken at face value.

Backus's research provides interesting circumstantial evidence for the possibility of a link between Priscilla and the Alexander Fancher family, but more evidence must be found to make this connection conclusive. For example, photographic comparisons are notoriously unreliable forms of evidence.¹

Despite its weaknesses, this book offers new insights. Backus's story of Klingensmith after the massacre, her appendixes, and the bibliography will prove useful.

NOTE

¹For example, basing their identification on extensive photographic comparisons, two anthropologists claimed that Anna Anderson was, without doubt, the Grand Duchess Anastasia. Later DNA testing proved the claim to be false. See Robert K. Massie, The Romanov: The Final Chapter (New York: Random House, 1995), 190; Josie Glausiusz, "Anastasia, Nyet," Discover 16 (January 1995): 99.

Reviewed by Richard Lyman Bushman, Professor of History, Columbia University.

At the October 1979 general conference, President Nathan E. Tanner, counselor in the First Presidency, announced the retirement of Eldred G. Smith as Patriarch to the Church. No successor was mentioned, thus leaving an office vacant that in Joseph Smith’s time was considered to be second in preeminence to the President of the Church. President Tanner explained that the wide availability of stake patriarchs eliminated the need for a Patriarch to the Church.

This action concluded a troubled history that went back to William Smith, the Prophet’s younger brother, and continued through Church administrations from the times of Brigham Young to Spencer W. Kimball. Eldred G. Smith, the heir to the office by presumed hereditary right, had waited fifteen years after his father died in 1932, before receiving his appointment as Church Patriarch in 1947, while the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve decided on the right person and the right combination of duties. Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff had earlier questioned the worthiness of the Church Patriarch and made adjustments that reduced his authority. The office was inherently unstable almost from the beginning, as is obvious from this account by Irene Bates and Gary Smith, based on a host of manuscript sources.

The problems date back to the January 1841 revelation that called Hyrum Smith to succeed his father, Joseph Smith Sr., as Patriarch (D&C 124:91-96). The revelation said that Joseph Smith Sr., the first Patriarch, who died in September 1840, had appointed Hyrum to “the office of Priesthood and Patriarch, which was appointed unto him [Hyrum] by his father, by blessing and also by right,” implying a chain of Smith family authority over patriarchal blessings, going from the departing Patriarch to his eldest son. In keeping with those words, when Brigham Young ordained John Smith, Hyrum’s son, President Young said he acted in the stead of the martyred Hyrum, who had the authority to appoint and ordain the next Patriarch. The tradition of fathers ordaining sons
persisted down to 1932, when death prevented Hyrum G. Smith from ordaining his son Eldred as Patriarch.

The 1841 revelation, besides setting up a seemingly independent line of authority over patriarchal blessings, appointed Joseph's brother Hyrum as "prophet, and a seer, and a revelator unto my church, as well as my servant Joseph," and authorized him to act in "concert also with my servant Joseph" (D&C 124:94-95). The revelation also gave Hyrum, the Second Counselor in the First Presidency since 1837, the keys, blessings, priesthood, and gifts of the priesthood of Oliver Cowdery, who was once the Second Elder of the Church. How these powers and gifts were divided between the Patriarch's office and the calling of counselors in the First Presidency is not clear, but the 1841 revelation could be said to have established a partially independent line of Smith family officers parallel to the President of the Church and the Twelve. None of the Patriarchs save William Smith (who asserted his right to lead the Church as Patriarch) pushed the limits of the independent, hereditary appointment powers of this office, but the uncertain implications of some parts of the 1841 revelation raised questions whenever the Patriarch's role and authority had to be defined.

John Smith, Hyrum Smith's eldest son and Patriarch from 1855 to 1911, though never troublesome like William Smith, stirred doubts about the wisdom of hereditary authority. A good-hearted and believing man, he failed to keep up with the intensifying demand to keep the Word of Wisdom. He was said to have sometimes smoked in his office when people came for blessings, though in later life he may have reformed. Before he did, Wilford Woodruff openly scolded him in general conference and told him to shape up or resign.

That record of delinquency did not dispose the Quorum of the Twelve to bestow greater authority on the Patriarch when President Joseph F. Smith, a son of Hyrum Smith, proposed a change in the order of sustainings at general conference. President Smith wanted to present John Smith, his half-brother, as Presiding Patriarch after the First Presidency but before the Twelve, with the implication that he stood second in the line of authority. The two brothers, John and Joseph F. Smith, were inevitably compared to Hyrum and Joseph. But when the Twelve objected to the Patriarch
coming second after the Presidency, President Smith did not press the point, and the sustaining order went unchanged.

In 1918, Joseph F. Smith's successor, Heber J. Grant, wished to remove any question about the direct line from the First Presidency to the Quorum of the Twelve and to reduce the authority of the Patriarchal office even more than the Twelve did. For fifteen years, disagreements over the qualifications of the Patriarch, his standing in the ranks of the General Authorities, and the passage of the office from father to the eldest son delayed the appointment of Eldred Smith to the position of his father.

Irene Bates, a writer and historian, and Gary Smith, an attorney in Irvine, California, tell this fascinating story. The biographical paragraph in the back of the book identifies Gary Smith as the eldest son of Eldred G. Smith and thus (readers will know) heir to the office of Patriarch had it continued. But the book is written without bitterness or regret; no one could interpret it as a salvo in a campaign for the lost legacy. Only sadness for the plight of Eldred Smith colors the pages: sympathy for his suffering from self-doubt when he was not called in 1932 and understanding of his confusion about the definition and redefinition of his duties following his appointment in 1947. President Kimball seemed to be reviving the office just on the eve of its elimination in 1979. In fact, little changed after the emeritus status was announced. By that time, Eldred Smith did little more than give blessings—he did not preside over stake patriarchs or join the General Authorities for their deliberations.

For Latter-day Saints who revere Church authorities as inspired prophets, the book will undoubtedly read a little like an exposé. We do not often hear of disagreements among the Apostles and First Presidency and wonder if reports of these disagreements or of personal shortcomings should be made public. Are stories of personal weaknesses better left untold? In actuality, nothing in these pages seemed scandalous to me. As a stake patriarch myself, I believe nothing here was meant to undermine faith. Bates and Smith do not mar their crisp, vigorous retelling with implicit criticisms of Church inspiration. We see General Authorities tackling organizational problems, patiently weighing one another's opinions, working with real people, waiting for consensus.
Considering the incongruity of an independent line of family authority in a prophet-centered Church, the only marvel is that the office of Patriarch to the Church was not eliminated earlier. Concern for the passage on Hyrum’s appointment in Doctrine and Covenants 124 and regard for the Smith family slowed the process, until, by common agreement of the Church councils, the office of Patriarch to the Church was left vacant. Far from demeaning the authorities, this illuminating history can reassure readers that difficult problems are sensitively handled in the upper councils of the Church and that needed change can occur when directed by the Lord’s prophet.
Even if they had planned it (and they did not), the publishers of these two 1996 works dealing with the Saints in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR or East Germany) before 1989 probably could not have produced more closely complementary volumes. They give a remarkable view of the Church in that country from 1945–1989—a unique chapter in Church history, since the GDR was the only Communist-rulled country in the world with fully operational branches and districts, a mission, an indigenous mission presidency, and, ultimately, a temple within its boundaries. The personal records of President Monson give a Church leader’s view of the struggle of the East Germans striving to practice their faith under an oppressive Communist regime, while the oral histories of individual members in the Davis volume document, from the rank and file, instances of faith, sacrifice, persecution, endurance, resistance, courage, and obedience that rival many accounts from early Church history. Together, they tell a marvelous tale.

While serving as missionaries in Dresden during 1989–90, Norma Davis, an associate professor of humanities at BYU, and her husband, Garold, a professor of German at BYU, began recording interviews with East German Saints. The editors returned to Dresden in 1994 and taped more interviews, to which they added written material they acquired from other members who had lived or still resided in the GDR—passages from journals, recorded personal histories, and written recollections of specific events or time periods. All this they translated into a highly readable compilation. A total of forty-four informants—some of whom contributed to more than one section—provided material arranged into thirty-one chapters.
The first four chapters on the destruction of Dresden give firsthand accounts of Saints who survived the bombing of February 13-14, 1945, that claimed sixty thousand lives. Only one Church member died in the bombing and the firestorm that raged and incinerated many victims after the air raid was over. Other members escaped miraculously, in at least one case because children encouraged their mother to follow the guidance of the priesthood when she wanted to take the more logical escape route instead of the one her husband chose.

The next eleven chapters, entitled "Rebuilding Zion," deal primarily with the immediate postwar years and efforts to reestablish the Church. A section entitled "Living with the Communists," which covers the period after the founding of the German Democratic Republic in 1949, details the constant tension felt by Church members who were trying to obey both the Lord's law and the law of an oppressive government and describes the survival tactics they used inside their "little guarded borders" (351). The final chapters include an account of the temple that was dedicated in 1985, the first in a Communist country; conversion stories of five members who joined the Church in the months shortly before the Wall fell in 1989; and testimonies from two of the first East Germans to be sent on missions outside their country while it was still under Communist rule.

The book of excerpts that President Monson selected from his journal offers a non-German perspective on many of the same events and topics covered in the Davis compilation. It begins with an entry on July 12, 1968, when the forty-one-year-old Apostle, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve for just over five years, went to East Germany for the first time in his new assignment as supervisor of European missions. For the next seventeen years, he retained sole apostolic responsibility for East Germany, visiting the country many times and ultimately securing permission for a temple to be built there. His journal makes it clear that his commitment to Church members there was more than a routine administrative assignment. When he pronounced a dedicatory prayer on the GDR in 1975, he wrote, "I think I have not enjoyed a more spiritual experience as a member of the Council of the Twelve" (38), and in 1982 he notes, "I consider my service in the Dresden
Mission to be a highlight in my ministry thus far as a member of the Council of the Twelve” (74).

Even after he was called to the First Presidency (Elder Russell Nelson took over his assignment late in 1985), President Monson remained involved in matters concerning members in the GDR, whom he loved and admired, and he continued to visit the country. His journal documents additional visits and contacts up through August 1995, the most notable being those describing his role as the primary negotiator in reaching the 1988 agreement with the East German government that allowed the Church to send local members on foreign missions and noncitizens to East Germany as missionaries. After the Wall fell in November 1989, he continued to visit the country, oversaw work there, and hosted former officials from East Germany in Salt Lake City.

The Church in Germany has a long, distinguished history. The Dresden Branch, founded under the leadership of a young convert named Karl G. Maeser, has been in continuous existence since 1855—longer than most wards in Utah or anywhere else in the world. After World War II, somewhere between 4,500 and 5,000 members lived in what became the German Democratic Republic, some of them second- or third-generation Mormons. Their recollections (in the Davis book) of the hardships immediately following 1945 echo numerous published descriptions of those years by well-known German writers, historians, and public figures, but with an essential difference—they lack the tone of self-pity that the Nobel prize-winning novelist Thomas Mann sees as quintessentially German.

One might assert that a remove of four decades had dimmed or filtered the Church members’ memories, but there appears to be more to it than that. They reported the same events other Germans did—the Russian soldiers who raped and pillaged; the malnutrition that claimed so many lives between 1945 and 1949; the lack of even rudimentary housing and medical care; inadequate clothing, transportation, and protection against the elements; not to mention state-imposed obstacles as they tried to exercise their religion. But the tone of these recollections radiates the same spirit of courage and hope in dealing with hardships that we find in accounts of the 1846–47 exodus of the Church in the United States.
Faith, it seems, endowed the Saints with an attitude toward adversity that differed sharply from the general population.

As male Church members serving in the German army returned home to East Germany in 1945, many of them immediately set out on missions (foreign missionaries were no longer allowed to enter). They went without any means of support and in most cases stayed for three, four, and more years before the state disallowed further missionary callings by the Church in the late 1950s. Almost without exception, they suffered severe consequences for their missionary service—for the rest of their lives, almost all were permanently barred from all but low-paying jobs. Nearly all members also suffered job discrimination because of Church membership. Such discrimination usually took the form of blocked promotions, especially if they declined invitations to the join the Party. And with rare exceptions, children of Church members were mocked by their teachers, disadvantaged in school advancement, and denied entrance to universities.

In part because the Church was seen as an “American sect” and also because of the official stance against any religion, the Church endured varying degrees and forms of harassment by the government for at least the first thirty years after 1945. Several accounts in the Davis book describe how branch members found a building or rooms in which to meet, refurbished them at great personal expense and sacrifice (they acquired the materials and performed all the labor themselves), only to have the government confiscate the space and assign them other run-down quarters. In several branches this happened twice, and in one case, three times. Members also recall how, for many years, branch presidents had to report all meetings and assigned speakers in advance; they were not allowed to hold youth dances or conferences, since these competed with the state-run youth organization; the State Security service regularly sent agents to observe meetings; and neighbors became informants for the State Security.

Until 1960, the members’ hunger for Church literature, which was forbidden in the GDR, fostered an underground distribution system. Lesson manuals, tracts, books, and magazines would be brought in, usually through West Berlin; then designated members would type some or all of a certain publication, making seven
or eight carbon copies, and circulate them among members. This practice caused a dilemma of conscience for some when the presiding authority in East Germany, President Henry Burkhardt, who himself had assisted in bringing materials in illegally, in 1960 asked members to become law-abiding citizens and destroy copies of all illegal Church literature in their possession.

Nearly all complied, however reluctantly, but at least one brother describes his pain at burning all his Church materials in an open stove (it took him two days) and admits his mild subversion in saving only one book—a bound copy of four years of typed priesthood manuals. “I don’t care if they throw me in prison,” he thought to himself, “this is one book I am not going to burn” (Davis, 159). He nearly regretted it later when the State Security visited him and examined his books but failed to find the incriminating one. Suddenly he saw the wisdom in obedience, and he concluded, “This actually gave us more encouragement to study our lessons more thoroughly from the standard works” (Davis, 160).

Youth conferences, which attracted young people from the entire district, figured strongly in most of the recollections recorded by the Davises. Though technically illegal at first (this gradually changed), young people and leaders once assembled a conference by having every individual person apply separately for a permit at a designated campsite. Sometimes the leaders registered an event as a worship service, which was not forbidden, but appended activities to it which looked suspiciously like those of a youth conference. Youth dances, too, were popular but illegal unless scheduled as part of a worship service and not advertised as a dance.

President Burkhardt, who was named mission president for all East Germany in 1969, cautiously tolerated this “letter-of-the-law” obedience. His strategy was to prove to the authorities that members of the Church were reliable, law-abiding citizens of their state, and he emphasized adherence to the law of the land as the only means by which the Church would thrive. His success in conveying this message to government authorities ultimately paved the way for approval of the temple built in 1985.

It was this dilemma of obedience to a state that denied members the right to exercise important aspects of their religion—such
as, receive patriarchal blessings, attend the temple, have access to Church literature, and travel outside their country to do genealogical research—which captured President Monson’s attention when he first visited East Germany. For a time, President Burkhardt had issued temple recommends to members who had visas to travel only to West Germany—notably retired people. But to visit a temple, they had to cross into Switzerland illegally, which made the Church complicit in an action that broke the law of their country. Therefore he discontinued the practice.

On his second visit to the GDR in November 1968, President Monson, speaking in Görlitz, was so moved by this denial of blessings that he made a prophetic promise: “If you will remain true and faithful to the commandments of God, every blessing any member of the Church enjoys in any other country will be yours” (5). Later journal entries suggest mild concern about his boldness in making this promise, but he remained firm in the conviction that the Lord had inspired him to utter it, which in turn motivated him to work for its fulfillment. Repeatedly his journal records miracles connected with it—the granting of government permission for President Burkhardt, his counselors, and later other local authorities and their wives (couples together were never allowed to travel to the West) to attend general conference in Salt Lake; healings of local leaders; the ordination of a patriarch who was allowed to travel outside the country for instruction; a chance meeting in Frankfurt between President Monson and a government official from East Germany at a time in 1984 when it appeared that the temple project would be canceled because the government perceived that the Church was growing too visible; the temple open house in 1985, which government officials later told him would never have been allowed if they had known the interest it would generate among East German citizens; and permission for East Germans to serve missions outside the country and for East Germany to receive missionaries from non-Communist countries.

President Monson’s journals allow readers to draw conclusions about the deliberations underlying Church administrative decisions on East Germany. It must have been unusual to leave an Apostle in the same assignment for seventeen years. Elder Monson persisted in his assignment, for, in a journal entry in 1982, he
observes, "Were it not for the continuity established by having one member of the Council of the Twelve monitor and watch over this particular area, I do not believe we would have made nearly the progress we have" (74–75), a point he reinforces again in 1990:

By keeping close to the work for this extended period, I was able to establish the continuity which developed trust on the part of government officials and resulted in our having missionary work permitted in the nation, which seemed to be the great breakthrough that preceded other blessings. (153)

It is certainly striking how closely the private persona in this journal resembles the public one known to the Church. Clearly President Monson is a man of deep affection. Repeatedly, his journal mentions his love for East German Saints and how "I feel right at home in this culture" (115).

The Davis book mentions Church leaders such as Henry Burkhardt, Gottfried Richter, Manfred Schütze, and Walter Krause, whom the Davises accurately call "a legend in his own lifetime" (49). President Monson shares this view as he calls him a "giant of the Lord" (15). The East German Church leaders, he wrote, are "equally as dynamic and spiritually powerful as [men] in any dispensation" (16). In his 1975 prayer dedicating the GDR, President Monson says of Henry Burkhardt, "We know of no man of greater faith in Thy kingdom" (37). His journal also provides numerous specific examples of why this description was not hyperbolic.

The same affection President Monson reveals in his comments is reflected in his behavior—going well out of his way to meet members, to give blessings, or to heal the sick. His deep compassion for the deprivation suffered by many East German Saints moved him to frequent acts of kindness, most of them spontaneous. For example, noticing the shabby clothing that a senior member of a stake high council wore, he was struck by the notion that his suit might fit the man. It did, whereupon President Monson gave him the suit on the spot, along with several ties and a shirt and "put on pair of slacks and a jacket" (80–81) to get to his next destination. He also surrendered a pair of his shoes to the stake patriarch's son. On numerous occasions, he gave away candy and his pocket calculators. He also, "willingly" and "with no
regrets" (94–95), gave his well-used, personalized, leather-bound set of scriptures to Henry Burkhardt to help him learn English.

The sacrifices of the East German Saints which the Davises and President Monson record make almost embarrassing reading for Latter-day Saints in more affluent, free countries today. Yet the relative isolation and government persecution endured by these Saints generated blessings which they freely acknowledge—powerful unity, cooperation, strong self-reliance, willing sacrifice, extraordinary dedication, and a high degree of spirituality.

Amidst it all, several members remember that they never felt forgotten by Church headquarters in Salt Lake City. They could not know, as President Monson records in numerous journal entries, that the General Authorities spent unusual amounts of time dealing with their situation. As an entry of March 29, 1978 notes, “We all recognize that the Dresden Mission is different from any ecclesiastical unit in the Church and has to be approached keeping this fact in mind” (44). The East Germans did know, however, of numerous visits by General Authorities over the years, nearly all of which President Monson records.

One may well wonder how much the exceptional faith of the East German members and the extraordinary attention given by Church headquarters to this one small country (seventeen million people) contributed to the enormous changes that overtook the GDR in 1989. Based on members’ testimonies recorded by Norma and Garold Davis and the entries in President Monson’s journals, it is clear that an accumulation of seemingly minor miracles—a leitmotif in each of these books—led to the major miracles of a temple being erected in a Communist country and of members ultimately being allowed to leave the country for missionary purposes. President Monson saw those miracles from a leader’s perspective; the members saw the same events from an internal perspective. The complete convergence of those two views in these complementary volumes illuminates this unparalleled chapter of Church history.
NOTE

1Because of the nature of this collection of reminiscences, the authors were careful to point out that

the stories do not present a complete or even detailed history. . . . The narrators do not always agree in detail or in their evaluation of the events they experienced. We have left the inconsistencies intact because these are their honest responses to the circumstances. By looking at the circumstances from various points of view, we sometimes come closer to the reality (xviii, xiv)

For instance, individual experiences and memories differed somewhat concerning the amount of governmental restriction on educational and professional opportunities. Some members felt there were definite restrictions placed on them professionally (197, 235), and others thought they were not disadvantaged nor discriminated against (225). Some confusion exists about the printed material Church members were allowed to have. After the construction of the Berlin Wall, governmental restrictions were tightened so that members were allowed to have no printed material for which they had no previous written authorization, and they could receive no new material. In addition to these clarifications, BYU Studies would like to correct an error on page 57. Forty to fifty kilograms would equal eighty-eight to one hundred and ten pounds. Four hundred kilograms would be over eight hundred pounds.—Ed.

“I am sick, sick, sick of reading about Gordon Hinckley. There is just too much about Gordon Hinckley in this manuscript” (ix). So said the fifteenth president of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as he reviewed early drafts of his authorized biography with Sheri L. Dew, his biographer. Preferring to not be the centerpiece in his own biography, President Hinckley affirms instead that he’s just a common, ordinary man—“You can’t get a dollar bill out of fifteen cents!” (ix). However, this book shows that he is anything but ordinary.

In this biography, we read of an intellectually acute and well-schooled person with a delightful sense of humor, a highly respected and selfless Church leader and member of several First Presidencies for more than fifteen years, an articulate speaker, a people-person with a phenomenal memory for names and faces, and a spiritual man of God. Those who watched the profile of President Hinckley and the Church on CBS’s 60 Minutes will more than likely agree with Mike Wallace who said of him, “Generally speaking, he’s first rate” (541).

To write this engaging biography, Sheri Dew did extensive research, conducted some thirty interviews with President Hinckley, paid careful attention to his journal, and talked extensively with his wife, Marjorie; other family members; business leaders; and numerous General Authorities (along with other leaders of the Church). The result is a well-written and edifying biography that situates President Hinckley’s life effectively in the context of his times.

Particularly interesting are “the years of obscurity,” his lengthy and important behind-the-scenes work in Church administration “known to comparatively few” (196) before he was called in 1958 to be an Assistant to the Twelve and assigned to supervise Asia. Under his supervision, the Church in Asia experienced phenomenal growth. An early member in the Land of the Morning Calm, Rhee Ho Nam, who joined the Church in 1954, reports, “Very simply, Elder Hinckley is the father of the Church in Korea” (223).

In addition to numerous anecdotes, stories, and testimonials by and about President Hinckley, the biography is supplemented with sixty-four pages of photographs, extensive notes, a time line, excerpts from major interviews and press conferences, and a thorough index.
In a recent interview, Sheri Dew gave her overall assessment of Gordon Hinckley: “The bottom line is, he is an exceptional man. And then if you combine that with the fact that you believe that the Lord really does direct succession and He’s training and preparing this man, you can see the Lord’s fingerprints all over him.”

—Robert M. Hogge

On Becoming a Disciple-Scholar: Lectures Presented at the Brigham Young University Honors Program Discipline and Discipleship Lecture Series, edited by Henry B. Eyring (Bookcraft, 1995)

Spiritual scholars. Is this asking too much of our Mormon academics? Elder Dallin H. Oaks expresses “the confident expectation that BYU students who qualify for academic honors are also specially interested and qualified in the things of the Spirit” (91). However, it is precisely because academics do not always school their scholarship with spirituality that Paul Cox, dean of General Education and Honors at Brigham Young University, initiated a lecture series entitled “Discipline and Discipleship,” which explored the role of religious commitment to studies in various disciplines. What emerges from this lecture series is a multifaceted conversation that shapes a portrait of a spiritual scholar, one who has found ways to consecrate knowledge on the altar of faith (79).

The essence of this book is a timely warning to academics who love knowledge only for itself. But more importantly, this volume serves as a reassuring guidebook for those who wish to speak “with the bilingual voice of both the intellect and the Spirit” (91).

The conversation opens with Elder Neal A. Maxwell’s passionate, yet reasoned, reaffirmation of our power to attain discipleship. He presents the premise that faith and learning are “mutually facilitating” processes (3): “For a disciple of Jesus Christ, academic scholarship is a form of worship . . . another dimension of consecration” (7). Disciple-scholars understand their responsibility to build a community of Saints and know that there is room “for the full intellectual stretching of any serious disciple” as long as that stretching is done in meekness (14).

Describing his own rite of passage, Paul Cox illustrates the development of scholarship in young student-disciples, who “despite all odds . . . should seek learning” (24) in order to “increase [their] ability to serve the Church in many different ways” (37). The need to be open to truth from multiple sources and to evaluate assumptions is approached by Elder Cecil O. Samuelson Jr., who quotes Brigham Young: “It matters not what the subject be, if it tends to improve the mind, exalt the feelings, and enlarge the capacity. The truth that is in all the arts and sciences forms a part of our religion” (47).

“Faith in Jesus Christ, including what it requires in submission to authority held by His mortal servants, is not a burden to you as a scholar but is your strength,” according to Elder Henry B. Eyring (61). Faith and submission help to
keep academic learning in balance. Elder Eyring learned from his father, Henry Eyring, the noted scientist, that the scholar’s latest finding is still always “an approximation in the Lord’s eyes” (70).

James S. Jardine uses a powerful central metaphor of the altar to encourage scholars to mentally visualize themselves consecrating their scholarly strengths on the altar to God. To avoid the lure of unrighteousness in academic life, Jardine gives six ways to consecrate learning as a “daily devotion” (78).

Elder Oaks stresses the balance between knowing and becoming: “Whereas the world teaches us to know something, the gospel teaches us to become something, and it is far more significant to become than it is to know” (92).

Mormon faith is not antithetical to academic learning. In fact, Church leaders past and present have encouraged and supported intellectual pursuit as long as it is tempered with meekness and consecration. By consecrating our learning, we then “invite the Spirit to . . . expand us and lift us as we gain pure knowledge and truth” (85). A great expectation? Yes, and according to this conversation, a realistic one.

—Deirdre Paulsen

**Expressions of Faith: Testimonies of Latter-day Saint Scholars,**
edited by Susan Easton Black
(Deseret Book and FARMS, 1996)

Can a true Saint balance the quest for earthly knowledge on the head of a spiritual pin, allowing her or him to dance with the angels? Or put another way, can anyone thoroughly acquainted with the learning of the world (done by “the natural man”) remain humble enough to be considered a person of faith?

After reading this volume of essays penned by twenty-four esteemed Latter-day Saint scholars from diverse academic interests and institutions, one comes away judging that the answers to both these questions is a resounding “yes.” What is more, one understands how correct Noel Reynolds is when he writes in the preface that Mormons, who are constantly in search of both intellectual and spiritual answers to the great questions of life, can find strength and common ground by sharing testimonies concerning the fruits of these searches.

These testimonies are organized into three sections: “Personal Odysseys of Faith,” “Study and Faith,” and “Faith and the Book of Mormon.” The diverse essays offer distinct flavors and often very personal insights gleaned from the writers’ several human pursuits, yet they reflect a concerted spiritual goal. As readers bring their own experiences, their own strengths, and their own humility to the insights offered by these authors, they should come to understand the kinship between intellect and spirit and to recognize that the intellectual quest, rather than diminishing faith, can augment and escalate the spiritual quest.

While the book does not reveal the answer to the old question about angels dancing, it brings its readers to the common ground of a
good testimony meeting where "expressions of faith" lead to a spiritually motivating and intellectually stimulating sharing of that which Latter-day Saints hold most precious.

—Patricia Mann Alto


Another resounding volume in the Women's Conference Series, this compilation was selected from the essays and poems presented at the 1995 Women's Conference sponsored by Brigham Young University and the Relief Society. Women from different backgrounds, occupations, and countries discuss topics common to all such as unity, compassion, patience, acceptance, and change. The words of Virginia H. Pearce establish a recurring theme of this book: we are all "trying to arrange [things] into a predictable pattern as [we adapt] to all sorts of change" (130).

The authors draw the subject of their presentations from their own personal experiences. Pam Kazmaier, having been a hospital nurse for twenty years, relates her difficult decision to leave her nursing career to stay at home with her young children. Bonnie Muirbrook Blair, a homemaker and mother of four, conveys the challenges she faced in the eight years she cared for her aging mother-in-law. And Aileen H. Clyde, former counselor in the General Relief Society presidency, reminds us that as sisters in the gospel "we must cherish one another" (172). In Hearts Knit Together, every woman will be able to find a common thread.

The words in this collection strengthen testimonies as, once again, we realize we are not alone—others are experiencing, are enduring, or have overcome similar circumstances. The purpose of the Relief Society is realized as all sisters “look forward with one eye, having one faith and one baptism, having their hearts knit together in unity and in love one towards another” (Mosiah 18:21). This volume reaffirms the unity we find through the gospel and reminds us that we save souls by meeting human needs.

—NiCole M. Barzee

Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History, by Thomas G. Alexander, 2d ed. (Gibbs Smith, 1996)

Identified as "The Official Centennial History" of Utah, this outstanding volume is well worth reading for anyone interested in Utah or Mormon history. Officially commissioned as a Utah Statehood Centennial Project of the Utah State Historical Society, Utah, the Right Place should be welcomed by every student and teacher of Utah history for its remarkable combination of comprehensiveness, conciseness, balance, and literary quality. Not often does a one-volume survey combine all these qualities so effectively.
The book consists of sixteen chapters. The first chapter provides a fine summary of the geological history of Utah; the second, a look at Native Americans, who inhabited the Beehive State as early as 11,000 B.C. Aspects of their lives are discussed in such a way that the reader should never forget their essential role in Utah’s history. The third chapter covers the activities and influence of the explorers, entrepreneurs (trappers and traders), and immigrants who preceded the Mormon migration into the area.

Readers interested primarily in LDS Church history will, no doubt, pay closest attention to chapters four through eight, which cover the period from the foundation of the Church to the achievement of Utah statehood in 1896. This was the period in which the affairs of church and state were most closely tied together, making Utah’s history highly distinctive.

Half of the book, chapters nine through fifteen, deals with the twentieth century. This section is particularly welcome, for it provides the most comprehensive coverage of this period yet to appear in print.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of Utah, the Right Place is the fact that Alexander has admirably fulfilled his goal of writing a history in which the lives of Utahns are seen as “a single piece” (8). He incorporates all of the elements of Utah life into every part of the book: religion, economics, politics, ethnic groups, family life, literature, the arts, architecture, sports and recreation, and the environment.

Each chapter covers a particular chronological period, but Alexander skillfully weaves the myriad pieces into a comprehensive larger picture that will make even those who are generally familiar with Utah history feel that they have a new and more complete understanding of everything that went on in that period. Utah’s artists, politicians, musicians, educators, religious leaders (including Mormon, Catholic, Protestant, and non-Christian), and ethnic groups are all there, but as part of a larger picture that both supersedes and includes each of them. In addition, Alexander has done a commendable job of integrating the contributions of women in Utah history.

One of Alexander’s persistent themes is the fact that Utah was not isolated from the rest of the nation. Rather, he constantly reminds the reader, its history was always part of the larger scene and always influenced by what was happening outside its borders. Utah also had some influence on the world around it.

Chapter sixteen, “Reflections on Utah’s Kingdom, Colony, and Commonwealth,” provides an insightful summary of the entire book and makes especially clear another central theme: the evolution of Utah from a Mormon kingdom to a capitalist colony (where outside capital provided the major stimulus to the economy), to a colony of Washington (a period of time in which the state’s economy was largely dependent upon defense spending and other forms of federal aid), and then to an American commonwealth when, beginning in the 1980s, Utahns generated their own capital and managed their own large business
enterprises. He concludes with a hint of pride that "Utah's people no longer have to work in an economy in which its major enterprises are owned and operated from outside the state" (459).

Capping, for now (but certainly not concluding), a distinguished professional career of teaching and writing Utah history, *Utah, the Right Place* should be an essential addition to the library of anyone concerned with the Beehive State. Mormons will find Alexander's approach to their history both thorough and refreshing. It will be especially appreciated in light of some modern efforts to diminish, if not eliminate, any discussion of religion in history classes. As Alexander himself observes (taking a cue from one of his early mentors), "studying Utah history without talking about the Mormons would be like discussing the discovery of America without mentioning Columbus" (9). At the same time, Mormon history itself is not the focus of the book. The Mormon majority and their contributions are well served, but so, too, are the contributions of others. Alexander has succeeded in creating a well-integrated, well-balanced history of a state that, in his view, is still "the right place" for all.

—J. B. Allen, book review editor

Great and Peculiar Beauty: A *Utah Reader*, edited by Thomas Lyon and Terry Tempest Williams (Gibbs Smith, 1995)

Here is a welcome buffet of Utah literature spread out in celebration of the centennial of Utah's hard-won statehood. Editors Thomas Lyon, of Utah State University, and Terry Tempest Williams, of the University of Utah, serve up nearly 150 personal and imaginative writings and poems by more than 130 Utah writers in a big, splendid anthology destined to be a literary landmark in the cultural history of Utah.

Eschewing familiar and well-worn organizing metaphors, the editors have gathered their selections under a fresh and utile organizing principle that transforms Utah's five topographically distinct terrains, each of which possesses an inherent "great and peculiar beauty" (ii), into five "literary provinces": "The Great Basin," "Urban Terrace," "Mountains," "Colorado Plateau," and "Dixie" (1). Introducing each section in brief, lyrical essays centered in the natural history of the province, the editors present a judicious selection of some familiar but mostly less accessible or virtually unknown works of poetry, fiction, history, personal narratives, interviews (with earlier inhabitants), and accounts of present-day life in the five provinces. All of this gathers to a satisfying cultural, historical, and literary feast.

Lyon and Williams have measured each selection against four criteria: every reading "should illuminate its region; it should have literary value; it should suggest ideas or dimensions of feeling that transcend time; and it should tell a story" (2). Their unstated fifth criterion is, of course, that every reading reflect the editors' own worldviews as professing naturalists, writers, scholars, and sympathetic
cultural commentators who are at a personal, religious, and academic remove from Utah’s mainstream LDS majority. This distancing, together with the topographical overlay, enables a fresh look at the breadth of Utah’s scenic and human landscape, 1776–1996. Such distancing, however, also affects the spirit of this collection, and some readers will find the book goes awry in failing to capture the dynamic spiritual and religious power of the Mormon faith, a shortfall which can be explained more by editorial predilection and selectivity than by the fact that barely half of the book’s selections were written by Latter-day Saints, in a state where Mormons still comprise more than 72 percent of the population.

While the editors bemoan the unfortunate necessity of omitting drama, science fiction, children’s or young adult literature from the collection—some of which are among Utah’s strongest genres—other unacknowledged and unexplained editorial omissions further alter the tone and lessen the representative nature of the book. Missing are LDS hymns, poetic touchstones of Mormon theology and Utah history; LDS sermons, represented here only by Orson Hyde, not Brigham Young, Orson Pratt, or others to be found in the *Journal of Discourses* (arguably the most important collection of Utah literature); or LDS journals, too sparsely represented (although Mary Goble Pay is there), with their invaluable glimpses into applied Mormonism. Beyond many appreciated inclusions in the book are equally important exclusions of contemporary Utah writers whose presence would help balance the offering and brighten the mosaic: Samuel Woolley Taylor, Hugh Nibley, Eileen Gibbons Kump, Marilyn Miller Brown, Louise Plummer, anthologized poets Arthur Henry King and John Sterling Harris, Gerald N. Lund (Utah’s all-time, bestselling author), and Utah’s best-known, prize-winning author, Orson Scott Card. There are other oversights as well: sundry typos; misspellings of at least a half-dozen authors’ names; an introduction which repeatedly refers the reader to a nonexistent “Volume 2,” apparently reflecting an earlier, abandoned format; and a clutch of quirky, inconsistent, and imbalanced endnotes.

In lamenting such omissions and errors, however, let me not be guilty of my own distortive skewings. In fact, *Great and Peculiar Beauty: A Utah Reader* is a cultural landmark in the 150-year history of Utah arts and letters, a literary hymning of the “great and peculiar beauty” of this good place and its good people.

—Richard H. Cracroft


Through interviews, writings, hymns, and brief histories of individuals who have shaped Americans’ religious lives, this book showcases many “spiritualities” from such figures as Jonathan Edwards, Joseph Smith Jr., Samuel
Clements, William James, Black Elk, Dalai Lama, George S. Patton, and Albert Einstein.

Hewitt first presents transcriptions of a series of interviews he conducted for PBS with Chuck Colson (who tells the story of his psychological rebirth and his committed love in service to prisoners), Harold Kushner (who suggests that we must substitute service for an absent God, that freedom includes random tragedy, and that functional truth is higher than factual truth), Roberta Hestenes (who proclaims a Presbyterian social gospel in the third world as well personal peace gained from the Word and Spirit), Seyyed Hossein Nasr (in whose philosophy the secular fades, the Truth remains, and, in the alternative “science” of Islam, Sufism, world forms allow the true “hidden” to appear), and Cecil Murray (an African Methodist Episcopal pastor in Watts, who believes that social salvation is the only real salvation and presents a “Marshall Plan” for American cities).

His sixth interview is with Neal Maxwell, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, who teaches us that “recognizing the Spirit” is learned behavior, that the ultimate challenge is loving our enemies, that secularism is our major social problem, and that freedom costs security. He also bears a Latter-day Saint testimony about meekness. The final interviews are with Thomas Keating (a Benedictine mystic and monastic who believes that meditative prayer effects social change, teaches that the “false self” hungers for security, control, affection, and esteem, and affirms that freedom requires God’s absence), and Dalai Lama (whose Tibetan Buddhism teaches interrelatedness, reincarnation, the risk of violence creating violence, and the virtue of compassion, which is analogous to Christian love).

The interviewer’s two questions for all his selected participants were, How did you come to your faith? and Why do you think there is so much innocent suffering in the world? They answered with sincerity and verve.

Elder Maxwell’s touchingly personal interview displayed how the articulate Apostle developed faith and courage at a young age by meekly facing embarrassing acne problems in his teens. He discloses his feelings of inadequacy about giving apostolic blessings to the sick, when many are healed and many not, and about his responsibility to witness to all the world: “It is overwhelming. One cannot be in an Islamic country and not be conscious of the tremendous challenge it is to bear a witness of Jesus’ name in a nation where there may be hostility towards Jesus, per se.”

Regarding agnostic divine children, Elder Maxwell states, “They don’t know who they are, but I do: and I must learn to love them, even if . . . they are critical of me, because they are my brothers and sisters.” Regarding government and social ills: “I’d rather have ten commandments than ten thousand federal regulations. . . . And unless we rebuild marriages and families, we are really straightening deck chairs on the Titanic.” Regarding the hardest thing of all: “The act of
loving one's enemies and submissiveness are the greatest and the crowning things in discipleship. It shouldn't surprise us that they don't come early in one's discipleship. Instead they come near the end of the trail when we are less caught up with ego, so I don't think we should expect to arrive there quickly."

The book next presents historical writings with many riveting testimonies. Hymns end the compilation as beautiful witnesses to less effable spirituality. This beautiful book of saintly testimonies should be read by anyone feeling cynical or alone.

—Charles Randall Paul


Written by the president of the Ukraine Kiev Mission 1991–94, this book is more than a collection of inspiring accounts of spiritual conversion to Christ and his restored gospel and more than an engrossing account of the opening of nations previously closed to the preaching of the gospel. This volume raises hymns of praise, rejoicing, and awe at the workings of the Lord in the lives of individuals and families living in Ukraine and Belarus. The title of the book is taken from Parley P. Pratt's famous hymn of the restoration:

The morning breaks, the shadows flee;
Lo, Zion's standard is unfurled!

The dawning of a brighter day
Majestic rises on the world.

Relating a remarkable if minute part of the unfolding story of God's hand at work among peoples once imprisoned in oppressive regimes, _The Morning Breaks_ includes first-person accounts of individuals' spiritual struggles to find answers to fundamental questions of life, of their God-led discovery of the truth, and of the opening of their hearts to receive the blessings of light and hope and salvation through Jesus Christ. The testimonies borne by these people, whose lives and minds and souls have been so miraculously unshackled and transformed through spiritual conversion and activity in the Church, should touch many hearts.

Coming from a part of the world that not long ago seemed unreachable, _The Morning Breaks_ is told by a man who was prepared in many ways from his youth for a mission that he and we could hardly have imagined.

—Robert W. Blair

_Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era_, edited by John F. Hall (Museum of Art, Brigham Young University, 1996)

The first book to be published by Brigham Young University's Museum of Art is a result of that museum's inaugural exhibit, _The Etruscans: Legacy of a Lost Civilization_. John Hall has brought together fourteen essays presented by international scholars at the
symposium that Hall organized in conjunction with the exhibition. The essays include historical, archaeological, literary, and art history topics in the pre-Roman-Etruscan, the Roman-Etruscan, and the post-Roman eras.

The handsome volume is an effort worthy of the quality of the exhibit that gave it birth. From its beautifully designed dust jacket through the numerous dramatic and richly colored illustrations, *Etruscan Italy*, is itself a work of art.

—Nancy R. Lund


In a year of commemorating pioneering in Utah, readers might also be interested in a volume that documents the heartrending experience of the Donner party, who crossed Utah on their way to California. *Unfortunate Emigrants: Narratives of the Donner Party* is a selection of early accounts, some hard-to-find, of those ill-fated 1846 pioneers who were trapped in the snows of the Sierra Nevada and of the efforts made to rescue them.

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When the Saints dug the foundation trench for their first temple, only 150 members lived in Kirtland. Despite a serious lack of manpower, proper equipment, and funds, they doggedly persisted in building and adorning “a house to the Lord.” Both their struggles and their aspirations are recorded in the temple’s structure and architecture. In the 1830s, the Kirtland Temple was the site of numerous spiritual manifestations.

“After years of study and research, Elwin C. Robison has produced a pivotal work. . . . The book is an absolute gold mine of useful historical and architectural information.” —Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

“An exceptional volume that plumbs the desired depths in a highly professional manner.” —Larry C. Porter
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