LDS Old Testament Bibliography
Polish Religious Folk Art
Young Hugh Nibley’s Letters
Themes of the 1835 LDS Hymnal
Mormons in Early Wisconsin
Solomon Chamberlin’s Visions
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*BYU Studies* is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. This periodical strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. It is committed to seeking truth "by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118) and recognizes that all knowledge without charity is nothing (1 Cor. 13:2). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible; they are "many members, yet but one body" (1 Cor. 12:20).

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BRIEF NOTICES
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When I ask what the temple teaches me, the answer is loud and clear: to control my actions. That is self-discipline and that is what I promise to exercise with every covenant. The law of sacrifice will always be crucial in the spirit of the gospel, and everyday we are more and more conscious of the truths and self-sacrifices of the Scrolled Sermon. Chastity is nothing but self-control and needs no argument. And the hardest law, the law of consecration, can only be faced against sore temptation, and still confronts us with unresolved dilemmas. What I promise to do with every covenant is to order my life and specifically, as it is fully laid out in the
Youth and Beauty: The Correspondence of Hugh Nibley

*Personal letters written by Hugh Nibley during his youth show the fundamental consistency of his personality, style, beliefs, concerns, and penetrating perceptions throughout his lifetime.*

Boyd Petersen

Sometime in the early part of 1910, Agnes Sloan Nibley attended the Salt Lake Temple. She was in the middle of a difficult pregnancy and most likely went to the temple seeking peace and comfort. While she was there, President John R. Winder, president of the temple and First Counselor to President Joseph F. Smith, approached her and asked to give her a blessing. In that blessing, President Winder spoke about the son Sister Nibley would soon deliver, stating that he would accomplish an important work. On March 27 of that year, President Winder died. According to the Nibley family story, with his parting words President Winder inquired whether Sister Nibley had yet given birth to her son. Significantly, the Nibleys’ son was born that very day, and, in honor of President Winder, the baby boy was named Hugh Winder Nibley.¹

With such an extraordinary introduction, one would expect that Hugh Nibley would be a man of extraordinary gifts, and indeed he is. Moreover, as I have researched his correspondence over the past seven years, I have decided that one of the most extraordinary qualities about Hugh Nibley is the remarkable consistency of his life and words. His correspondence documents a consistency between the public and the private man—the beliefs, sentiments, and opinions Nibley has stated in his books and articles are echoed in his personal letters. Further, I have also discovered (contrary to what I expected) little change in his style, interests, or beliefs throughout his lifetime. The letters Nibley wrote in his youth are
as erudite and witty as those written in his later years, while all the letters written throughout his life share a youthful tone and exuberance that reflect his passion for life and learning. The agelessness in his correspondence is so remarkable that I have almost come to suspect that Hugh Nibley really was not born at all but instead leapt fully formed from the head of some strangely dressed and multilingual Zeus, spouting obscure poetry and commenting on the phases of the moon.

**Biographical Introduction**

Most readers of his books know that Hugh Nibley grew up in Oregon and later southern California, where he attended Los Angeles High School. At age seventeen, he was called to the Swiss-German Mission. After returning from his mission, he attended UCLA, graduating summa cum laude in 1934. In 1938 he received his doctorate from Berkeley and then taught at Claremont, Scripps, and Pomona Colleges prior to his service in the army during World War II. He joined the army in September of 1942 and served in military intelligence in the European campaign. Following the war, he worked as an editor for the *Improvement Era*, where he became acquainted with Elder John A. Widtsoe. Elder Widtsoe urged Nibley to apply for a teaching position at Brigham Young University and wrote a letter recommending him to the president of the university, Howard S. McDonald. Elder Widtsoe described Hugh as “a book worm of the first order” who would “probably annoy his wife, when he marries, all his life, by coming home late at night—too late for dinner—and by sitting up all night with his books.” At the bottom of the letter, he added, “I believe we must keep this man for our use.”

Hugh took Elder Widtsoe’s advice and accepted a position as assistant professor of history and religion at BYU. There he became a one-man campus, teaching language courses in Latin, Arabic, Greek, Russian, Hebrew, and Old Norse, as well as courses on early Christianity, ancient history, ancient Near Eastern religion, and, of course, the Book of Mormon.

Elder Widtsoe did have one concern about Hugh when recommending him to teach at BYU—his marital status. Hugh was a
thirty-six-year-old bachelor. In a letter to his close friend Paul Springer, Nibley described Elder Widtsoe's prodding as "the rising admonition of the brethren that I get me espoused." Obedient to the end, Nibley told Elder Widtsoe that "I would marry the first girl I met at BYU." On one of his first days on campus, May 25, 1946, Hugh walked into the housing office, where the first young woman he met was Phyllis Draper, the receptionist. With that single encounter, Hugh decided that he was going to marry Phyllis, whom he later described to his mother as "delectable and ever-sensible." They courted until August 18, when he popped the question. The couple was married on September 18, 1946. About their whirlwind courtship, Nibley quips, "That's why it's called BYWoo, I guess." Hugh and Phyllis have reared eight children in a house full of books, music, and guests.

**Ageless Style**

The young Hugh Nibley was certainly precocious. His intellect, wisdom, and self-deprecating humility are evident in the earliest correspondence I have found: a 1924 exchange between Hugh and his grandfather Charles W. Nibley, then Presiding Bishop of the Church. In a birthday letter written for Hugh's fourteenth birthday, Grandpa Nibley praises Hugh for his abilities and at the same time warns him to beware of vanity:

> We all think you are gifted and talented above many of your fellows. The Lord has blessed you greatly. . . . Surely you are favored of the Lord. You must use your ability in His service in all humility and faithfulness. Do not ever allow yourself to get big-headed. Always be humble, always be prayerful. Do not forget to pray. . . .

> I am going to keep my eye on you and see what you do, whether you are going to be a success or whether it is all make-believe.

Hugh's response to his grandfather's sober warning documents not only Hugh's imaginative wit, but also his characteristic tendency to draw parallels:

> Few things turn out to resemble what they're cracked up to be. Cleopatra was irresistible in the moonlight, but when that Egyptian sun scorched that hideous map, Antony, no doubt, turned a little pale and asked to be excused.
The same will hold true in my case and, if you weren’t exersizing your, or your stenographers, imaginative ability in that birthday letter, there is going to be an awful shock, not unlike the kind produced when the Lord Mayor of Dublin joins the Shriners. . . .

As to getting “bigheaded”, it is in my case as that of a pin. It does not have a big head because it is unnecessary and foolish. Although there are some exceptions on the part of a pin, there is none with persons.¹¹

Responding to another of Grandpa Nibley’s adulatory letters, written on the occasion of Hugh’s seventeenth birthday, Hugh writes in the same vein about his accomplishments:

Why do you suppose one would think his efforts anything but futile—who minces about in “The Beginners’ Greek Book,” “First Steps in German” or “Anglo Saxon for grammar schools”? How can one get the big head over “Easy lessons in Latin?” Not a day passes but what I am completely silenced by some urchin who knows what every urchin should know—and I don’t—a little Arithmetic.¹²

Hugh’s early letters are erudite, witty, and honest—hallmarks of his later writing. But the content of those letters is also consistent with his later themes.

**On the Environment**

The environmental movement certainly was not trendy in the logging camps of the Pacific Northwest in 1925. Nevertheless, nothing better illustrates the fact that Hugh’s concerns and interests have remained consistent than the letter he wrote to his mother at age fifteen. Hugh was spending the summer working at his grandfather’s Nibley-Stoddard Lumber Company along the banks of the Feather River in Cromberg, California. Since it was a family business, Hugh probably felt obligated to work there. In his own “Intellectual Autobiography,” Hugh states that “to work in mills or ranches in the summer, or to become seasonal tramps”—something he also did as a young man—was “the thing for schoolboys to do in those halcyon days.”¹³ However, he was most certainly also enticed to work at the mill by his uncontrollable sense of adventure and his passionate love for nature. This was a fifteen-year-old’s chance to go to the woods! In this letter responding to his mother’s plans to have him return home, Hugh
writes of the ironic and heart-wrenching opportunity he had to be surrounded by nature while witnessing and participating in its destruction:

Dear Mother:

What’s all this business of coming home? Let me live in Paradise while it lasts.

I climbed Jackson Peak Sunday, and when I looked around I saw not the great gray-green expanse of forest I had expected, but hundreds of miles of rocks and stubble broken here and there by well thinned plains of dry pines. This would have been most disappointing had it not been for the presence of one great patch of woods. What a heaven it was to look down onto the blue tops of those great cool firs and know that there in her last stronghold lives Nature with all her great family, for to this citadel have flocked all the hosts of the forest. Here in this cold, green temple, oozing and dripping with a licentious profusity of life, I felt as if I were a trillion years old. Nothing seemed strange or unusual. Badgers, coons, deer, skunks, porcupines, snakes and all only paid me a passing glance, and went on with their business. . . .

This is the only unlogged tract within half a hundred miles of here—five hundred million feet of it—and owned, “the devil damn it black” (Shakespeare) by the Nibley-Stoddard Lumber Co. Soon it will be leveled to a desert—the streams will dry up and leave it to the sun, the sage brush, the snakes and the lizards.14

What Nibley saw at the logging camp profoundly affected his life. In the 1985 film documentary, The Faith of an Observer—Conversations with Hugh W. Nibley, Hugh recounts the story of his summer at the sawmill with the same disdain.15 And when he delivered the speech for 1971’s ASBYU Last Lecture Series, Hugh spoke of another forest that was leveled by his grandfather:

After my mission I visited a glorious redwood grove near Santa Cruz, California. Only there was no grove there; the two-thousand-year-old trees were all gone: not one of them was left standing. My own grandfather had converted them all into cash. . . . Grandfather took something priceless and irreplaceable and gave in return a few miles of railroad ties.16

What I find notable is that Hugh viewed his grandfather’s legacy of wiping out acres of redwoods with the same contempt at the time it happened as he did years later. There has been no reinterpretation of the facts, no reevaluation of his grandfather’s legacy since his teenage years.17 Hugh’s belief in the sacredness of our
natural world has not changed in over seventy years. His letter of 1925 compares seamlessly with the following letter, written in 1986, which was read on his behalf at the Bureau of Land Management hearings on Utah wilderness designation:

I moved to Utah from California many years ago expressly because I had found the last authentic habitable wilderness in the temperate zone, i.e. in the entire world within reach of pleasant dwelling-places. The rest of the world has already become overrun or uninhabitable by nature. So what we have here and here alone is the RAREST commodity in the world, and its rarity can only increase with the passing of time. It is that ultimate blessing, a thing good and desirable in itself, not merely something that can be converted into cash. When it is gone not only the world but our own immediate environment, for which we are responsible, will be a bleaker and poorer one. 18

On Education

Likewise, Hugh's views on education have been consistent for many years. In early 1942, while teaching at Claremont College, Nibley writes: "Certainly I can never remain at ease in the stifling atmosphere of the American College, an institution which I hope with all my heart will go the way of the buffalo and the spittoon. It already survives only as a curio." 19 In a letter written during his army years, Hugh compares the state of the modern academy with the muddy conditions that existed at Camp Ritchie, Maryland, where he was stationed for military intelligence training:

Mud like manure has great possibilities, but of itself is simply loathsome. The same holds true of our educational system—a vast sluggish sea of uniform primordial ooze out of which we fondly expect marvellous trees of knowledge to emerge, even though we have already waited 50 years for a single butter-cup to appear. 20

Later, Hugh writes from the war front:

Scholarship is as usual the clown of the professions—its practitioners are either dealing in things so abstruse as to place them beyond criticism (in which case they are almost bound to be phonies) or else they are chewing old familiar cuds—in which case they are wasting their time. 21

Hugh does hint that he believes there are legitimate avenues for scholarship when he adds, "Nevertheless there is still a great
work to do in this direction.” It was not education, but the state of education in America that Hugh lamented. As he later wrote, “Scholarship in America is as dead as the dodo and has been for at least 30 years: go to their conventions if you don’t believe they are a bunch of ineffectual zombies; they are simply marking time waiting for nothing to happen.”

It is tempting to see Nibley’s criticisms of educational systems as inconsistent with his life as a scholar. After all, Nibley has made his living working in the academy. However, he has never been against learning, just for humility and the gospel. He has long urged his students to carefully examine pat answers, to have constantly searching minds, and to read thoroughly and deeply; he has also encouraged them to remember that scholarship is “forever tentative.” He has shown little patience for those who let the pride of knowledge or the ambition for eminence get in the way of a sincere search for truth. What Nibley has said about Brigham Young University reveals much about his attitude toward scholarship in general:

I can see two totally different pictures of the BYU, each one a reality: From one direction I see high purpose, sobriety, good cheer, dedication and a measure of stability which in this unquiet world is by no means to be despised. Then by shifting my position but slightly I see a carnival of human vanity and folly to which only Gilbert & Sullivan could do justice, with solemn antics before high heaven that make the angels weep. Why take sides or contend? Both of the pictures are genuine.

Hugh Nibley has not criticized education, but what passes for it. As he stated in his BYU commencement address, scholarship can be redeemed only when it is clothed in the robes of the gospel. Otherwise it is nothing more than a counterfeit.

On Wealth

Likewise, Hugh’s views on wealth have remained remarkably consistent. I have heard Hugh recall his fifth birthday, when his favorite uncle gave him five shiny pennies. He remembers dropping those birthday pennies into the lake “solemnly, one by one, reflecting on each one, ‘there’s no loss there: what’s money?’” As
a young teenager, Hugh wrote his Grandpa Nibley, thanking him for the birthday check of fourteen dollars, "P.S. While I'm at it, I might as well thank you for the check. I seldom write letters for less than fourteen dollars." Hugh Nibley has never been serious about money.

While on his mission in Germany, Hugh wrote to his mother asking her not to send so much money. "If any more gets piled up, it will cause a sensation," he said, apparently alluding to high inflation rates in Germany a decade before the war. Hugh stated years later, "A German mark was worth nothing then: a billion marks for a dollar was what it was going for on the market. And naturally, when they'd send me fifty dollars a month what would I do with that? I could support the entire branch. I had no use for it, so I'd stick it in books and do everything else." Hugh's practice of using dollar bills as bookmarks was beneficial for his more financially strapped missionary companions. One of them reports that when any of the missionaries needed money, they would pilfer from Elder Nibley's books.

This view of wealth has also contributed to Hugh's "dress for success" style and his spartan eating habits, which evidently have not changed much either. One fellow missionary told me that, at one point, the mission president assigned him to "locate Elder Nibley and help him buy a new suit," while another fellow missionary reports that Hugh's mission diet consisted mostly of the wheat he stashed in his pockets and would chew while he was studying or traveling.

Hugh's belief about wealth is nowhere better summed up than in a letter he wrote to his mother during World War II, in which he states that "money is nothing but congealed wickedness." He repeats this same sentiment in a letter written in 1988:

We have been instructed to read the Book of Mormon with scrupulous care and close analysis. If we do that, we will discover that the acquisition of wealth often rewarded the zeal of the Saints but invariably led to pride, ambition and the increase of inequality among the Saints. It was the inequality that bothered the prophets. . . . As you know, Joseph Smith said "the heavens have often been sealed up because of covetousness in the Church." But the Church still went on—without angels or revelations, the channel being pretty well closed off. The degree of inspiration in the Church is not always
the same; the Book of Mormon is a barometer in which it goes up and down in astonishingly short periods. If you examine it, you will find that there is a definite correlation between wealth and revelation—a negative correlation. You will also find that at every period there are humble servants of Christ who go their way without trying to control anything but their own behavior; they are the ones who really benefit by the Gospel and enjoy it.34

With the publication of the essays in Approaching Zion, Hugh Nibley's beliefs about the corrupting influence of wealth have had a broad and far-reaching impact on the Church. While the theme contained in that volume was new to many in the Church, Hugh Nibley has been consistently approaching Zion since he was a child.

As Social Critic

Another of Hugh's gifts is his ability to size up the spiritual state of the Latter-day Saint community and to call us to repentance. We have been warned of our materialism in essays such as "What Is Zion? A Distant View" and "Work We Must, but the Lunch Is Free";35 of our placing the image of management over the substance of leadership in "Brigham Young as a Leader" and "Leaders to Managers: The Fatal Shift";36 and of our practice of putting partisan politics above the interests of God's kingdom in "Beyond Politics"37 and "In the Party but Not of the Party."38 As Eugene England has stated, Hugh Nibley "most perceptively describes our sins, most courageously and persistently calls us to repentance, and most accurately predicts our future if we will not repent." England goes so far as to call Nibley "the finest lay (as opposed to officially called) prophet of the Latter-day Saint people."39

But Nibley's eye has not always focused solely on the Saints. His correspondence reveals that since he was a teenager Hugh has had a gift to discern societal ills and the urgency to call people to repentance. Two periods in Hugh's life—his mission and his war service—offer illustrations of this gift of discernment.

While serving in the Swiss-German Mission, eighteen-year-old Hugh wrote to his Grandmother Sloan:

Nobody [in Germany] believes in a God. The strongest Catholics in Frankenthal are professed atheists. And the suddenness of the thing
is unbelievable. One feels a strange spirit like a cloud—a real thing, that makes the people every week more testy and intolerant, you feel the spirit closing in on the people; something mean & unpleasant seems to inhabit the average house. Not a spirit of uncertainty but of settled, determined indifference. I often wondered where the wickedness was that the Lord accuses the world of,—I suppose it is simply indifference, nobody seems to be really bad—but who has a right to be satisfied? . . .

So I must again issue forth to a few hours of intense persuading, decoying, tempting—wel[] nigh bullying. We are supposed to invite & recommend but nearly all the people are past that stage. I am becoming quite artful.40

In calling people to repentance, Hugh has consistently employed the same combination of faith and learning. While on his mission, he writes of his discussions with the German clergy:

Our manipulations are getting under the Holymen’s already too-well-filled skins. All these fellows seem to think we know 20 times as much as we do, thanks to my playing around with those primitive English manuscripts, all Catholic writings of course, on which their learning and authority has never been before called into question. (Incidental[]ly, I have stowed away in my trunk, for some dim future day, a number of priceless texts, dirt cheap, but obtained with difficulty) Then too, in this land of the free, no two Bibles read at all alike, the interpreters pull most of their crude stuff on some of our best passages; so I have actually been able to turn Greek to account. Though I don’t know the stuff I call the pastor’s bluff and silence the new churches at times.41

Nibley also saw the antics of that same clergy and reports this anecdote:

A charming and innocent sight here the other day: Before a festival in the church the little boys who “fling the golden censer wide,” that is the caddies in red who bear the smoke-pots before the altar, were outside in front of the church awaiting their cue. A crowd of imps (their “lay” friends) assembled to examine the curious stinking things & soon the altar servers, forgetting their celestial offices, converted holy instruments into war clubs, and swinging them wildly, like true brothers of Brunhilde, staged a small battle in the market place. Oh the horror of the good Father when he saw them!—Stop the fight—he? Rather, like the avenging angel did he baptize the little ones with maledictions. The voice out of the whirlwind became the “still small” when he opened up with a salvo of umlauts & gutturals. That was inspiring.42
Hugh Nibley as a toddler. From Hugh's early childhood, members of the Nibley family were aware of his great promise, ca. September 1911, Portland [?], Oregon.
A dapper young Hugh poses for his portrait. 1917 or 1918, Medford [?], Oregon.
Passport photograph. Taken in preparation for Hugh's mission, 1927. The signature along the side of the photograph is Hugh's.
Hugh and his brother Sloan. Sloan served in a neighboring German mission at the same time Hugh (on right) was serving in the Swiss-German Mission. This photograph was taken in Leipzig in front the Battle of Leipzig Monument, ca. 1929.
Official military photograph. Taken while Hugh was attending the weather training school at Godman Field, Fort Knox, Kentucky, 1943.
Taking a moment to read. On a street in Heidelberg, Germany, after the Allied invasion, 1945. During the war, Hugh devoted his spare moments to reading the Book of Mormon and had become profoundly aware of the power of its message.
With urgency and zeal, Hugh warned the German people of the scriptural promise that terrible consequences would follow if they did not repent. Immediately following World War II, he was able to visit some of the areas of his mission and saw the literal fulfillment of this prophecy:

Having visited all the scenes of my missionary labors by jeep, and beheld the painfully literal justifications of the warning word to these foolish people 17 years ago, I speak with confidence of calamities to come. Everything has turned out exactly as I had imagined, so there is no reason to suppose that it won’t continue to do so.43

Hugh saw this destruction not as the result of a vengeful God so much as the direct consequence of human immorality:

It is only after men have neatly reversed all values, calling black white and vice virtue, that nature follows suit. Nature does not want to be thrown off balance—seventy times seven she will patiently refuse to turn topsy turvy, and then finally one day she reacts to that steady, willful perversity and makes some adjustments of her own. The 4th Century BC and the 6th AD are terrible examples. In the times of total confusion which lies ahead let us not forget how clearly our own behavior has foreshadowed the horrible commotion of the earth and the elements. I speak in a prophetic vein, because the signs of an impending readjustment in the face of the whole earth are fairly clear.44

After having witnessed the crimes against humanity that Nazi Germany had committed, Hugh sums up the state of their culture:

Other people have their vices as opposed to their virtues, but the Germans’ vices are their virtues & vice versa; by an act of that Will they are forever talking about, they turn good qualities into vicious ones or clothe any crime that suits them in moral garments. They remain, after all, still the most dangerous people in the world—unwilling to distinguish good from bad.45

The one good thing coming from the war, Hugh argues, is a proper distrust of outward appearances:

The Nazis have done us the service of showing how complete the depravity can go on year after year enjoying an unchallenged authority, wearing the robes of every office with dignity and ease, professing none but noble motives and going thru all the motions of high governance. After their masterful performance the world may rightly distrust every appearance—flags, hymns, parades and solemn oaths have been forever discredited by German wickedness.46
Despite his abhorrence for the immorality and atrocities of wartime Germany, Hugh did not see World War II as a "good guys versus bad guys" conflict. The spiritual state of America also alarmed him considerably. In a letter written after the Normandy invasion, Hugh is evidently responding to some jeremiads from his mother about the political climate in the United States:

Obviously few people are making an effort to win the blessings which the B.M. [Book of Mormon] promises to the promised land; the catch is that the alternative is not an easy decline or gentle corruption but a whacking curse that knocks all the pegs out at once as soon as everything is good and ready.47

A very short while later, Hugh writes, "The people of the world for the most part . . . have built up a strong willful indifference to everything; they believe nothing, they hope nothing, they have endured what they had to and hope to be able to get out of enduring anything more."48

Hugh has stated that throughout his life he has felt like an observer: "I never thought of myself as a participant, but always on the sidelines, always looking on, and always finding myself in a position where I could get a rather good look."49 It is clear that this position has allowed him to gain a clear vision of what ails our world and a sincere desire to help us heal.

On the Book of Mormon

Perhaps nothing in Hugh Nibley's life has been more constant than his testimony of the Book of Mormon. In many letters, he writes of being overwhelmed by the book's authentic portrait of ancient Middle Eastern culture and language, the book's witnesses to the prophetic mantle of Joseph Smith, and the book's prophetic accuracy. This witness really came to the fore during World War II. Hugh has said elsewhere how the potency of the Book of Mormon hit him fully while driving the first Jeep onto Utah Beach during the D day invasion of Normandy.50 That he was preoccupied with the power of the Book of Mormon at that time is confirmed in his correspondence, where, in a letter written as preparations for D day were underway, Hugh writes:

Of course there is little time to relax in the Airborne at a time like this, but when I can snatch a moment or two off it is devoted to a
single engrossing item: at this late date I have discovered the Book of Mormon, and live in a state of perpetual excitement—that marvelous production throws everything done in our age completely into the shadow.51

Much later, after he had written An Approach to the Book of Mormon and Lebi in the Desert, he would say to his friend Paul Springer:

I have been sort of overseeing the translating of the B. of M. [Book of Mormon] into Greek (it is now finished), while at the same time working on my Moslems52 and consorti ng with the Hasidic Jews, meantime faithfully plodding through the Coffin Texts and preparing an article on the new Christian Coptic texts for a very serious journal.53 Doing all this at once has addled the old brains more than ever, but forced me to recognize the common pattern behind things. I say recognize, not invent, because other people are beginning to recognize it too. This whole apocryphal world is brought together in the B. of M., a veritable handbook of motifs and traditions. As a work of fiction, as a mere intellectual tour-de-force, nothing can touch it—but along with that it is full of old Jewish lore that very few Jews have ever heard of, handles the desert situation in a way that delights my Meccans, and gives a picture of primitive Christianity that is right out of the Dead Sea Scrolls & the Nag Hamadi texts.54

These Middle Eastern parallels testified to Hugh that Joseph Smith was divinely called as a prophet:

What a theme for a kid of 23 to attempt—it makes all the honors papers I have ever read look painfully jejeune and unbeholden: I have never met or heard of anyone in college or out who could turn out a piece of work of such boldness, sweep, variety, precision, complexity, confidence, simplicity, etc. Put it beside any work in our literature for sheer number of ideas, situations, propositions & insights ... it makes me mad the way they act as if this was nothing at all and then turn out a million pages of pompous froth about a literature that has hardly given the world a dozen interesting ideas or characters in 200 years. Open the B. of M. [Book of Mormon] every ten or twenty pages and see what it is talking about—a bedizzening variety of stuff; open any other big work—James Joyce or the 1001 Nights—and you will find largely variations on a theme, a round of safely familiar matter given largely stereotyped treatment. Shakespeare has that kind of variety, but Shakespeare does not have to be telling the truth, does not have to combine his things in a single package, and can take thirty years to tell his story; also he is free to borrow at will without apologies to anyone. When you start listing the problems J. S. [Joseph Smith] had to face just to get his book down on paper you will see that writing about a biblical people does NOT automatically take care of everything—in fact it raises more questions than it
solves. You ask why I am going on like this? Because Christina [Hugh's eldest daughter] is making such a damnable racket with the vacuum cleaner around my feet, cleaning up our rumpus-room-salon-library-ante-room-dining-music-conservatory-nursery-playschool-parlor for company, that I can't think as is fiercely apparent.55

It was, however, not the literary achievement of the Book of Mormon that most impressed Hugh—it was its prophetic accuracy: "I cannot imagine a more powerful, prophetic document or one more obviously going into fulfillment at the present time. If you look at the big picture, the Book of Mormon is as up-to-date as tomorrow's newspaper."56

On Faith in the Gospel

It is the faith of Hugh Nibley—his ability to believe deeply what he knows to be true and to seek answers to his questions with confidence that answers will be forthcoming—that is the hallmark of Hugh Nibley's life and work. I am moved by the fact that a man so erudite can and does see God's hand even in small things:

Against all expectations my magnificent estate is yielding tons of fruit. While conscientious farmers with much pruning and spraying have lost all their pears this year, nothing I can do will discourage our little tree from showering down its blessing with almost obscene abundance. That is what comes of paying tithing, my boy.57

And I am prodded to take the priesthood with greater seriousness when I read:

The Sunday after I got back Christina came down with a case of total pneumonia—all indications were the worst and the doctor was preparing for everything: then it was time to exert the power of the priesthood and within a few hours the little nipper was healthier than she has ever been. The alleviation was instantaneous (she was fighting for breath) and the cure complete between midnight and early morning. I have never known this power to fail—it is not a case of asking for a favor from the Lord with a chance that something may happen or not: if the power has actually been put at our disposal there is no question of whether it will work or not. Leave us not speak of miracles, since we are interested in having the Lord's help, and not in eye-wash.58

As much as any other quality, faith characterizes Hugh Nibley's life and work.
Conclusion

The correspondence of Hugh Nibley reveals a surprisingly consistent individual: the content and style of his writing is ageless—it all reflects a combination of the wisdom and knowledge of age, as well as the joy and exuberance of youth. It also documents that there is no significant difference between the public and private man. Consistent, too, has been Nibley’s choice to ignore the rhetorical admonition to tailor one’s writings to a particular audience. He is fond of telling how, when he was working on the Melchizedek Priesthood manual, *An Approach to the Book of Mormon*, he refused to comply with Elder Richard L. Evans’s advice to “always think of yourself as addressing the tiredest farmer in Koosharem.”59 Hugh has disregarded such advice from the start. One of my favorite examples is a classic three-page letter Hugh wrote in 1935 to his younger sister on her ninth birthday. In that letter, he writes of Burke’s artistic ideal, speaks of ancient Teutonic thought, and quotes from Shakespeare’s sonnets. Obviously, all this is well over the head of the average—or even above-average—nine-year old. Hugh’s sister Barbara assured me that she did not understand this letter until she was older and was grateful that her mother had saved it for her because it then meant much more to her than a letter she would have understood at age nine. Those who read his work have benefited from Hugh’s decision to ignore the counsel to speak down to his audience. By having to reach for what Nibley gives, a reader achieves new levels of understanding.

And what of Hugh Nibley’s life? Has it been consistent with his words? I have known him for over fourteen years, and in that time I have observed a man whose actions have been surprisingly consistent with his words. Hugh is committed to preserving our environment—consistently supporting political candidates who take strong stands to preserve the land and speaking out against pollution and in favor of wilderness. I have witnessed his constant curiosity and hunger for knowledge and his genuine acceptance of individuals without advanced degrees or credentials. I have been astonished by his complete lack of materialism, but equally astonished by his generosity. And I have seen his deep commitment to the gospel—worrying as much about doing his home teaching as he does about writing his next book.
Furthermore, the life of Hugh Nibley, like his correspondence, reflects seasoned wisdom expressed with a youthful joy. To this day, Nibley has a vitality of mind and body that most of us feel lacking by middle age. Yet his is a natural vitality; he has never been one to run from age. In the letter to nine-year-old Barbara, Hugh wrote: "Youth and beauty are invariably associated because they have an identical function—they alone free the possessor from all obligation of doing or knowing anything." Clearly, Hugh Nibley has practiced what he preached—he has maintained balance between youth and age, never assuming youth to be an excuse for ignorance nor allowing age to dampen his joy for life and learning. If, as Brigham Young once said, consistency is "one of the fairest jewels in the life of a Saint," Hugh Nibley is a rich man indeed.

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NOTES

1Hugh W. Nibley, interview by author, tape recording, Provo, Utah, June 9, 1996.
3John A. Widtsoe to Howard S. McDonald, March 14, 1946, Howard S. McDonald Presidential Papers, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).
4Hugh Nibley to Paul Springer, [ca. August 5, 1946], in possession of Hugh Nibley. All of the correspondence cited in this article is in possession of Hugh Nibley or the author unless otherwise noted. The letters reproduced here retain the original spelling, punctuation, and underlining.
7Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, postmarked August 23, 1946.
8Nibley, personal journal, August 18, 1946; Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, August 19, 1946.
9Maynes. "Nibleys," 7. The cycle of folklore that has been built up around the Nibley courtship story is immense. For example, see Jane D. Brady, "The
Correspondence of Hugh Nibley

Brigham Young University Folklore of Hugh Winder Nibley: Gifted Scholar, Eccentric Professor and Latter-day Saint Spiritual Guide” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1996), 30–32.

16Charles W. Nibley to Hugh Nibley, March 25, 1924, Family Correspondence, Charles W. Nibley Collection, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives).

13Hugh Nibley to Charles W. Nibley, 1924, Family Correspondence, C. Nibley Collection, LDS Church Archives.

12Hugh Nibley to Charles W. Nibley, April 13, 1927.


17The Faith of an Observer—Conversations with Hugh W. Nibley, 63 min., Brigham Young University Productions in association with FARMS, 1985, videocassette.


17Nibley’s vision of the sacredness of the earth contrasts with that of his grandfather. In one of the few comments I have discovered where sugar beet businessman Charles W. Nibley discusses the beauty of nature, he reveals his main motive. In a letter to Hugh’s father, Alex Nibley, Charles W. Nibley follows a lyrical description of the beauties of spring in Utah with the comment, “There will be a world of money come from the ground this season. After all, the good old farm land is the best and richest gold mine in all the world.” Charles W. Nibley to Alexander Nibley, September 12, 1925, C. Nibley Papers, BYU Archives.

Hugh, even in his youth, has viewed the beauty of the earth as valuable in and of itself, while his grandfather saw it, despite its beauty, as a commodity. In the video The Faith of an Observer—Conversations with Hugh W. Nibley, Hugh stated that Charles W. Nibley could see “only the feet of timber in a forest and that’s all it [was] to him.” And because he could not fully appreciate nature, Hugh argued, Charles W. Nibley was prevented from having “a fullness of joy” on this earth. The Faith of an Observer—Conversations with Hugh W. Nibley, transcript of videocassette, 1985, FARMS, 9.


19Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, postmarked February 14, 1942.

20Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, April 13, 1943.

21Hugh to Agnes Sloan Nibley, n.d. This letter was written after the invasion of Normandy and while Hugh was still in Europe, so it dates to either late 1944 or early 1945.


23Hugh W. Nibley, The World and the Prophets, vol. 3 of The Collected Works of Hugh Nibley (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1987), 275. Nibley further expresses his view of learning: “Until the final returns are in, no one is in a position to make final pronouncements, as long as science continues to progress, the final returns will remain at the other end of the future of


2Hugh Nibley, interview by author, Provo, Utah, June 9, 1996.

2Hugh Nibley to Charles W. Nibley, [ca. 1924], Family Correspondence, C. Nibley Collection, LDS Church Archives.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, 1928, C. Nibley Papers, BYU Archives.

2Hugh Nibley, interview by author, Provo, Utah, June 16, 1996.


2Quayle Cannon, as quoted in Donald Q. Cannon to author, February 27, 1990.

2Richard Stratford to John Welch, December 11, 1984, in possession of John W. Welch.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, February 5, 1945.

2Hugh Nibley to Brent Lewis, February 24, 1988.


2Hugh Nibley to Margaret Violet Reid Sloan, May 31, 1928, in possession of Barbara Nibley Richards; underlining in original.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, [ca. 1928], C. Nibley Papers, BYU Archives.

2Nibley to Margaret Sloan, May 31, 1928.

2Hugh Nibley to Paul Springer, [ca. summer 1946].

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, November 5, 1944.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, [ca. 1945]; underlining in original.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, August 24, 1944.

2Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, August 24, 1944. I have not yet found the letter from his mother to which Hugh responds in this letter, so it is unclear what events in America prompt Hugh's remarks.
Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, September 12, 1944.

The Faith of an Observer—Conversations with Hugh W. Nibley, transcript, 2.


Hugh Nibley to Agnes Sloan Nibley, April 8, 1944.

Nibley was then teaching a special course on the Book of Mormon to visiting Moslem students.

Nibley gave a lecture, “The Early Christian Church in Light of Some Newly Discovered Papyri from Egypt” on March 3, 1964, at a BYU tri-stake fireside (Provo, Utah: BYU Extension Publications, 1964), which probably reflected the work he was doing at this time.


Hugh Nibley to Paul Springer, August 1952.

Hugh W. Nibley, “Mediocre Meditations on the Media,” in Brother Brigham Challenges the Saints, 394.

Hugh Nibley to Barbara Nibley, April 8, 1935, in possession of Barbara Nibley Richards.

HYMN 90. P. M.

1 The Spirit of God like a fire is burning;
The latter day glory begins to come forth;
The visions and blessings of old are returning;
The angels are coming to visit the earth.
We'll sing & we'll shout with the armies of heaven:
Hosanna, hosanna to God and the Lamb!
Let glory to them in the highest be given,
Henceforth and forever: amen and amen.

2 The Lord is extending the saints' understanding—
Restoring their judges and all as at first;
The knowledge and power of God are expanding;
The vail o'er the earth is beginning to burst.
We'll sing and we'll shout &c.

3 We call in our solemn assemblies, in spirit,
To spread forth the kingdom of heaven abroad,
That we through our faith may begin to inherit
The visions, and blessings, and glories of God.
We'll sing and we'll shout &c.

4 We'll wash, and be washed, and with oil be anointed
Withal not omitting the washing of feet:
For he that receiveth his Messian appointed,
Must surely be clean at the harvest of wheat.
We'll sing and we'll shout &c.

5 Old Israel that fled from the world for his freedom,
Must come with the cloud and the pillar, amen:
A'Moses, and Aaron, and Joshua lead him,
And feed him on manna from heaven again.
We'll sing and we'll shout &c.

6 How blessed the day when the lamb and the lion
Shall lie down together without any fear;
And Ephraim be crowned with his blessing in Zion,
As Jesus descends with his chariots of fire!
We'll sing & we'll shout with His armies of heaven:
Hosanna, hosanna to God and the Lamb!
Let glory to them in the highest be given,
Henceforth and forever: amen and amen.

FINIS.

Above: Title page of the Church's first hymnal, compiled and edited by Emma Smith and W. W. Phelps.

Below: The last hymn included in the 1835 hymnal was W. W. Phelps's "The Spirit of God." It may have been added just prior to publication of the hymnal in order to be available for the dedication of the Kirtland Temple. Actual size, facsimile edition, [Independence, Mo.]: Herald Heritage Reprint, 1973. Courtesy BYU Archives.
Doctrines of Faith and Hope Found in Emma Smith’s 1835 Hymnbook

The first LDS hymnal contained a sensitive selection of traditional music along with an outpouring of original hymns celebrating the distinctive beliefs and practices of the early Saints.

Mary D. Poulter

The hymn texts included in A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints, compiled by Emma Smith and William Wines Phelps, provide a window through which we can view the hopes, beliefs, and convictions of the early Latter-day Saints. Doctrines that were important to the new church were expressed and taught in hymn texts: agency, evangelism, baptism by immersion, and the Second Coming and the Millennium. Phelps and others also versified doctrine regarding the Creation, the Restoration, and the City of Enoch and the establishment of Zion.

The Significance of a Hymnbook

In the early 1800s, hymnals were small books, usually around 2 1/2" x 4 1/2" and contained only hymn texts—sometimes with a metrical designation, making it possible to sing the lyrics to a number of familiar tunes. Hymnals were kept in shirt and apron pockets and used daily. Their lyrics reminded believers of God's promised blessings for enduring the hardships and persecution that were the reality of their everyday lives. Latter-day Saints, as well as other early American Christians, used hymnbooks not only for worship, but also for educational and social purposes. Along with the Bible, the hymnals were used to teach children to read and to recite poetry. A favorite evening pastime was to gather with family and friends to sing the hymns of Zion.

For believers, hymns have always been a source of spiritual nourishment, sustaining religious hopes as well as teaching and
reinforcing doctrine. It was common in early-nineteenth-century church meetings for a leader to read aloud the song lyrics—which frequently had been first written as poetry—prior to the congregational singing of a hymn, a practice that stressed the importance of the textual content, as well as aiding those without hymnbooks. Often, long sermons are forgotten and only small portions of great discourses are remembered, but texts expressed in the rhythms of poetry and music are easily memorized and can become an integral part of a belief system.

The First LDS Hymnal

Divine Call for a Collection of Hymns. In 1830, Emma Smith, wife of Joseph Smith, was commissioned by the Lord to select the hymns that would be appropriate for the worship of the Saints of God:

And it shall be given thee, also, to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my church. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads. (D&C 25:11-12)

In May 1832, "it was also ordered that W. W. Phelps correct and print the hymns which had been selected by Emma Smith." The printing of this selection of hymns was forestalled when Phelps's press was destroyed by a mob in 1833. In September of 1835, the high council in Kirtland appointed Emma Smith to again make a selection of hymns and assigned Phelps to edit and prepare the songs for printing. The title page gives 1835 as the publishing date for this hymnbook. However, some of the hymns that were published in the Messenger and Advocate in January and March of 1836 were in the same typeface in the hymnal, which suggests that the hymnal was still being printed and was probably not completed until the end of March when the Kirtland Temple was dedicated.

Selection of the Hymns. Converts to the new church brought with them backgrounds from other religions that included familiar, beloved hymns. Emma Smith and W. W. Phelps gleaned texts from this vast body of hymn experience that would represent the doctrines taught by Joseph Smith. The preface of the hymnal states that, in order to sing "with the understanding" (1 Cor. 14:15),
the Saints should have a collection of sacred hymns "adapted to their faith and belief in the gospel." Ninety hymns were selected for this first hymnal with the hope that the collection, "selected with an eye single to his glory, may answer every purpose till more are composed, or till we are blessed with a copious variety of the songs of Zion."12

At least twenty-nine of the ninety hymn texts appear to be authored by members of the Church. The remaining hymns were borrowed from other Christian sources. Some of these borrowed hymns were appropriate without alteration; others were adapted—a common practice in many denominations at the time. Church-music scholar Michael Hicks gives a number of motivations for adapting the borrowed hymn texts;13 three of these are particularly applicable to the 1835 hymnal: First, as the Latter-day Saint understanding of doctrine progressed, alterations were required to keep the borrowed hymn texts consistent with the doctrine. In the hymn "He died, the great redeemer died," Phelps changed the line "The rising God forsakes the tomb"14 to "The rising Lord forsook the tomb," apparently making a distinction between God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Thus, he underscored the Latter-day Saint doctrine of the separate nature of the members of the Godhead.

Second, for the Latter-day Saints, worship was a communal activity. Thus, the borrowed hymn texts of private devotion were altered to fit a communal perspective. An example of a simple adaptation to meet this perspective is "Guide us, O thou great Jehovah," which is an adaptation of the first line of William Williams's hymn "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah."15 By simply changing the word "me" to "us," worship becomes communal rather than individual.

Third, the Saints were focused on establishing Zion in preparation for the Second Coming, thus some adaptations alluded to this anticipated event. An example is Phelps's adaptation of "There is a land the Lord will bless":

Watts
Sweet fields, beyond the swelling flood,
Stand dress'd in living green;
So to the Jews old Canaan stood,
While Jordan roll'd between.16

Phelps
Their fields along Missouri's flood,
Are in perspective seen,
As unto Israel Canaan stood,
While Jordan flow'd between.
By changing the “Sweet fields, beyond the swelling flood” to “Their fields along Missouri’s flood,” Phelps defines Missouri as Zion in the context of the hymn. Another example of an adaptation in order to allude to the Second Coming is Phelps’s treatment of “Joy to the world,” which will be discussed later.

During 1832, Phelps wrote twenty-five new hymn texts and published them in The Evening and the Morning Star:17 Through the medium of hymns, he had a profound influence on the dissemination of doctrine to early Church members—his popular hymns spread the gospel, elucidated new doctrines, and instilled the hope of the Second Coming into the hearts of the Saints. Phelps’s hymns became an important part of the body of Latter-day Saint hymnody that developed over the next several decades. Fifteen hymn texts either written or adapted by Phelps are included in the current Latter-day Saint hymnal.

Subject Content of the Hymn Texts

Subject Headings. In the early part of the nineteenth century, it was common to organize hymnbooks by subject headings. These headings might include topics such as doctrine, evening hymns, and morning hymns. However, not all hymnals were organized by subject.18 For the most part, the 1835 hymnbook is not organized in any obvious manner. However, in the middle of the hymnbook (numbers 37 to 62 of the ninety hymns), the hymns are categorized under the headings of “Morning Hymns,” “Evening Hymns,” “Farewell Hymns,” “On Baptism,” “On Sacrament,” and “On Marriage.” The rest of the hymnal seems to have no subject grouping except for numbers 87, 88, and 89 at the end of the book, which are funeral hymns. Hymns that could have been included in one of the named categories are scattered elsewhere throughout the book. This inconsistency in organization is intriguing and may suggest that the center section was organized by one person and the rest of the hymnal by another. W. W. Phelps and Emma Smith both worked on the 1835 hymnal, but Phelps was not involved in the publication of Emma Smith’s 1841 hymnal, which is organized completely by subject headings.19 Apparently Emma Smith favored organizing the hymns by subject, and perhaps the subject headings in the 1835 hymnal were her contribution.
**Index of the Hymnal by Subject.** In the table at the end of this article, I have categorized the ninety hymns included in the 1835 hymnal, using five of the original subject headings, as well as adding a number of new categories. I have changed the original subject heading “Farewell” to “Missionary” and added three additional hymns to the four originally included under this heading. To the category “On Sacrament,” I have added two additional hymns. Several of the categories are self-explanatory, for example, “Christmas,” “Funeral,” and “Sabbath.” Most of the hymns fall comfortably into the definition of each category name.

**Doctrines Taught by the Hymns**

**Affirmation.** The majority of the hymns indexed in the table under “Affirmation” are borrowed and unadapted, and the texts have a traditional Christian perspective. They manifest faith in the Lord to protect, to bless, and to guide. Along with gratitude for the earth and all the blessings therein, these hymns express the all-encompassing significance of Christ in the life of a Christian. This perspective is exemplified by the hymn “Jesus the name that charms our fears”:\textsuperscript{20}

Jesus the name that charms our fears,
That bids our sorrows cease,
’Tis music in the christian’s ear;
’Tis life, and health, and peace.

(verse 1)

**Agency and Consequence.** The Second Great Awakening, also referred to as the American Christian Revolution, created a “religious environment that brought into question traditional authority and exalted the right of the people to think for themselves.”\textsuperscript{21} It was in this atmosphere that the early Church developed. The text of the first hymn in the hymnal, “Know then that ev’ry soul is free,” not only reflects this libertarian attitude of the Christian Revolution, but more profoundly, teaches the Latter-day Saint doctrine of the agency of man (see D&C 29:35, 39; 37:4; 58:27-28; and 98:8):

Know then that ev’ry soul is free,
To choose his life and what he’ll be;
For this eternal truth is given,
That God will force no man to heaven.

(verse 1)
The hymn's preeminent placement in both hymnals compiled under the direction of Emma Smith and sanctioned by the Church reflects the importance of this doctrine to the early Saints.

The text of “Know then” was borrowed from the Freewill Baptists and is used without adaptation. First published by Elias Smith and Abner Jones in 1805, this hymn was included in most of the Latter-day Saint hymnals published between 1835 and 1844. It does not appear in other denominational hymnals after 1830, but remains in the current Latter-day Saint hymnal. The word “then” in the first line was changed to “this” by George Q. Cannon in 1871 in his Collection of Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, published in Salt Lake City.

“Know then” is the only hymn that specifically addresses the doctrine of agency. However, “Though in the outward church below” forewarns of the consequences of choices made contrary to the will of the Lord. The Lord allows the freedom of the “wheat” and “tares” to grow together. Without interfering with man’s agency, the Lord will separate the wheat from the tares in the final harvest. These two hymns go hand in hand to explain the doctrines of agency and the ramifications of the consequences. While “Know then” emphasizes that it is our free will that determines our consequence, “Though in the outward” emphasizes the nature of the consequence. It is the only hymn in the 1835 hymnal that has a theme of reward and punishment:

“Know then”:
It’s my free will for to believe:
“Tis God’s free will me to receive:
To stubborn willers this I’ll tell,
It’s all free grace, and all free will.

(verse 5)

“Though in the outward”:
No! This will aggravate their case,
They perish’d under means of grace;
To them the word of life and faith
Became an instrument of death.

(verse 3)

But though they grow so tall and strong,
His plan will not require them long;
In harvest, when he saves his own,
The tares shall into hell be thrown.

(verse 6)

**Baptism.** All four hymns under this heading are borrowed and unabridged. As one might expect, two are from Baptist hymnals. Like the Baptists, the early Latter-day Saints believed in baptism
only of those accountable for their sins (no infant baptism) and in baptism by immersion. “Jesus, mighty King in Zion” and “In Jordan’s tide the prophet stands” both refer to baptism by immersion, as does “Salem’s bright King, Jesus by name,” which is an anonymous hymn published by the General Convention of Christian Churches in 1810.25 “Come ye children of the kingdom,” the only hymn in the hymnal that comes from the Shaker tradition, iterates the Lord’s promise to those who are baptized:

So I will obey the Savior,  
Keep his law and do his will,  
That I may enjoy forever,  
Happiness on Zion’s hill.  
(verse 4)

**Christmas.** Only three Christmas hymns are included in the 1835 hymnal. Christmas was celebrated simply by the early Saints, many of whom had come from a background of strict Puritan beliefs that did not include celebrations at Christmas.26 In fact, Phelps made a simple modification in Isaac Watts’s27 traditional Christmas hymn “Joy to the world!” that changed the spirit of the hymn from a celebration of the infant of Bethlehem to a hymn of joy in preparation for the Second Coming:

Watts Phelps
Joy to the World; the Lord is come; Joy to the world! the Lord will come!  
Let Earth receive her King;  
Let every Heart prepare him room,  
And Heaven and Nature sing.  
(verse 1)  
And earth receive her King;  
Let ev’ry heart prepare him room,  
And saints and angels sing.  
(verse 1)

Phelps also has “saints and angels” singing, which gives a personal response to this glorious event rather than the abstraction of “heaven and nature.” Coupling “saints” and “angels” also ranks the believers with the angels rather than the natural world.

**Morning and Evening Hymns.** The first two subject headings in the 1835 hymnal are “Morning Hymns” and “Evening Hymns,” the majority of which are borrowed and unadapted. The hymnbook contains six morning and six evening hymns, one of each for every day of the week except the Sabbath. The hymns were sung in homes with or as morning and evening prayers.29 The textual contents express gratitude for blessings received, beseech
forgiveness, and ask for guidance. These hymns also reflect the early Saints' fervent and deepened belief in Jesus Christ brought from their previous religious experience. Recently converted members surely sang these hymns with fresh commitment and insight as their understanding of gospel principles unfolded. For the Saints worshipping in the newly dedicated Kirtland Temple in 1836, the words of "Lord in the morning thou shalt hear" might have taken on new meaning:

O may thy Spirit guide my feet,
In ways of righteousness!
Make ev'ry path of duty straight,
And plain before my face.

O do thou give my daily bread,—
And be my sins forgiven;
And let me in thy temple tread,
And learn from thee of heav'n.

(verses 4 and 5)

Funeral. The four final hymns in the 1835 hymnal were funeral hymns. Three were unadapted, traditional Christian hymns, and one was written by a member of the Church. The three traditional funeral hymns speak of the fear and sorrow surrounding death, at the same time expressing the joy of the promise of rising with the Lord. "The sun that declines in the far western sky," written either by Thomas Marsh or Parley P. Pratt, is a metaphor of the seasons of the earth and the mortality of man. It not only speaks of rising with the Lord, but also of descending again to the earth during the Millennium to "reign in perfection when satan is bound," adding the LDS belief that the Saints will be part of the Savior's millennial reign.

Marriage. The only hymn under this original heading was "When earth was dress'd in beauty." This delightful Phelps hymn gives insight not only into the marriage relationship of man and woman, but also into their relationship to God within the marriage covenant. In this forgotten text, Phelps also cautions about human temptation and reinforces the importance of commitment to the intimate marriage relationship:

The Lord took Eve to Adam,
And taught them how to love.
And bless'd them as an altar,
For chaste and pure desire,
That no unhallowed being
Might offer there "strange fire."
(verses 1 and 3)

The Second Coming and Millennium. The hymn texts in the 1835 hymnal express the expectation of the Millennium with a calm hope and quiet optimism, in contrast to Millerite enthusiasm and Calvinist determinism.\(^{30}\) These hymns reflect joy and rejoicing as well as the personal hope of meeting the Savior face to face.\(^{31}\) This expectation and optimism is expressed in the many hymn texts that refer to the millennial day.

Parley P. Pratt wrote "Ere long the vail will' rend in twain." This hymn foretells the magnificence of the Second Coming and of the joy and unity of all creation:

Ere long the vail will' rend in twain,
The King descend with all his train;
The earth shall shake with awful fright,
And all creation feel his might.

Our hearts and tongues all join'd in one,
A loud hosanna to proclaim,
While all the heav'ns shall shout again,
And all creation say, Amen.
(verses 1 and 9)

Philo Dibble, who was baptized by Parley Pratt in Kirtland in 1830,\(^{32}\) contributed to this group of millennial hymns. "The happy day has rolled on," expresses joy and hope in the prospects of the Second Coming:

The happy day has rolled on,
The glorious period now has come:
The angel sure has come again
To introduce Messiah's reign.
(verse 1)

Twelve of the hymns on the Millennium and the Second Coming are either authored or adapted by W. W. Phelps and were sung frequently by the Saints. On December 16, 1835, Phelps wrote to his wife that he attended a "blessing feast" where several guests were blessed by the father of the Prophet Joseph. Phelps reminisced:

The greatest solemnity and harmony prevailed. The victuals were good and the affair was orderly and enjoyable, though many of those
present were young. We sang “There’s a feast of fat things,” “Adam-Ondi-Ahman,” “O behold the Lord is nigh,” etc.\textsuperscript{35}

“Adam-Ondi-Ahman,” in fact, is recorded as being used in more meetings and appears in more journal references than any other hymn.\textsuperscript{34} The hymn is indexed by the first line, “This earth was once a garden place.” The poetry describes the glories of the Garden of Eden (Adam-Ondi-Ahman, where Adam blessed his posterity and will come again to visit his people as prophesied in Daniel 7) and compares the millennial earth to the Garden of Eden:

This earth was once a garden place,
With all her glories common;
And men did live a holy race,
And worship Jesus face to face,
In Adam-ondi-Ahman.

Hosanna to such days to come—
The Savior’s second comin’—
When all the earth in glorious bloom,
Affords the saints a holy home
Like Adam-ondi-Ahman.
(verses 1 and 4)

**Missionary.** These hymns describe various attitudes regarding leaving home, preaching the gospel, and serving the Lord. Four made up the original group under the subject heading “Farewell Hymns.” Three of the seven are borrowed and unadapted. “From Greenland's Icy Mountains,” authored by Reginald Heber, was first published in America in Lowell Mason’s collection of hymns for the Boston Handel and Haydn Society.\textsuperscript{35} Each of the three borrowed hymns expresses a different viewpoint about missionary work. “From Greenland’s” expounds the responsibility of spreading the gospel throughout the world:

Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we to men benighted
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation! O Salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till earth’s remotest nation
Has learn’d Messiah’s name.
(verse 3)
S. Mattison's "Adieu, my dear brethren adieu" counsels missionaries on benevolent, compassionate, and loving behavior and expresses the sorrow of parting:

Your acts of benevolence past,
Your gentle compassionate love,
Henceforth in our mem'ry shall last,
Though far from your sight we remove.
(verse 2)

The Baptist hymn, "Yes, my native land, I love thee," describes the sadness of leaving home and family and questions the missionary's ability to endure this sacrifice:

Yes, my native land, I love thee,
All thy scenes I love them well,
Friends, connexions, happy country!
Can I bid you all farewell?
Can leave thee—
Far in distant lands to dwell?
(verse 1)

On the other hand, while similar to Heber's verse in pounding the duty or fervor of spreading the Gospel, the hymns penned by Phelps and Pratt are alive with evangelical enthusiasm, dedication, and excitement. "The gallant ship is under way" exults:

I go to break the fowler's snare,
To gather Israel home:
I go the name of Christ to bear
In lands and isles unknown.
(half of verse 3)

In "How often in sweet medituation [sic], my mind," Pratt reflects on the honor he feels in being a servant of God as well as the joy that will be his at the Second Coming. The poetry also defines his willingness and faith to go to the ends of the earth to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ:

How often in sweet medituation, my mind,
(Where solitude reigned and aside from mankind),
Has dwelt on the hour, when the Saviour did deign,
To call me his servant to publish his name.
O gladly we'll go to the isles and proclaim;  
And nations unknown then shall hear of his fame;  
Yea, kingdoms, and countries, both Gentiles and Jews  
Shall see us, and hear us proclaim the glad news.  
(verses 1 and 4)

**Praise.** Four of the five “Praise” hymns were written by Latter-day Saints. Although the author of “The great and glorious gospel light” is anonymous, because the hymn was first published in this hymnal one may assume that it was also authored by a member of the Church.

**Restoration Hymns.** Phelps’s most famous hymn text, “The Spirit of God like a fire is burning,” gives insight not only into the restoration of the Church with “visions and blessings returning,” but also to the restoration of temple ordinances:

> The Lord is extending the saints’ understanding—  
> Restoring their judges and all as at first;  
> The knowledge and power of God are expanding  
> The vail o’er the earth is beginning to burst.
> 
> We’ll wash, and be wash’d, and with oil be anointed  
> Withal not omitting the washing of feet:  
> For he that receiveth his penny appointed,  
> Must surely be clean at the harvest of wheat.  
> (verses 2 and 4)

In the 1835 hymnbook, the typeface of “The Spirit of God” is different from the typeface of the rest of the hymnal, and it is the last hymn in the collection, which suggests that it may have been added after the rest of the hymnal had been completed, lending support to the theory that it was written specifically for and about the temple. The hymn was printed in the January 1836 issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* in the same typeface in which it appeared in the hymnbook. The hymnbook was used at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple in March 1836, which also suggests that the hymnbook was printed sometime between the printing of the January issue of the *Messenger and Advocate* and the dedication of the temple.

The exact nature of ordinances that would be and were performed in the Kirtland Temple is obscure. The complete endowment had not yet been revealed, but washings and anointings had taken place on January 21, 1836. Thus, Phelps refers to solemn
assemblies, and washing and anointing. For him to typeset the word “PENNY” entirely in uppercase suggests a symbolic meaning—perhaps gift or endowment.

Although in 1836, the Saints did not have a complete endowment, they did have an understanding of the principles of an endowment and of eternal marriage. Phelps, in the marriage hymn “When earth was dress’d in beauty,” speaks of the place and time “Where union is eternal.”

Another Restoration poet, Eliza R. Snow, was converted to the Church in 1835. Her poetry as well as her leadership abilities made her one of the noble women of Latter-day Saint history. Readers of her poetry are vibrantly attracted to her enthusiasm. In “Great is the Lord: ’tis good to praise,” Snow is quite eloquent in her description of the exciting times she was experiencing. Although this hymn is indexed under the subject of “Praise,” it refers several times to elements of the Restoration:

Great is the Lord: ’tis good to praise
His high and holy name:
Well may the saints in latter days
His wondrous love proclaim.

The op’ning seals announce the day,
By prophets long declar’d;
When all, in one triumphant lay,
Will join to praise the Lord.
(verses 1 and 8)

In verse six, Snow confidently expresses her gratitude for a living prophet and her defiance of those who would mock her belief:

We’ll praise him for a prophet’s voice,
His people’s steps to guide:
In this, we do and will rejoice,
Tho’ all the world deride.

Sabbath and Sacrament. Interestingly, only one hymn directly addresses the Sabbath. Also written by W. W. Phelps, “Gently raise the sacred strain” is still one of the favorite hymns sung by LDS congregations. Phelps also wrote “O God th’ eternal Father,” one of the five hymns under the heading “On Sacrament.” The other four are borrowed and unadapted. These borrowed sacramental hymns convey a traditional Christian belief in the atonement of the
Savior. The doctrinal content of these sacramental hymns acclaims the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ and the opportunity of mankind to partake of the Atonement through belief and repentance.

**Story.** The three hymns under the subject heading “Story” are also written or adapted by Phelps. The shortest of these story hymns, Phelps’s adaptation of John Newton’s “When Joseph his brethren beheld” tells the story of Joseph sold into Egypt. Both “God spake the word, and time began” and “In ancient days men fear’d the Lord” are lengthy, eight and nine verses respectively, relating the prophets of old to the Saints of today. The sixth verse of “God spake the word, and time began” reads:

From Adam to the present day,  
Many have sought a righteous way;  
And some have found the narrow road,  
And Enoch-like, have walk’d with God.

**Zion.** References to Enoch are frequent in the “Zion” hymns, which not only teach the doctrine of the gathering of Zion, but also characterize the nature of the inhabitants of a Zion society. Phelps’s adaptations of John Newton’s “Glorious things of thee are spoken” reflect doctrine specific to the Church. In verse two, Newton founds the City of Zion on the “rock of ages,” whereas Phelps firmly founds it on the “Rock of Enoch.” Although Enoch is only mentioned once in the Old Testament (Genesis 5:18–24), his history and the story of his Zion society are told in great detail in Moses 7 in the Pearl of Great Price. Also, the LDS doctrine that the righteous will reign as gods is evident in Phelps’s adaptation of verse eight:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newton</th>
<th>Phelps</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On the rock of ages founded</td>
<td>On the Rock of Enoch founded;</td>
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<tr>
<td>What can shake thy sure repose?</td>
<td>What can shake thy sure repose?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With salvation’s walls surrounded</td>
<td>With salvation’s walls surrounded,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou may’st smile at all thy foes.</td>
<td>Thou may’st smile on all thy foes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Tis his love his people raises</td>
<td>While in love his people raises,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over self to reign as kings</td>
<td>With himself to reign as kings;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And as priests, his solemn praises</td>
<td>All, as priests, his solemn praises,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Each for a thank-off’ring brings.</td>
<td>Each for a thank-offering brings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(verses 2 and 8)</td>
<td>(verses 2 and 8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Isaac Watts’s text to “How pleasant ’tis to see” depicts the attitude of a Zion-like people as described in Moses 7:18, “And the Lord
called his people Zion because they were of one heart and one mind, and dwelt in righteousness; and there was no poor among them."

How pleasant 'tis to see
Kindred and friends agree;
Each in his proper station move,
And each fulfil his part,
With sympathizing heart,
In all the cares of life and love!
(verse 1)

It is worth noting that with few exceptions, the hymns grouped as "Millennial," "Restoration," "Second Coming," and "Zion" are written by Latter-day Saint hymnists. These LDS writers rose to the occasion and created hymns proclaiming the primary message of the Restoration: That the gospel is restored and that Christ will return to rule and reign for a thousand years over the Saints in Zion. Speaking of these hymns that were born of the spirit that existed among the Saints in the early days of the Church, as well as those hymns still being written by present-day Saints, Michael Hicks has stated, "If the Mormons had to learn by heart the hymns of the new church . . . they should be the 'songs of Zion,' emerging from within the Church of Christ itself."40

Summary

The hymns chosen for Emma Smith's 1835 Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints present a picture of the faith, commitment, and hopes of the early Saints, as well as the doctrinal themes that were important them. The hymns present a picture of members of the new church who had a personal and abiding belief in Jesus Christ and a consuming anticipation of his Second Coming. With a prophet to lead them, they eagerly awaited new revelation and joyfully engaged in spreading the gospel throughout the world in order that the faithful could gather as one in Zion. This expectancy and joy is exemplified in the eighth verse of Phelps's sacramental hymn, "O God, th' Eternal Father."

He comes, he comes in glory,
(The vail has vanish'd too,) With angels, yea our fathers, To drink this cup anew—
And sing the songs of Zion
And shout—'Tis done, 'tis done!
While every son and daughter
Rejoices—we are one.
(verse 8)

Mary D. Poulter is a preconcert lecturer and author of program notes for performing organizations. She would like to thank Karen Lynn Davidson, Michael Hicks, James B. Welch, and Carol Cornwall Madsen for their suggestions and help in developing this paper.

NOTES

1Emma Smith, comp., A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints (Kirtland: F. G. Williams, 1835). Throughout this article, all quotations of hymn texts are taken from this hymnbook unless otherwise noted. Hymns numbers may be found under the listing of the hymns by first line in the table on pages 52-56. A compact disc, Emma's Sacred Hymns, which includes an authentic reproduction of the 1835 hymnbook, has been recorded by Scot Proctor, Maurine Proctor, and Clive Romney on Embryo Records, available through Deseret Book.


4The Boston Bee, cited in Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, February 9, 1843, 5, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

5Eliza R. Snow's 1845 poem "My Father in Heaven," set to a familiar tune in the hymn "O My Father," is the quintessential expression of Latter-day Saint hope and belief in a life hereafter, as well as one of few references to the doctrine of a mother in heaven. "O My Father" is memorized and loved by Saints throughout the world. In the Churchwide Personal Progress program for fourteen- and fifteen-year-old girls, one of the suggestions for fulfilling the requirements for the value "Faith" is to memorize the words to "O My Father" and to write three ideas the hymn teaches about our relationship with our Heavenly Father. Corporation of the President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Personal Progress (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1989), 47.

Emma Smith’s 1835 Hymnbook


8History of the Church, 2:273.

9Newell and Avery, Mormon Enigma, 57, 317 n. 15.

10By 1844 at least eight other Latter-day Saint hymnals had been published, containing over 530 individual hymns. Six of these hymnals contained fewer than 100 hymns and included many of the hymns used in Emma Smith’s 1835 hymnal. Mary Dennis Poulter, “The First Ten Years of Latter-day Saint Hymnody: A Study of Emma Smith’s 1835 and Little and Garner’s 1844 Hymnals” (master’s thesis, University of Massachusetts at Lowell, 1995), 67. In 1841, Emma Smith compiled and published a second hymnal that contained 304 hymns. In 1840, Brigham Young published a hymnal in England that contained 272 hymns. Only Emma Smith’s 1835 and 1841 hymnals were officially sanctioned by the Church. In October 1839, the high council of Nauvoo voted that Emma Smith should select and publish a hymnbook for the Church. At the same time, they forbade Brigham Young to publish the hymnal for the British Isles. However, because of financial troubles, the Church in Nauvoo could not afford to publish and ship the necessary number of hymnals needed for the British Saints, and Young published his selection of hymns in 1840 in Manchester, England. Although in a letter written to the Apostles in December 1840, Joseph Smith gave his approval of the content of the Manchester hymnal, it never received official Church sanction. Hicks, Mormonism and Music, 25–27.

11Smith, Collection of Sacred Hymns, iii.

12Smith, Collection of Sacred Hymns, iv.

13Michael Hicks, “Poetic Borrowing in Early Mormonism,” Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought 18 (spring 1985): 142. In addition to the three motivations for adapting hymns cited in the text, Hicks also states that because of their belief that all things are spiritual, the Saints adapted sacred lyrics to secular tunes and lyrics more readily than did the Protestants and that, because of their devotion to Joseph Smith, they changed lyrics to make the Prophet the focus of the hymn.


18Of the old hymnals in my personal library, about half have subject headings and half do not.


20I have capitalized only the first word and proper names in the “titles” of the hymns because the hymns were indexed by first line, rather than by a formal title.

Elias Smith and Abner Jones, *Hymns, Original and Selected, for the Use of Christians* (Boston: Manning and Laring, 1805), 231. The authorship of the text of this hymn is listed as anonymous in the current LDS hymnal, but the hymn has been attributed to William Smythe Babcock by other denominations. Babcock did not claim authorship, but a handwritten copy of the text is found in his papers from the late 1700s. On the reverse side of the scrap of paper on which the text is written are the words, “Sally Swey 9 years last 28 Nov. Kings [wit?] 3 or 4 years.” William Smyth Babcock, Papers, 1757 and 1788-1839, Manuscripts Department, American Antiquarian Society Library, Worcester, Mass.


Sacred Hymns and Spiritual Songs for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 14th ed. (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon, 1871), 263.


Sixteen of Isaac Watts’s hymns are included in the 1835 hymnal. Watts was the first to metricize the Psalms in English, and he also wrote over three hundred additional hymn texts. Although he was considered a religious independent, by the 1830s his hymns dominated in the American Baptist and Presbyterian Church hymnals. Watts struggled most of his life pondering the true nature of the Godhead. In “The Glory of Christ as God-Man Displayed,” he expressed the unconventional view that Christ and Michael the Archangel are the same being and that Jesus Christ was that angel who generally appeared to the patriarchs of the Old Testament. Isaac Watts, *The Works of the Reverend and Learned Isaac Watts, D. D. Containing, Besides His Sermons, and Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects, Several Additional Pieces*, 6 vols. (London: John Barfield, 1753), 6:624. These philosophies are particularly serendipitous in that two of the unique doctrines of the Latter-day Saints are that God and Jesus Christ are separate beings and that Jesus is the Jehovah of the Old Testament. Only three of the Watts texts were altered in the 1835 hymnal. Thirty hymns in Emma Smith’s hymnal stemmed from the Baptist tradition (sixteen of Watts’s texts and thirteen other texts borrowed from Baptist hymnals). Because both Joseph and Emma had had personal experience with the Methodist tradition (see Newell and Avery, *Mormon Enigma*, 2-3, 25), one might expect that more Methodist hymns would have been included in the hymnal.


While the Prophet was growing up, Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith led their children in a nightly hymn, one of which was “The day is past and gone,” which is included in the 1835 hymnal. Hicks, *Mormonism and Music*, 4.

The Millerites were followers of the American William Miller, who from 1833 until his death in 1849 publicly predicted the imminent beginning of the Millennium. The Calvinists were followers of the French Protestant theologian John Calvin (1509-64), whose severe doctrine taught a rigid predestination.

32 Davis Bitton, Guide to Mormon Diaries and Autobiographies (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977), 89. Dibble was miraculously healed of a bullet wound in Missouri in 1833. History of the Church, 1:431 n.

33 Bruce A. Van Orden, “Writing to Zion: The William W. Phelps Kirtland Letters (1835–1836),” BYU Studies 33, no. 3 (1993): 569. “O behold the Lord is nigh” is the refrain from the hymn “There’s a power in the sun,” and presumably refers to that hymn, possibly also written by Phelps.


35 Lowell Mason, The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1829), 235.

36 VanDyke, letter to author.

37a Hosanna to God and the Lamb,” Messenger and Advocate, January 1836, 256.

38 On January 21, 1836, prior to the dedication, the first ceremonies of endowment—washing and anointing—were given in the temple. The Prophet also saw wonderful visions of the celestial kingdom. See History of the Church, 2:378–83. See also Elwin C. Robison, The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 84, 94–95, 156–58, 161, 163. At the time of the dedication, all of the Elders who had been out preaching returned to Kirtland to receive an endowment. The temple had no baptismal font and no provision for the endowment ordinances which were later revealed. According to Joseph Fielding Smith, “[The Kirtland Temple] was built primarily for the restoration of keys of authority. . . . The keys of salvation and exaltation for both the living and the dead were given within its sacred walls. An endowment, such as was necessary at the time, was also given. This was not as complete as the endowment later revealed.” Joseph Fielding Smith, “Purpose of the Kirtland Temple,” in Doctrines of Salvation, compiled by Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1955), 2:242; italics in original.


40 Hicks, Mormonism and Music, 12.
# A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints

Selected by Emma Smith, 1835, Arranged by Subject

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Subject / First Line</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Earth with her ten thousand flowers</td>
<td>Thomas Taylor</td>
<td>Congregational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord</td>
<td>Robert Keen</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>How pleased and blest was I†</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>I know that my Redeemer lives</td>
<td>Samuel Medley</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Jesus the name that charms our fears</td>
<td>Charles Wesley</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Let ev'ry mortal ear attend</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>Let thy kingdom, blessed Savior</td>
<td>J. A. Granada</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>O God! our help in ages past</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>O happy souls who pray†</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>O Jesus! the giver</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>General Convention of Christian Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>The Lord into his garden comes</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>There's a power in the sun</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Through all the world below</td>
<td>Hibard [?]</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song</td>
<td>John Stocker</td>
<td>Non-denominational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agency/Consequence</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Know then that ev'ry soul is free</td>
<td>Sally Swy</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Though in the outward church below</td>
<td>John Newton</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Baptism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Come ye children of the kingdom b</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Shaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>In Jordan's tide the prophet stands b</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Jesus, mighty King in Zion b</td>
<td>John Fellows</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Salem's bright King, Jesus by name b</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>General Convention of Christian Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Subject / First Line</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Origin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Christmas</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>From the regions of glory an angel descended</td>
<td>John F. Clarke&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Unitarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Joy to the world! the Lord will come!</td>
<td>Isaac Watts&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Mortals, awake! with angels join</td>
<td>Samuel Medley</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Evening</strong>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Come let us sing an evening hymn&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Glory to thee, my God, this night&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Thomas Ken</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Great God! to thee my evening song&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Anne Steele</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Lord thou wilt hear me when I pray&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>The day is past and gone&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>John Leland</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>When restless on my bed I lie&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Baptist W. Noel</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Funeral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Hark! from the tombs a doleful sound</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>The sun that declines in the far western sky</td>
<td>Thomas Marsh or Parley P. Pratt</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Why do we mourn for dying friends</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Why should we start and fear to die!</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Marriage</strong>&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>When earth was dress’d in beauty&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps&lt;sup&gt;d&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Millennial</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Guide us, O thou great Jehovah</td>
<td>William Williams&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Methodist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Let all the saints their hearts prepare</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps or Parley P. Pratt</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Let us pray, gladly pray</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Now let us rejoice in the day of salvation&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>The glorious day is rolling on</td>
<td>Phelps or Eliza R. Snow</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>This earth was once a garden place&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Adieu, my dear brethren adieu</td>
<td>S. Mattison</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Farewell, our friends and brethren!</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>From Greenland’s icy mountains</td>
<td>Reginald Heber</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>How often in sweet meditation[sic], my mind</td>
<td>Parley P. Pratt</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>The gallant ship is under way</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>There’s a feast of fat things for the righteous preparing</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Yes, my native land, I love thee</td>
<td>Samuel F. Smith</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Awake! for the morning is come</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Awake, my soul, and with the sun</td>
<td>Thomas Ken</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Lord in the morning thou shalt hear</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>My God, how endless is thy love</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Once more, my soul, the rising day</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>See how the morning sun</td>
<td>Elizabeth Scott</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Come all ye saints, who dwell on earth</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>Great is the Lord: ‘tis good to praise</td>
<td>Eliza R. Snow</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Praise to God, immortal praise</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>See all creation join</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>The great and glorious gospel light</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>An angel came down from the mansions of glory</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>Before this earth from chaos sprung</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Now we’ll sing with one accord</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>The Spirit of God like a fire is burning</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Gently raise the sacred strain</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>'Twas on that dark, that solemn night</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Alas! and did my Savior bleed!</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>And did my Savior die</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Arise, my soul, arise</td>
<td>Charles Wesley</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Behold the Savior of mankind</td>
<td>Thomas Hastings</td>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>He died! the great Redeemer died!</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>O God th' eternal Father</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Awake, O ye people! the Savior is coming</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ere long the vail will' rend in twain</td>
<td>Parley P. Pratt</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Let Zion in her beauty rise</td>
<td>Edward Partridge</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>My soul is full of peace and love</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Redeemer of Israel</td>
<td>Joseph Swain</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The happy day has rolled on</td>
<td>Philo Dibble</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>To him that made the world</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>We're not ashamed to own our Lord</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>What fair one is this, from the wilderness trav'ling</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>What wond'rous things we now behold</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>Baptist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>God spake the word, and time began</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>In ancient days men fear'd the Lord</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>First in Emma 1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>When Joseph his brethren beheld</td>
<td>Newton, John</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Subject / First Line</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Origin</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>Come all ye sons of Zion</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Glorious things of thee are spoken</td>
<td>John Newton</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>How pleasant 'tis to see</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>O stop and tell me, Red Man</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The time is nigh that happy time</td>
<td>Parley P. Pratt</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>The towers of Zion soon shall rise</td>
<td>W. W. Phelps</td>
<td>LDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>There is a land the Lord will bless</td>
<td>Isaac Watts</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*“Mary Dennis Poulter, “The First Ten Years of Latter-day Saint Hymnody: A Study of Emma Smith’s 1835 and Little and Garner’s 1844 Hymnals” (master’s thesis, University of Massachusetts at Lowell, 1995), 80–82. Some corrections and changes to this data have been made. I am indebted to Bruce A. Van Orden, Professor of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University, for his consultation as I worked on my master’s thesis and for freely sharing with me his research on the authorship of the hymns.

*Original category in 1835 hymnbook.
*bCategorized in 1835 hymnbook.
*cAdapted by W. W. Phelps.
*dWritten or adapted by Phelps. In some cases, because no publication of a hymn prior to the 1835 LDS hymnbook can be found, it is unknown whether Phelps wrote the hymn or adapted an existing hymn. The hymns that are not known to have been published before Emma’s 1835 hymnbook are listed as “First in Emma 1835.”

*sSung at the dedication of the Kirtland Temple, March 27, 1836. Elwin C. Robinson, *The First Mormon Temple: Design Construction, and Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 170–83. The tune names to which the hymns were sung were also listed in the minutes of the dedication. See also Hicks, *Mormontism and Music*, 22–23.
The Mormons of the Wisconsin Territory: 1835–1848

Upriver from Nauvoo, Wisconsin Territory became home to all kinds of Saints—faithful, independent, or apostate—who played interesting roles in the development of this frontier region.

David L. Clark

Introduction

Only one part of the history of Mormons\(^1\) in Wisconsin before 1848 has received much attention—that is the response of many members in Wisconsin to the succession crisis following Joseph Smith's death in 1844. But the story of the Church in Wisconsin includes more than schisms and splinter groups. It also is the story of Saints who established a sizable and important presence in the newly organized Wisconsin territory. Many of those Saints followed Brigham Young rather than schismatic leaders.

Early Church members in Wisconsin were largely native-born Americans or immigrants who joined the Church after they moved to Wisconsin. Their decision to remain on the frontier instead of gathering with the main body of Saints demonstrates their independence, but until the death of the Prophet Joseph, they were generally orthodox in their beliefs. After 1844 a number of Wisconsin members challenged Brigham Young's succession to the presidency, in fact, the most significant challenges to Brigham Young's leadership originated with Wisconsin members. Despite these instances of separation, the most enduring legacy of Latter-day Saints in Wisconsin is the role Church members played in the early development of the territory and the impact Wisconsin converts and resources had on the emerging Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.
Background and Context

In 1830 the central and northern portion of Wisconsin included an immense pine forest that extended from Lake Michigan across Wisconsin to Minnesota. Abundant game lived in both forest and water. White miners with dreams of gaining a fortune in the Wisconsin-Iowa-Illinois area eventually replaced Native American miners, excluding them from mining activity. In 1829 there were 4,253 miners and 52 licensed smelters.2

Gradually, between 1829 and 1833, European settlers began to outnumber Native Americans in the land south of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, and in 1833 the area officially became U.S. territory. In 1834 the U.S. Congress initiated legislation to remove Native Americans from most parts of Wisconsin to sites west of the Mississippi River. In 1835 perhaps only twelve to fourteen hundred Native Americans remained in the area of the Mendota and Koshkonong Lakes, adjacent to the region where Latter-day Saints first lived. By 1836, in contrast, the non-native population of Wisconsin was 11,683, an increase of eight thousand in just six years. On July 3, 1836, the Michigan Territory was divided to create the Wisconsin Territory, which also included present-day Iowa and part of Minnesota. The population of the territory continued to grow rapidly, increasing by almost 7,000 by 1838, 12,000 more by 1840, and growing to a population of 155,000 by 1846.3 Most of the Native Americans had left southern Wisconsin by 1837.

The largest group of Americans purchasing land in Wisconsin between 1834 and 1839 were from New England and New York—the area where, several years earlier, religious excitement had prompted Joseph Smith's first prayers and where the Church was organized. Evidently, both political and economic activities—and perhaps religious ideas—in early Wisconsin were modeled after those that existed in New York.4

The Methodists became the first Protestant group to make much progress in the territory; by 1833 they were meeting in Platteville and Mineral Point. Other new immigrants requested religious instruction from Presbyterian and Congregationalist missionaries. Although Catholics had been the first to proselyte in the area, no missionaries had been sent to the territory for more than
one hundred years. The Catholics resumed missionary work in the area, but by 1840, what had been the Wisconsin Territory's probable Catholic majority had become a Protestant majority.\(^5\)

Some religious organizations in Wisconsin during this time seem to have considered the LDS Church as only a minor contender. In a 1845 letter, Reverend Stephan Peet, an agent of the Presbyterian Home Missionary Society, wrote, "Romanism, though endeavoring to establish itself among us, had not as strong a hold in the Ter[ritory] as in some other portions of the west. . . . Mormonism had little or no influence among us."\(^6\) Others, however, were more concerned: "We are struggling amidst the error and delusions by which we are surrounded. Such as Catholicism, Mormonism, and many other species of Infidelity, which are making rapid strides in our community."\(^7\)

**Mormon Beginnings in Southern Wisconsin**

**Burlington.** In December 1835, Moses Smith, a member of the Church from New York, claimed land in what is today the city of Burlington, Wisconsin.\(^8\) Early in 1836, he constructed a log cabin on his claim. Thus Burlington got its first resident, and Mormonism arrived in southern Wisconsin—just a few months before the territory was formally organized. Moses and his companion, Sam Vaughn, built the area's first dam and mill on the White River. In 1837, Moses planted and harvested the first grain in the area and constructed grain mills. When he was appointed postmaster for the new village, he became the first Latter-day Saint to hold civic office in Wisconsin.\(^9\)

Moses served as the link between Wisconsin Saints and the Church in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. In 1837, Moses wrote to Kirtland requesting "instructions in the gospel" and news about the Saints in Missouri.\(^10\) In 1838 or 1839, Joseph Smith Sr. designated Moses and his brother Aaron as presiding elders for Wisconsin. The branch in Burlington reportedly consisted of about one hundred members by 1839.\(^11\)

Not all of the Burlington members have been identified, but we know that Smith's wife, Lydia, and their two children, his parents, and at least two of his brothers, Lemuel and Aaron, and their
Wisconsin communities with mid-nineteenth-century Mormon connections. Mormons either established or were involved in the establishment of Burlington, Zarahemla (Blanchardville), Jenkynsville, the community at Lake Koshkonong, Black River Falls, and La Crosse. Communities with branches of the Church and towns where important missionary work was accomplished are also shown.
families joined him in Burlington. Of these, Moses’ parents and his brother Aaron were Church members. A large family of Saints named Perce also moved from New York to Burlington. If the branch numbered one hundred members, it must have included other relatives and converts as well. Considering the small populations of surrounding areas, Latter-day Saints may have constituted as much as 10 percent of the population in the Burlington region (approximately fifty square miles in two counties).12

Moses Smith moved from Burlington to western Illinois in 1839, leaving the congregation under Aaron’s direction. What motivated Moses’ move is unknown, but he likely returned to Wisconsin at intervals to visit his family and perhaps to continue to work with the members there.

**Jenkynsville.** Following the initial 1835–1836 settlements in Burlington and adjacent Spring Prairie, Latter-day Saints settled several other communities in southern Wisconsin. In 1837, Jenkynsville (also called Meeker’s Grove), La Fayette County, was founded by Jacob Jenkins and two associates named Stephenson and Parker. Parker was a Latter-day Saint, and, although nothing additional is known of him, his contribution to the establishment of this village is acknowledged.13

**Blanchardville.** Additional development of the southwestern part of the Territory of Wisconsin by members of the Church occurred in 1842, when William Cline, Cyrus Newkirk, and their families established a small community that eventually became the village of Blanchardville. According to the 1842 Wisconsin census, this community of Latter-day Saints included a dozen or so people.14 These Church members gave the community its original name, Zarahemla. Other families—including Cline’s in-laws, the Wildermuths—joined the small group of Saints in Zarahemla until its population reached at least twenty, and the group organized the Yellowstone Branch of the Church.15

Following the martyrdom of the Prophet, the Yellowstone Branch grew when several families who elected not to join the westward exodus moved to Zarahemla. This group included the Horners, the Deams, and a few others. In 1848, S. Horner built a dam and gristmill on the east bank of the Pecatonica River below the residential part of Zarahemla. Parts of the mill stand today in
Aerial view of Blanchardville, 1957. Mormons founded the community of Zarahemla on the high ground in the vicinity of the cemetery in the center of the photograph. Most of the later town development (photograph background) followed the departure of the Mormons, when the town was renamed Blanchardville. Mormons in Zarahemla declined to follow Brigham Young in 1844, joined briefly with the Strang church, and, for a short time, were part of a "nondenominational" group of Mormons. Eventually, the Zarahemla Saints, along with Mormons in Beloit, established the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in 1860. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

downtown Blanchardville. In 1849, Horner sold the mill to Cyrus Newkirk, one of the original Zarahemla residents, who, in turn, sold it to Alvin Blanchard, who was not a Latter-day Saint. Blanchard constructed additional buildings in the area of Horner's dam and gristmill, and, with the departure of most of the Saints during the 1850s, the community was renamed Blanchardville.¹⁶

Norwegian Settlements. At about the same time the Cline and Newkirk families settled Blanchardville, a group of Norwegian
immigrants settled in the Fox River Valley of northern Illinois, near the southern Wisconsin border. By March of 1842, Mormon missionaries baptized at least five of the Norwegians and organized the La Salle Illinois Branch of the Church.

Important for the growth of Wisconsin is the fact that a number of the Fox River Norwegian immigrants moved to south-central Wisconsin and established farms in the Lake Koshkonong area of Dane and Jefferson Counties, a region not yet populated by Latter-day Saints. Early in 1843, Gudmund Haugaas and Ole Heier, Latter-day Saint missionaries from the Illinois group of Norwegians, visited the Lake Koshkonong settlers. They reported success in establishing a foundation for future missionary work but no converts. In 1844, Gudmund Haugaas returned, this time with Canute Peterson, and succeeded in converting enough people to organize a Lake Koshkonong branch—an event that was particularly disturbing to Lutheran pastor J. W. C. Dietrichson. Dietrichson wrote letters to Norway denouncing the Church and calling Norwegians who were converted in Illinois and Wisconsin "credulous and simple countrymen."

A parallel account by another Lutheran indicates that the "dignified Episcopalian and the unspeakable Mormon" were both busy converting the "Norwegian Indians." Lutheran pastors evidently believed they had exclusive rights to the religious affiliation of the Norwegians, as did the Episcopalian bishop Gustof Unonius, who publicly attacked "sympathy for . . . Shakers, women's-rights associations, yes, even Mormonism' which 'judicious Americans regard as more or less noxious weeds sown by the enemy into good ground.'" Although all of this Mormon bashing may have delayed conversions, Norwegians joined the Church in considerable numbers both in Illinois and Wisconsin. After the death of Joseph Smith in 1844, a branch of at least twenty converts remained in the Lake Koshkonong area. This group later joined James Strang's church.

As is typical for so much of nineteenth-century Mormon history, the story of Saints in Wisconsin includes controversy and intolerance. However, the complete record of harassment of the Church in territorial Wisconsin is difficult to substantiate because most of the accounts were written thirty to forty years after the
events took place—in the midst of the late-nineteenth-century antipolygamy sentiments. A few contemporary records exist that suggest residents of the Wisconsin Territory were just slightly less critical of the young LDS church and its members than were residents of New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Perhaps the Saints in territorial Wisconsin were a curiosity and were considered as little more than a temporary blemish on the otherwise pure Wisconsin landscape.23

The sum of Latter-day Saint influence on the early development of the southern Wisconsin Territory has been scarcely recognized. Yet by the early 1840s, Saints lived in at least eight southern Wisconsin counties.24 In these counties, they were instrumental in the establishment of the communities of Burlington, Zarahemla (the present Blanchardville), and Jenkynsville. They organized branches of the Church in at least the first two of these communities as well as in Beloit, Waukesha, and the Lake Koshkonong area. In addition to establishing farms and building dams and mills, Latter-day Saints worked in the lead-mining district of southwestern Wisconsin and brought important converts into the Church there and at sites along the Mississippi River. All of this activity appears to have resulted from a combination of member initiative and Church-generated missionary assignments in Wisconsin. No record of official involvement by Church leadership in Wisconsin colonization exists.25

Albert Carrington. Baptized in Wiota, La Fayette County, in 1841, Carrington worked in the lead mines in La Fayette County until 1844, when he moved to Nauvoo. He later was a counselor to Brigham Young and a member of the Quorum of the Twelve from 1870 to 1885. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Missionary Work

Perhaps because of the temporary stability of the Church in Nauvoo, Moses Smith's 1837 request for gospel instruction was finally answered in 1840. Elisha H. Groves and Lyman Stoddard were called as missionaries to labor in Iowa County, Wisconsin. By 1841 a number of missionaries were working in the northern Illinois–southern Wisconsin area. Of particular note are Amasa Lyman and William O. Clark, who preached in the area around Mineral Point. These elders baptized men who would later become significant figures in Church history. On October 7, 1841, Elder Clark baptized Albert Carrington, who became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve in 1870. Carrington had moved from Pennsylvania to Wisconsin earlier that year and worked in the lead mines near Wiota, La Fayette County, until 1844, when he moved to Nauvoo. At about the same time Elder Clark baptized Carrington, he also converted Jason Briggs, who later was instrumental in organizing the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Additional missionaries were called to Wisconsin from Nauvoo in the early 1840s, but no record of baptisms they may have performed exists. Additional missionary activities by Latter-day Saints during this time in Wisconsin probably occurred but remain undocumented.

Amasa Lyman. A Wisconsin missionary from Nauvoo, Lyman worked with William O. Clark in the area around Mineral Point in 1841. The labors of Clark and Lyman led to the conversion of Albert Carrington, later a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
Latter-day Saint Lumbermen in Western Wisconsin

Black River Falls. At the same time Saints established communities and organized branches in the southern part of Wisconsin, they also developed communities along the Black River in the western territory. The story of the Latter-day Saints' role in the development of Black River Falls is well known, thanks largely to Dennis Rowley's comprehensive study of the Wisconsin pineries.31

The story of Mormon influence in the western and northwestern part of Wisconsin begins with the Church's need for lumber to build the Nauvoo Temple, the Nauvoo House, and other buildings. In 1841, Apostle Lyman Wight and Bishop George Miller were named to committees whose duties included the major Nauvoo building construction. Local lumber was too scarce to accommodate the building boom in Nauvoo, and imported lumber was too costly for the Saints. The committees learned of a Wisconsin lumber mill that could be purchased at the juncture of Roaring Creek and the Black River. By late fall of 1841, a community of Saints were harvesting and milling lumber at the Roaring Creek site, and, prior to the winter freeze, the first raft of lumber floated down the Black River to the Mississippi and then to Nauvoo.32

After a full year's lumbering experience, the Roaring Creek group decided they could take more and better lumber from the area surrounding the falls of the Black River, just north of Roaring Creek. Through a series of negotiations, the history of which includes an apocryphal tale of "takeovers" and a Mormon War,33

Lyman Wight. Wight and George Miller were entrusted with securing Wisconsin lumber for construction in Nauvoo. After the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, Saints who had earlier worked at Black River Falls followed Wight from Nauvoo to La Crosse and eventually to Texas. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
George Miller. Bishop Miller's record of the Wisconsin pineries is the most complete contemporary account of the lumbering experience. Miller left the Church shortly after the Nauvoo period and briefly joined James Strang in Wisconsin. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

The Saints established themselves at Black River Falls by the spring of 1843.

The 1842 territorial census lists forty-one people—most of whom were probably Latter-day Saints—at the Roaring Creek community. By the early spring of 1843, the Black River Falls community of Saints was established, and, during the next few years (until 1845), at least 160 Nauvoo Saints were involved in the lumbering activity. Moses Smith, Wisconsin's first Latter-day Saint, joined this group. In contrast to the temporary nature of most lumbering operations, the Black River Falls group may have intended to establish a permanent Mormon community. At the peak of the lumber production, a Black River Falls branch of the Church functioned with Lyman Wight, a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, as president, George Miller as bishop, and David Clayton as clerk. These men were also the secular leadership of the group.

In addition to their milling operations, the Saints operated at least six logging camps along the Black River and its tributaries north of the falls. In 1843 a choice Black River Falls pine could produce four to five thousand board feet of lumber. Even thirty years later, a single tree could yield only three hundred board feet. Rowley calculated that from 1841 until the spring of 1845, some 1.5 million board feet of milled lumber, more than two hundred thousand shingles, and a large number of miscellaneous logs, barn boards, and timbers floated to Nauvoo.
Historical markers noting the successful large-scale Latter-day Saint lumbering venture in Wisconsin stand in Black River Falls and north in the town of Greenwood. A less satisfying monument is at Cunningham Creek, about fifteen miles north of Black River Falls. The creek is named for Elijah Cunningham, a member of the Church who drowned there in 1843 while rafting lumber to the Black River.\textsuperscript{41}

Wisconsin lumber was obviously important for the Church. The pineries supplied Nauvoo’s construction needs, using the plentiful labor of new converts and plentiful Wisconsin lumber.\textsuperscript{42} Black River Falls lumber enabled construction of the two most significant buildings in Nauvoo and an unrecorded number of Nauvoo houses. Certainly Nauvoo would not have been the city it briefly was without Wisconsin lumber.

Conversely, Latter-day Saint involvement in Black River Falls was significant for the Wisconsin Territory. During the 1830s, Wisconsin logging was done on a small scale, and in 1836 even the first territorial capitol building was built with lumber from eastern states.\textsuperscript{43} Separate logging operations developed in at least four parts of northern and western Wisconsin (Green Bay, Wisconsin River, Black River, and Chippewa areas), but none of these produced permanent results until after 1837.\textsuperscript{44} In the definitive work on nineteenth-century lumbering in Wisconsin, Robert F. Fries suggests that by 1840, the combination of robust forests and the market economy set a marvelous stage for the lumbering boom that followed.\textsuperscript{45} By 1842 logging along the Black River produced more than seven million board feet of milled lumber. In 1843 the Chippewa area, which eventually became the most important area of Wisconsin white pine production, produced five million board feet.\textsuperscript{46}

The Saints’ work on the Black River beginning in 1842 fits into this rapid expansion of Wisconsin lumbering. Only minor lumbering had occurred, and only a small lumber camp existed in the Black River Falls region before the arrival of the Nauvoo lumbermen and their families. During 1843 an estimated three million board feet of lumber was transported down the Black River,\textsuperscript{47} and almost half of this was for construction at Nauvoo.\textsuperscript{48} While the Saints did not produce the most lumber in the territory, they made a sizable contribution to Wisconsin’s lumbering boom. In addition, their successful transportation of milled lumber down the Mississippi
Mormon logging camps and river route to Nauvoo. The Saints' Wisconsin lumbering effort included mills and logging camps in Jackson and Clark Counties. Lumber rafted down the Black River to the Mississippi and then to Nauvoo was used in construction of the temple and other buildings in Nauvoo.
River to Nauvoo is thought to have inspired the development of additional lumbering and the business of Mississippi log rafting, which became an important part of the middle- and late-nineteenth-century Wisconsin economy.49

Elder Wight and Bishop Miller returned from Wisconsin to Nauvoo in the spring of 1844, after suggesting to Joseph Smith that Texas would be a good site for future missionary work among Native Americans. The Prophet agreed and assigned Wight and Miller to lead a settlement there. However, with others of the Council of Fifty, Wight and Miller left on political missions in behalf of the Prophet, who had decided to run for President in the 1844 election. The Prophet’s death in June changed a number of plans. The lumbering venture at the pineries declined, and most of the Saints working at Black River Falls returned to Nauvoo.50

La Crosse. A raft of pine lumber shipments from Black River Falls floated to Nauvoo during July 1844.51 The lumbermen and their families, who had been aware of the death of their Prophet since at least early July, evidently returned to Nauvoo at about the same time. By August of that troubled year, Lyman Wight returned from his East Coast campaigning. In Nauvoo he found the Black River Falls group dispirited, many of them ill with chills and fevers. He quickly resolved to move them. Wight returned to the idea of taking the Black River Falls Saints to Texas, as he and the Prophet had planned earlier that year.52 However, in response to the Church’s new circumstances, Church leaders discouraged Wight from the venture. Heber C. Kimball (and perhaps Brigham Young) advised Wight to instead take the Black River Falls group back to Wisconsin to settle in the La Crosse area.53

Every trip along the Mississippi River between Nauvoo and Black River Falls involved passing through the La Crosse region, so the Black River Falls group certainly would have known that La Crosse is a beautiful part of the upper Mississippi Valley. Sandstone ledges reach down to the west bank of the river, and rolling hills on the east side fuse with the majestic river landscape. Many islands emerge above the sluggish waters of the Mississippi, and a number of streams join the river from both sides. However, the reasons that Wight, who believed he had an assignment from the martyred prophet to settle in Texas, would move his followers
Nathan Myrick’s house at La Crosse, Wisconsin. Myrick’s home, erected at Prairie la Crosse in 1842, was the first house in La Crosse. Courtesy State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

back to Wisconsin have never been fully explained. If Texas was the ultimate objective, why the detour to Wisconsin?

Albert Sanford, who in the 1940s described Mormon activity in western Wisconsin, considered the possible reasons for the group’s move from Nauvoo to Wisconsin and noted that Lyman Wight stated that he moved the former Black River Falls Saints to La Crosse because chills and fever had affected many in Nauvoo and he wanted the group to be healthy before the long trek to Texas. The return to Wisconsin may also have been motivated by pleasant memories of the La Crosse area or possibly by financial prospects. One of the few people living in La Crosse at the time, Nathan Myrick, hired some of the Saints to cut wood and even negotiated to have a few members return to Black River Falls to make shingles. Dr. Lafayette Houghton Bunnel hired others to plow fields and build fences. The Saints may have known of these limited economic opportunities before their move, although no evidence exists that the group had contracted for this work prior to leaving for La Crosse. Another factor in moving from Nauvoo may simply have been to avoid the persecution and confusion that prevailed in western Illinois at that time. But foremost in Wight’s mind must have been that La Crosse would be a good, if temporary, staging area before beginning the appointed task of moving to Texas.

Wight and his group traveled to La Crosse in late summer or fall of 1844. Apparently, Bishop Miller, who was also a member of the Nauvoo building committee, decided to stay in Nauvoo. Wight located his group at a site south of, but adjacent to, the present
city of La Crosse. According to one account, the settlers named their location the "Valley of Loami," but this may be an inaccurate rendering of "Lamoni," and they named the prominent creek the "Waters of Helaman." Approximately 160 people—more than twenty families—made the move, making the Latter-day Saint community easily the largest in the La Crosse area at that time. Thus, by November 1844, another branch of the Church was functioning in Wisconsin, and Saints established the first viable, if temporary, community along the western Wisconsin border.

As with so much of 1840s Mormon history, the facts surrounding the activities of the La Crosse Saints are difficult to reconstruct. Secondary accounts either err or ignore the entire La Crosse story. For example, one report indicates that the Saints lived in tents, while contemporary accounts maintain that they built log cabins. We do know that they enjoyed an uncommonly mild winter and in exchange for wages or provisions spent their time working in the area for some of the few settlers who were not Latter-day Saints. On March 25, 1845, with the onset of an early and mild spring, the Saints left La Crosse as quickly as they had come. Renewed in strength and spirit, they floated down the Mississippi in four boats they had built during the winter. They landed just north of the present city of Davenport, Iowa, where they began their cross-country trek to Texas. They arrived in the area near Austin, Texas, eight months later.

The history of the Nauvoo/Wisconsin expatriates in Texas is a story itself. A few years after reaching Texas, Wight and many of the group were excommunicated from the Church when they failed to respond to Brigham Young's request that they join the main body of the Church in Utah. Some of the group eventually did rejoin the Church, but Wight died and was buried in Texas in 1858.

The Saints never visualized La Crosse as a permanent Latter-day Saint settlement as they had envisioned the settlement at Black River Falls. However, they were the first sizable group to live in the area and were the largest community during the brief time they lived there. During the winter of 1844-45, the Saints demonstrated that the area could support a viable community, and within seven years, farmers and lumbermen resettled the area around La Crosse. By the 1990 census, La Crosse had a population
of more than fifty-one thousand. While two Latter-day Saint wards function in the area today, the only evidence of the Saints’ presence during the winter of 1844–45 is the “Mormon cemetery,” the Mormon Coulee Road, and Mormon Creek, all located adjacent to the south end of the business district of modern La Crosse. Interestingly, probably none of the 1844–45 Mormons are buried in the “Mormon cemetery.”

Postmartyrdom
Wisconsin Mormons

After the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June 1844, a number of Wisconsin Saints followed the main body of the Church and recognized Brigham Young as their leader. Prominent among these is Albert Carrington, who moved to Nauvoo from Wisconsin, followed Brigham Young to Utah, and later became a member of the Quorum of the Twelve. Moses Smith also followed Brigham Young for a time, but he died without real affiliation with any group of Mormons. However, the death of Joseph Smith also triggered the proliferation of splinter groups in Wisconsin. The majority of Wisconsin Saints formed the base membership of a succession of these groups.

The first person to claim succession to Joseph Smith and perhaps the most serious threat to Brigham Young’s authority was

James J. Strang. Strang’s connections with prominent Wisconsin Mormons may have lent credence to his claim that he was Joseph Smith’s successor. He became president and prophet of his own church, with its headquarters established first in Voree then moved to Beaver Island in Lake Michigan. After being shot, he returned to Voree, where he died in 1856, only twelve years after claiming the prophet’s mantle. Courtesy LDS Church Archives.
James J. Strang from Burlington, Wisconsin. The story of the Strangite church has been documented in detail elsewhere, yet it is worth noting Strang’s connections with prominent Wisconsin Church members. In 1836, Strang married Mary Perce of the Perce family, who had been among the first Latter-day Saints in Wisconsin in the 1830s. Mary Perce’s sister Lydia married Moses Smith, and Lydia and Mary’s brother Benjamin had accompanied Moses to Wisconsin in 1835. Strang was himself good friends with Benjamin Perce.

Strang relied on these connections as he sought support and followers for his new church. Strang had been a member of the Church only since February 1844, and although he was baptized by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, he remained essentially unknown outside the Burlington Branch. Strang produced a letter, purportedly written by the Prophet, that appointed Strang as the new president of the Church and designated Moses Smith as part of the new Church leadership. Strang also claimed to have received a “revelation” that supported his claims. The gathering place for Strang’s new church would be Voree, a new city to be built on the western edge of Burlington on land owned by Aaron Smith and Benjamin Perce.

Jason W. Briggs. Baptized in Potosi, Briggs later returned to his home near Beloit, where he organized a branch in Beloit as well as in Waukesha. He elected not to follow Brigham Young, affiliated for a short time with Strang’s group, and later was influential in the founding of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Courtesy Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, The Auditorium, Independence, Missouri.
The initial reaction of the Burlington congregation to this spectacular claim is not recorded. But Strang soon showed the letter containing the revelation to a conference of elders that included Moses Smith. The conference remained uncertain of the letter, but agreed that Moses Smith, presiding elder in Wisconsin and Strang's brother-in-law as well as recent Nauvoo businessman, should take the letter to Nauvoo, where the Quorum of the Twelve could react to Strang's claim. It is possible that Strang's relationship with the respected Moses Smith was the principle reason the elders considered him seriously.

Smith arrived in Nauvoo in August only to discover that most of the Nauvoo members had already decided that Brigham Young, as President of the Quorum of the Twelve, was the rightful successor to Joseph Smith. Smith accepted Brigham Young's leadership and stayed in Nauvoo to make plans to leave on a long-delayed missionary assignment with the James Emmett group. However, Strang persevered. He tried to convince Moses Smith of the error of his ways, but his effort was not immediately successful.

Strang established a new church—as well as a new Wisconsin community. For several years, Strang's church was the largest Mormon splinter group. This significant schism took its roots and momentum from Strang's association with Wisconsin Saints.

Strang's followers also provided leadership for two smaller schisms in nineteenth-century Wisconsin. William Smith, Joseph's brother, was excommunicated from Strang's group in 1846. He formed his own group, made up largely of Wisconsin Mormons, most of whom presumably had been followers of Strang. Smith at first emphasized the "lineal succession" doctrine that appealed to those who did not follow Brigham Young or could not stay with James Strang. This church endured for only a few years but attracted a significant portion of Wisconsin's Saints. Gladdon Bishop, another former Strangite, organized a version of the kingdom of God that made some converts among Wisconsin Mormons in 1848. The significance of this group of dissidents has not been fully explored.

The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints also has roots in Wisconsin. In 1836, Jason Briggs moved to Beloit to live with his parents. In a few years, he left Beloit to work in
the lead-mining district, where he joined the Church in 1841. Following his conversion, he returned to Beloit and was instrumental in organizing the Beloit-Newark Branch, which, by 1843, consisted of approximately twenty-five members. He also brought the Yellowstone Branch to join with the Beloit-Waukesha group. These branches eventually became the nucleus for the Reorganized Church. These splinter groups increased the visibility of Mormons in Wisconsin, although Wisconsin histories generally do not identify any clear distinction among the different Mormon groups.

The most prominent of Wisconsin's postmartyrdom Mormon residents is Oliver Cowdery. In 1847, nine years after he was excommunicated from the LDS Church, Oliver Cowdery moved to Elkhorn, Wisconsin, to practice law with his brother Lyman. Although this Wisconsin venture was a small part of Cowdery's career, Cowdery became a respected figure in local politics. He became an active member of the Democratic party, edited a Democratic newspaper, and in 1848 represented his party as a candidate for the first state legislature. Criticized by Milwaukee newspapers for his role in the development of the Church and a victim of the Free Soil Party-Democratic Party 1848 split, Oliver lost the election by only a few votes. In spite of this political setback, Democrats in Wisconsin's new capital city, Madison, praised Oliver's integrity and criticized both the religious and political factors that caused his defeat. A short time later, Phinehas Young, Brigham's brother, returned to Wisconsin and in late 1848 helped Oliver and his family prepare to join the Saints in Utah. Oliver was rebaptized at Council Bluffs, but bad health delayed his trip west. In 1850 he died at the home of his in-laws in Richmond, Missouri.

Conclusion

Despite their relatively small numbers, Latter-day Saints in Wisconsin aided the territory of Wisconsin in its rapid expansion. They either established or were involved in the establishment of several towns and villages in Wisconsin; they pioneered the development of various kinds of agriculture, built the first dams and mills in several parts of the territory, and participated in civic activities. Latter-day Saints developed one of the first successful
large-scale lumbering operations in the Black River Falls area of Wisconsin and demonstrated the feasibility of long-distance Mississippi River transportation of milled lumber. For a small group of members of a persecuted religion, this is a respectable record.

In a kind of unconscious reciprocity, the Territory of Wisconsin aided in the early development of the Church. Latter-day Saints utilized Wisconsin resources for the construction of the temple and a number of other structures in Nauvoo. Obviously, members also benefited from the economic growth of the territory and used its resources to support their families.

Frederick Jackson Turner proposed the well-known thesis that the harsh realities of frontier existence stripped settlers of European culture and transformed them into strong, rugged people—individualists. Although Turner's exaggeration of the transformative impact of the frontier is still warmly debated, he was quite correct in noting that the rigors of frontier life encouraged self-reliance and independence. Perhaps that independence is related to the Wisconsin Mormons' choice to live on the margins of the Church and is the reason so many chose to affiliate with Wisconsin-based splinter groups, or perhaps simple chance attracted several charismatic types with their own millennial views to Wisconsin. Whatever the reason, from 1844 to 1860, most Wisconsin Mormons either were without affiliation, were Strangites, or, eventually, were members of the Reorganized Church.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was poorly represented in Wisconsin following the martyrdom, although missionaries were present from time to time. It was not until after 1870 that the Church attained a second presence in Wisconsin and re-established branches. By the end of the nineteenth century, converts no longer immediately moved to Utah but began to remain in Wisconsin. In 1998, Wisconsin could boast at least eighteen thousand Saints and more than fifty Latter-day Saint congregations, some of which have chapels at or near the sites established by Saints in the 1840s. None of these congregations trace their history directly to a early-nineteenth-century congregation, but they are cultural heirs of pioneers who aided in the early development of Wisconsin.

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NOTES

1 Members of LDS Church from 1833 to 1844 were the first to be called Mormons, but following the martyrdom of the Prophet, the original group as well as various groups that splintered from the main body of the Church in Wisconsin were all called Mormons. Lawrence N. Crumblin, “Religion,” in Racine: Growth and Change in a Wisconsin County, ed. Nicholas C. Burkel (Racine, Wisc.: privately published, 1977), 502; History of Lafayette County, Wisconsin (Chicago: Western Historical, 1881), 641. The term “Mormon” will be used in this paper to denote in general all groups which had their origins in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, although most no longer refer to themselves as such. “Saints” or “Latter-day Saints” will refer to members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

2 Alice E. Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, vol. 1 of The History of Wisconsin (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1973), 183. This is the best summary available concerning the early history of Wisconsin.

3 Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, 120-21, 143-44, 196, 466. Smith writes that “the amazing thing about the settlement of Wisconsin was the rapidity with which it occurred” (464). In 1838 the Iowa Territory was separated from Wisconsin. Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, 269-70.

4 Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, 385, 471, 580, 641. Much of the anti-Mormon sentiment of the late nineteenth century had its roots in New England. At least some of Wisconsin’s anti-Mormon feeling, both before and after statehood in 1848, may have had a similar origin.

5 Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, 6, 8, 26, 28, 603-4, 606-8.


7 Stephen Peet, History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches and Ministers in Wisconsin (Milwaukee: Silas Chapman, 1851). [Based on author’s notes. Book now missing from Wisconsin State Historical Society.]


9 “Obituary,” Gospel Herald 4 (June 14, 1849), 53-55. Moses Smith’s obituary was published in James Strang’s newspaper and was probably written by Strang, although no author is cited.

10 Andrew Jenson, Journal History of the Church, May 28, 1837, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as JH). Reference to other churches’ appeals for help are found in Smith, From Exploration to Statehood, 600.

11 Obituary, 53. The report in Smith’s obituary of “about” one hundred members in the Burlington Branch by 1839 may be exaggerated, as were Strang’s reports of the size of his church on Beaver Island; see Roger Van Noord, King of Beaver Island (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 211-12.

12 The Wisconsin census for 1838 reports only 247 people in the Spring Prairie area of eastern Walworth County, where a number of the Burlington Branch families lived. At that time, only 1,019 people lived in all of Walworth
County and only 2,054 in adjacent Racine County, most in Racine. *Wisconsin Territorial Census Records for 1838 and 1842* (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society Microform Library, Wisconsin State Census, 1836–95), reel 1. No population data is available for Burlington in 1838. The 1842 census lists Burlington’s population as 1,183. This figure would accommodate one hundred LDS members, but no names are available in the census for cross-checking. *Wisconsin Territorial Census Records*, reel 1.

13*History of Lafayette County*, 562.

14*Wisconsin Territorial Census Records*, reel 1.


16Among other contributions to the development of Lafayette County, members of the original Mormon community of Zarahemla are credited with establishing the first school in this part of Wisconsin. It enrolled between fifteen and twenty students. *History of Lafayette County*, 639.


22*Voree Herald* 1, no. 5 (May 1846), 3. This is a report on a conference of Church members in Lake Koshkonong in 1846. The *Voree Herald* was the name of Strang’s first newspaper, the predecessor of the *Gospel Herald*. It was issued irregularly, with each number usually consisting of one to four pages. Writers’ names were usually not given, but Strang probably wrote most of the articles.

23This view is illustrated in Clark S. Matteson, *History of Wisconsin from Prehistoric to Present Periods: The Story of the State Interpreted with Realistic and Romantic Events* (Milwaukee: Wisconsin Historical Publishing, 1895), 458. Matteson’s discussion of Mormons begins, “The pure air and virgin soil of Wisconsin were once polluted by that social leprosy—Mormonism” (458).

24The communities and farms inhabited and/or founded by members of the Church in the late 1830s and early 1840s were located in the southern Wisconsin counties of Racine, Walworth, Rock, Green, Iowa, Grant, Dane, and Jefferson. The combined 1840 population of these counties was just under eighteen thousand. Smith, *From Exploration to Statehood*, 468.
In 1836, at a meeting of the Church in Liberty County, Missouri, Church leaders discussed the possibility of moving the Church to Wisconsin. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of the Church* (Salt Lake City: Desert News, 1941), 958. No record of any action on the proposal exists. A second suggestion of relocating the main body of the Church to Wisconsin is noted in the February 26, 1845, edition of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. The article was based on a suggestion made by a resident of Macomb, Illinois, to Bishop George Miller during the months following the Prophet's death, when the future of the Illinois Saints was unsettled. According to Robert Bruce Flanders, the suggestion generated some interest and prompted a letter from the governing Quorum of the Twelve to a number of state governors requesting help in relocating somewhere. Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 330-33.

JH, October 7, 1841. No evidence exists that either missionary actually worked in Wisconsin. Stoddard did not serve at all, and Isaac Cleveland spent time with Groves in Illinois.

JH, August 2, 1841.

Carrington, a Dartmouth graduate, followed Brigham Young to Utah, served as European Mission president on three different occasions, was a counselor to Brigham Young in 1873, an assistant counselor in 1874, and editor of the Church's *Deseret News*. He served as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve from 1870 to 1885, perhaps the most important office in the Church held by a Wisconsin convert. He was excommunicated in 1885 but was rebaptized before he died in 1889 in Salt Lake City. “Albert Carrington,” *Millennial Star* 51 (October 28, 1889): 678; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901-36), 1:126-27.

JH, May 29, 1843.

For example, William Buckminster Lindsay was baptized July 1841 at Fox Lake, Dodge County. Most of his family was baptized within a few years and stayed in Wisconsin until joining Brigham Young in Winter Quarters in 1846. Lindsay left a son, who was not a member, in Argyle, LaFayette County, and a daughter of this son eventually joined the Church. She was influential in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century growth of the Church in the Eau Claire area of northwestern Wisconsin. Marval Davis, “The History of the Eau Claire Branch,” *Eau Claire, Wisconsin*, 1992, holograph, in the author's possession.

Saints continued to inhabit different parts of the southern boundary of the territory. For example, from 1841 to 1842, Joseph Holbrook, baptized in 1833 in New York and originally part of the Kirtland-Missouri-Nauvoo group of Mormons, moved to the Wisconsin-Illinois-Iowa border area and, with other Mormons, worked in the lead mines of Wisconsin and Galena, Illinois. After his first wife and child died, Holbrook remarried and in 1843 moved farther north in the territory to join the Mormon Black River Falls lumber group. Joseph Holbrook, “The Life of Joseph Holbrook, 1806-1871,” 52-53, 56-58, Mormon Collection, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; see also William Greenwood, “Autobiography of William Greenwood, Pioneer,” Mormon Collection, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.


34Wisconsin Territorial Census Records, reel 1.


37The ecclesiastical leadership of the lumbering community functioned in a manner similar to leadership elsewhere in the Church. For instance, Church leaders in Black River Falls excommunicated members for various offenses, then sent a letter to Nauvoo notifying leaders of the Church in Nauvoo of their actions:

To: Quorum of the High Priesthood assembled in Nauvoo.

Dear Brethren: We tender to you the names and number of members cut off from this branch of the Church, that they be considered by you, belonging no longer to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

Oct. 29th, 1843, Mrs. [P. F.] was cut off from the Church for lying, back-biting, and tattling from house to house, and disobeying the orders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

October 29th. [A. P.] was cut off the Church for lying, stealing and speaking evil of the heads of the church and taking a false oath at Prairie du Chien, etc.

Oct. 29th [W. H.] and [W. H.,] unitedly were cut off for stealing, lying and cursing the Bishop, etc.

The three last characters in particular, conducted themselves in such a manner as bringing an eternal disgrace upon them. Yours in the bond of the everlasting covenant,

Lyman Wight, Prest.
George Miller, Bishop
David Clayton, Cler.

JH, January 30, 1844.

Ironically, the waterway remains a source of tragedy. The bridge on present Highway 95 that crosses Cunningham Creek was the site of a 1995 accident that killed two bikers. A runaway trailer filled with lumber was responsible. "Runaway Truck Kills Bicyclist," Wisconsin State (Madison) Journal, August 9, 1995.


Fries, Empire in Pine, 8.

Fries, Empire in Pine, 8-10.

Fries, Empire in Pine, 7.

Fries, Empire in Pine, 17-21. Logging along the Wisconsin River produced more than seven million board feet by 1842.

Fries, Empire in Pine, 20.

Rowley, "Wisconsin Pineries," 121.

Fries, Empire in Pine, 55. Several years after the Mormon pioneering effort in the long-range transportation of lumber, mills were constructed at La Crosse and other Mississippi River sites. Lumber activity along the Mississippi peaked late in the nineteenth century, but Wisconsin led all states in white pine production as late as 1900. The last large stands of Wisconsin's white pine were harvested in the 1930s; see Fries, Empire in Pine, 20, 141, 240-41.

Rowley, "Wisconsin Pineries," 139.

JH, July 5, 1844.

Correspondence of Bishop George Miller, 19, 21.

Correspondence of Bishop George Miller, 24.


The group settled at the site where, apparently, Valentine Oehler (not a Mormon) built a mill in 1854. Sanford, "Mormons of Mormon Coulee," 136.

JH, November 6, 1844. The creek is now known as Mormon Creek, and the area where the group lived, a few miles south of the present downtown La Crosse, is now called the Mormon Coulee. The name "Lamoni" is the name of a Book of Mormon king who was miraculously converted (Alma 17-19).

Sanford, "Mormons of Mormon Coulee," 138 n. 7. In the early 1840s, the La Crosse area consisted of little more than a handful of settlers. The John Levy family moved to La Crosse in May 1846, more than a year after the Mormons had left the area. They reported only two settlers in the entire valley that year. In contrast, the Mormon population was 150 to 160 during their 1844-45 sojourn in La Crosse. The 1847 census, taken two years after the Mormons had left Wisconsin recorded only 74 residents at La Crosse and 153 in Black River Falls. Wisconsin Territorial Census Records for 1847 (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical
Society Microform Library, Wisconsin State Census, 1836–95), reel 3. Interestingly, the 1842 territorial census lists eighty-five males and nine females in the entire area from La Crosse to Black River Falls. The 150 to 160 Mormons who lived in Black River Falls and who later made up the main body of the group that lived in La Crosse probably were the dominant numbers of the respective populations during the 1842–45 period. Robert Fries reports that the first lumber mill was not built in La Crosse until 1852, some seven years after the Mormons left. Fries, Empire in Pine, 20.

60Milwaukee Sentinel (The Republican-Sentinel), September 23, 1882. The late-nineteenth-century intolerance of Mormons is well illustrated in this newspaper article, written long after the main body of Mormons had moved to Utah but during the height of anti-Mormon polygamy hysteria. In this article, almost every description of the Mormon experience at La Crosse is false or exaggerated. The story begins with reference to the “fact” that “a more chronic lot of thieves never inflicted a country” although no account of thievery is given. According to the article, the Mormons were driven to La Crosse in the spring of 1843 from localities along the Black River by vigilante groups. Rafts of lumber were confiscated, Mormons were hungry, but no one would give them credit because no one trusted them. The winter was particularly severe, and when they left, they stole a boat, burned their cabins, and left graves along the Mississippi as they retreated to Quincy, Illinois, “while one mob after another attacked them.” Even the weather reports in this article for the winter of 1844–45 do not agree with the records that were kept in nearby Ft. Crawford and are informally filed in the State Climatologist’s Office in Madison. The only complimentary note in this highly inaccurate account is the mention of the Mormons’ “bright and beautiful” daughters. This almost completely fabricated account probably reflects the mood of the 1882 period. It does not reflect the reality of what occurred in the 1844–45 period.

61Discrepancies seem to characterize the account of the La Crosse Saints (see above). James Allen and Glen Leonard imply that the La Crosse venture did not even take place. Allen and Leonard, Story of the Latter-day Saints, 218. Davis Bitton has suggested in an oral presentation that Wight took the entire group from Nauvoo back to Black River Falls, not to La Crosse. Davis Bitton, “The Lion and the Ram: Brigham Young and Lyman Wight” (paper presented at the twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Mormon History Association, Park City, Utah, May 20, 1994). Sanford reviewed some of the inaccurate and highly biased accounts that were written concerning the brief stay of Mormons in La Crosse and concluded that many of the accounts were simply wrong. Sanford, “The Mormons of Mormon Coulee,” 142.

62Bitton, “Mormons in Texas,” 11–12; Sanford, “Mormons of Mormon Coulee,” 130–31 (accounts of Nathan Myrick and Lafayette Bunnell). Considering the coming winter season, the log cabin story seems more reasonable. However, even tents are a viable option, since the winter of 1844–45 was uncommonly mild. No freezing temperatures were recorded during November. During December and January, approximately only half of the days were below freezing, and precipitation was recorded for only eight to ten days during the two-month period. February had twelve days above freezing and no below-zero weather. Weather records for Ft. Crawford, Wisconsin, State Climatologist’s Office, Madison, Wisconsin.
The mild weather the Saints enjoyed during the winter continued into March. During the early part of the month, nine days had above freezing temperatures, and on March 25, temperatures climbed to seventy degrees and reached above eighty degrees before the month’s end. Weather records for Ft. Crawford.

Bitton, “Mormons in Texas,” 12. One account of the final hours of the La Crosse Saints reports that the group left the area in the dead of the night without paying their debts and burned their cabins behind them. Sanford, “Mormons of Mormon Coulee,” 141. This is the account of La Crosse newspaper editor, E. B. Usher. The Usher account, like that of the Milwaukee Sentinel (see above), is simply an anti-Mormon story. Because the LDS settlement was the only major settlement in an area that consisted of just a few other families, it is difficult to understand what kind of debts the Saints might have accrued, and no reason has been given why they would have burned their winter homes. Myrick recorded that before the Saints left they came to his store and traded oxen and horses to cover debts they owed him. Myrick, Biographical History of La Crosse, 559. In several other accounts as well, published inaccuracies almost outnumber facts. These include the story in the “History of La Crosse County” and the highly inaccurate Milwaukee Sentinel account. Sanford concluded his summary of the La Crosse Mormon story by pointing out “the necessity for careful examination in the light of authentic records” (141-42). Unfortunately, few authentic records have been found.


Apparently, at least one man (Loomis) who was part of the Mormon group remained in La Crosse after the main body had moved to Texas. Along with two non-Mormons, he is credited with raising the first wheat of the area. Within a few years, at least one additional Mormon family moved into the La Crosse area for a short time. Milwaukee Sentinel, September 23, 1882.

Sanford, “Mormons of Mormon Coulee,” 141.

The succession “crisis” in the Church has been extensively treated by a number of historians. A recent excellent summary is that of Allen and Leonard, Story of the Latter-day Saints, 213–19, 250–52.


Van Noord, King of Beaver Island, 28.

Voree Herald 1, no. 1 (January 1846): 1.

JH, August 5, 1844.


Launius, Joseph Smith III, 82-84.

78 The history of the Reorganized Church is outlined in Launius, Joseph Smith III.

79 Briggs's home, a few miles northwest of downtown Beloit, is an important historical site for the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Smith and Smith, History of the Reorganized Church, 3:203.

80 Smith and Smith, History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: 1844–1872, 204.


A Monument for Phyllis

I didn’t know her, really, since I was just a kid—
Old enough to read though, and look up
What *statutory* meant when I saw in the paper
That her baby’s father had been sent to jail.
He was married and had kids, and Phyllis, maybe,
Was thirteen—anyway old enough to have a baby.
She died in childbirth, but the baby lived,
Adopted by her married brother. I saw him
Come and talk to my father alone in the front room:
Everybody in town with a problem talked to my father.
Our town was small, five hundred at most,
At the mouth of a canyon through foothills to higher
Peaks. But you couldn’t see them from town—only
The plain gray slope of sagebrush leading
To a grove of aspen that sat like a saddle on the spine
Of the swaybacked hill. And sage is gray, mostly.
She lived up the hill, not far up, but enough
Not to be close to other kids her age.
I’m guessing now, but can’t help thinking
How it must have been, a girl turning into a woman,
And yearning for night to come when, eyes shut,
She could see the barn turn into a ballroom
As one of the first radios in town played tunes
From a dance band at Coconut Grove or someplace,
Drifting softly from the house across the way.
Maybe by day she went climbing on the hill,
Picking an Indian paintbrush here and a sego lily
There, dwarfed in a gully by sagebrush taller
Than she was. Or maybe it was the barn she went to,
Across the street from her house, a big log barn,
Like most in town, built by the first settlers,
Not too long ago, before sawmills were built,
And timber was handy: weathered gray now.
Against it was a stable for cows and she wandered there,
Not that cows and milking were so new, but because
This man was different from father or brothers.
She went over often while he milked and talked to him,
Letting the calves come to be fed when he wanted them
And laughing and skipping when he squirted milk at her.
Or maybe it wasn’t like that. Maybe she went alone,
Just to explore. Outside, the sun shriveled
Leaves on the poplar beside the ditch with no water
In it. The barn was hot, but out of the sun.
The inside smelled of dry lucerne, and was dark.
Specks of dust danced crazy in the light spear
From a knothole. When would night come? Thoughts
Of bright music and catalogue dresses twirling. . . .
A door opened. He came in, and she found
Night hiding at noon in the dust of the old barn.

—Edward L. Hart
Plate 1. Waclaw Suska (b. 1922), The Good Shepherd. Polychrome wood, height 13".
Polish Religious Folk Art: Gospel Echoes from a Disparate Clime

Compelling testaments of faith and goodness, the Polish woodcarvings in the Whipple collection feature masterful compositions infused with an other-world spirit.

Doris R. Dant

When Walter Whipple first viewed Polish folk sculptures, he was not impressed. The woodcarvings seemed "primitively simple, painted with unattractive colors, too bright, too garish, not finished off around the edges, fraught with lack of perspective, the proportions out of sync."1 Furthermore, the "Catholic" aspects of the art—the gold work and the halos—seemed foreign to him. What would a sophisticated American serving as a Latter-day Saint mission president in Poland ever want with such figures?

What he ended up wanting was to put together the most comprehensive collection of Polish religious folk art in the United States. Whipple soon gained an appreciation for "the universal goodness" of the Polish sculptures and in 1991 began to avidly acquire representative pieces from the best contemporary artists. The sculptures pictured in this issue and on exhibit in 1998 at the Museum of Art at Brigham Young University are from the collection that resulted.

Early on, Whipple sensed that the Polish art to which he became so attracted "is part of the gospel." He cites Brigham Young: "All that is good, lovely, and praiseworthy belongs to this church and Kingdom."2 The Latter-day Saint religion, President Young stated on another occasion, "embraces all truth, wherever found, in all the works of God and man."3 In other words, Latter-day Saints should value—not fear or slight or exclude—the virtuous found in other faiths and climes. It is part of the good news given by the Lord of all,
for "every particle of truth that every person has received is a gift of God." That a Mormon mission president would feel a kinship with Polish Catholic folk art is therefore not surprising.

This art has much in common with the spirit of Latter-day Saint art. LDS art "evokes a sense of the goodness of God and of a belief in his eternal plan for mankind." One of the hallmarks of the Polish folk carvings is a profound reverence for religious traditions that transforms a seemingly simple, carved piece of wood into a symbol of the creator's faith. Although the specifics of the Polish Catholic folk tradition differ from those of the Mormon tradition, the underlying faith and religiosity of many of the Mormon and Polish folk artists links the two aesthetics. For many artists in both traditions, faith is not simply a Sunday matter but rather forms the substance of their lives. And because it is foundational to their being, it is also basic to their art.

Grounded in faith, such an artist is often what Hugh Nibley terms a "mantic," an artist or other person who receives revelation or inspiration from an other-worldly source. The mantic person, Hugh Nibley writes, "accepts the other world, or better, other worlds, as part of our whole experience without which any true understanding of this life is out of the question." Artists from both the LDS and Polish traditions openly acknowledge the mind behind the beginnings of mortality and a reality beyond the naturalistic universe. To them, supernal beings are real, not mythological. In Boleslaw Parasion's The Seven Days of Creation (plates 3-9), the moving force behind this planet's birth is not chance but God, not an abstract or "threatening" figure, but a "dignified, gracious, warm person" who seems grateful to rest on the seventh day. On that day, surrounded by angels and his creations, glory emanating from his body, he nonetheless sits with head down, hands slack across his lap, feet resting upon his footstool—earth—and his toes peeking out from under his robe (plate 9).

Some artists from both the Mormon and the Polish folk cultures pray for inspiration, to be tools in the hands of the Almighty and thereby create art pleasing to him. Some may go so far as to see creation as dependent on literal inspiration and help from above (as opposed to being "inspired" by an earthly object or experience). For example, while Minerva Teichert, a prolific LDS
artist, was painting the Jaredites crossing Asia, she “sure prayed to see it.” Another time she wrote to her daughter, “Pray for me. I need it. I want health, eyesight, and inspiration” (for the Manti Temple world room murals). The great Polish folk artist Waclaw Suska (see plates 16–17) once said, “I take my work seriously. I cross my chisels and pray to God and the Virgin Mary for guidance. When I finish a piece, I offer thanks.” He added, with the characteristic satisfaction of a frugal man, “That way I have never ruined a block of linden wood.” Roman Śledź (see plate 20) characterizes his inspiration as “a message from [my] wood,” a message he must receive before he lifts his chisel.

One intriguing way in which such inspiration has played out in Polish folk art is seen in Parasion’s Noah’s Ark (plate 10). Although the biblical account of the flood does not explicate God’s role once the rains descended, Parasion depicts a thoughtful God guiding the ark with his hands. In the book of Moses, an LDS scripture not available to Parasion, Enoch sees a vision in which the Lord holds the ark “in his own hand” (Moses 7:43).

While mantic artists seek guidance through prayer, the act of artistic creation itself becomes a service that brings them closer to their Creator: it is “a profoundly religious experience.” In other words, their art comes to them from their Maker and then takes them back to him. And it can do the same for the viewer. Whipple notes that the Polish folk carvings can “elevate and rejuvenate the spirit in a remarkable way” and change one’s life; he believes he is a better person for having had this art around him. This ability to influence the viewer for the better is what drives the didactic quality in Mormon art as well.

To be worthy of receiving the requisite inspiration and to be true to their religious beliefs, mantic artists strive to live moral lives, to be fit instruments. Note these descriptions of two of the Polish folk artists Whipple knew well:

Waclaw Suska was a composite of desirable Christian virtues: he was kind, generous, honest, humble, industrious, and faithful. He attended mass regularly and observed personal devotions. Above his door hung a small crucifix. On his walls were framed prints of Christ the Good Shepherd and the Virgin Mary. It upset him that the younger generation ‘blaspheme the very name that makes money for them’ whenever they hit their fingers with the mallet.
When you’re with Śledź, you can tell you’re in the presence of a spiritual man. He’s a quiet, believing man, extremely humble and hardworking in supporting his four children.\(^\text{19}\)

Another connection between an artist’s life and work was posed by Teichert, who said, “A true artist cannot paint anything he does not feel.”\(^\text{20}\) Her statement holds true for the Polish folk artists, according to Whipple: “The artist cannot hide behind his medium. . . . This is certainly true of folk artists. I believe the personalities of the artists are evident in their work. I’m talking about the entire Suska family,\(^\text{21}\) the Krajewski family, and Dużyński.”\(^\text{22}\) “All of [Stanislaw] Dużyński’s pieces radiate something very good that’s inexplicable to me.”\(^\text{23}\)

Artists from both the Polish folk and Mormon traditions belong to “a fellowship of ‘the People of the Book,’ because of their belief in inspired books.”\(^\text{24}\) They believe that the biblical stories actually occurred and that the people in these accounts were real. For example, acknowledging her own orthodoxy, Teichert wrote, “There was a flood, the real baptism of mother earth, [and] she shall have a confirmation of fire, and then her rebirth of the spirit.”\(^\text{25}\) Nonetheless, in the hands of mantic artists, biblical stories may “undergo fascinating transformations that are guided by the individual experience and religious feelings of the artist.”\(^\text{26}\)

In the *Holy Family* by Jan Krajewski (plate 19), the child Jesus, cradled in Mary’s arms, reaches for Joseph, who hovers over the mother and child with his cloak spread to protectively envelop Mary from three sides, the red of the cloak’s lining reminding us of the love this humble man felt for his royal family, of how he held them closely to his heart. His shepherd’s crook symbolizes not only the watchful care Joseph gave the Christ child at a vulnerable time, but also the tender mercies of other human fathers and of the Father who watches over all.

Certainly this portrayal of historical people derives in part from the feelings Jan has both for his son Krzysztof, who, because of an illness his mother suffered during her pregnancy, was born with a deformed hand, and for his wife, who bravely carried the child to term against the advice of the doctors. In spite of Krzysztof’s disability, Jan taught his son in his workshop at an early age how to carve wood. Some of the feelings the son returns to his father are
captured in Krzysztof's *Saint Joseph with Jesus* (plate 18), a tender vision of the older man encouraging Jesus with a loving caress while guiding the boy's work in the carpentry shop.

One theme depicted almost universally by Polish folk sculptors is the Sorrowing Christ, but each figure is individualized, often modeled after the artist's own experience with emotional pain: "The artist often portrayed his own plight in this figure, for he, too, was downcast and downhearted through no fault of his own."27 Susan Thompson of the Museum of Art notes some of the differences between Janus Mostyl's *Sorrowing Christ* (plate 2) and that of Waclaw Suska (plate 17):

While Janus's sculpture appears to rely heavily upon the influence of Dürer, it is also very personal and reflects his own vision. The exaggerated size of the hands and feet on the carved figure seems to be something with which he is familiar. These are the hands of a working man—strong and accustomed to labor. Perhaps he even looked at his own hands and feet as he modeled his Christ figure.28

Suska, on the other hand, Thompson says, dressed but did not crown his sculpture, "thereby making [it] more accessible for identification as any man who feels sorrow."29 This image, the last sculpture of Suska's career,30 is a restrained piece, using only a few details to depict the Lord's grief—the face half covered and shadowed, the weight of the head dragging against the hand, thereby distorting the mouth, the eyes closed in pain, shutting out the world.

The Pietà, Mary mourning for her crucified son, is another widespread religious image with which Polish folk artists personally identify, having themselves lost so many children to disease and strife.31 Jan Krajewski's *Pietà* (front cover) is of a woman grown older and heavier. Withdrawn, eyes swollen almost shut from weeping, she supports her son's limp, sagging body between her legs and, unable to hold this adult man in her arms, cradles what she can—his head and one hand. This Pietà has not been prettified, for death and sorrow are not glamorous.

Because of their belief in the literalness of Bible stories, the Polish folk artists, Whipple notes, have "a real power to illustrate and embellish on a scriptural text, bringing it much more to life and really making me think about the event." For example, every time Whipple looks at Stanislaw Suska's *Triumphant Entry into Jerusalem*
(back cover), he thinks of the people “spreading the palms before his feet and singing hosanna to the son of David. For just that brief moment, Christ was recognized for who he really was after so much persecution.”

That the mantic impulse in Polish folk art has much in common with that in LDS art can be seen from Martha Peacock’s description of Mormon artists:

Their quest consists of the attempt to translate their religious ideals into their various mediums. Their search thus takes them on a different path from that of many other artists and attempts to lead them to the spiritual sources of their beliefs. Feeling that they will reach their goals only through direct access to this spiritual source, LDS artists seek inspiration as a means of attaining this quality in their art. For them, painting or sculpting is a private activity imbued with purpose that affects more than their artistic lives. By conducting their lives with a sense of truth and integrity, they hope to be brought closer to this spiritual core.32

In the best of the Polish woodcarvings, the portrayal of a religious principle or narrative is not merely a didactic exercise. The art is aesthetically pleasing, as it is in the best of LDS art. For example, Dużyński’s Expulsion from Eden (plate 15) depicts a dejected angel, sword drooping, shoulders slumping, ejecting Adam and Eve from the garden. Eve hides her face behind her hands. Holding up one arm as if to ward off a blow the viewer knows is not coming, his other arm draped over his eyes, Adam strides out ahead of Eve. This sculpture, as do the others in Whipple’s collection, presents “a paradox of naïveté and deep sophistication.”33 The paradox can be seen in the uncompromising vertical lines repeated over and over in hair, wings, sword, robe, and skin garments. It is evidenced in the base, a stark, brown block of wood, the world Adam and Eve are entering, a world no longer automatically lush and productive, a world that will require the sweat of their brows to turn green. Dużyński, according to one of the most experienced dealers of Polish folk art, “has never produced a careless sculpture.”34

Śledź’s Christ Nailed to the Cross (plate 20) is another good example. It is roughly hewn and unsanded, yet the chisel strokes are carefully placed to help us feel the agonized stretching of Christ’s arm, to sense the turmoil and unease of the scene, and to understand, through the slackness of Christ’s body and the drooping of
his head, that, in spite of all his suffering, the Redeemer, rather than resisting the will of the Father, is yielding to it.

The aesthetic sense of the Polish mantic artists, most of whom lead simple, rural lives, isolated from urban sophistication and education, is captured in this anecdote about the last encounter between Whipple and Waclaw Suska:

I presented [Suska] with an oversized picture album entitled The Bible in Painting. He immediately put on his glasses and began studying the reproductions, slowly leafing through each page. One picture in particular caught his attention. "This is the work of a very talented artist," he said, pointing to a work of Rembrandt. "Notice the excellent composition, the balance, the lighting, how the robes flow off the shoulders. . . ." Although Waclaw Suska probably doesn't know Rembrandt's name, he instantly felt a kinship with the Dutch master.35

By opening our souls to those things that are good, lovely, and praiseworthy, regardless of who produces them, we can be blessed by experiencing yet another aspect of the gospel, broadly defined. "Our Catholic friends in Poland made beautiful art that uplifts our spirits," Whipple argues. "They have enriched our lives." Just as Suska recognized a kinship with Rembrandt, Latter-day Saints can recognize a kinship with this Polish religious folk art.

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NOTES

1Unless noted otherwise, quotations are from Walter Whipple, interview by Paul Anderson and Doris Dant, Provo, Utah, January 21, 1998.
3Brigham Young, in Journal of Discourses, 10:251, October 6, 1863.

Whipple, interview.

I thank Dawn Pheysey, curator at the Museum of Art, who called my attention to the toes peeking out.


Minerva Teichert to Laurie [Eastwood], November 18, 1946.


Whipple, “Human Goodness.”

Whipple, *From Heart and Hand*.


Waclaw Suska (b. 1922), his older brother Boleslaw Suska (b. 1919), his son Stanisław Suska (b. 1954), and his sons-in-law Adam Wydra (b. 1953) and Mieczysław Gaja (b. 1953). Waclaw taught himself to carve, then shared his knowledge with the others.

Jan Krajewski (b. 1935); his wife, Alfreda Krajewska (b. 1938); and his son Krzysztof Krajewski (b. 1970).

Whipple, *From Heart and Hand*.


Minerva Teichert to Laurie [Eastwood], November 22, 1942.

Stefania Szczurkowska, “The Art Itself.” Szczurkowska is referring specifically to Polish folk art.

Szczurkowska, “The Art Itself.”

Susan G. Thompson, “Sorrow and Apprehension: Northern Renaissance Influences on the Art” (Provo, Utah: Museum of Art, forthcoming).

Thompson, “Sorrow and Apprehension.” According to Thompson, the Sorrowing Christ motif is likely based on Isaiah 53:3–5.

Whipple, “Human Goodness.”

Szczurkowska, “The Art Itself.”

Peacock, “Art in Mormonism,” 1:75.

Campbell Gray, director, Museum of Art at Brigham Young University, conversation with author, December 1997.

Pani Lucyna Żakowicz, quoted in Whipple, “Human Goodness.”

Whipple, “Human Goodness.”
Plate 2. Janus Mostýl (b. 1952), *Sorrowing Christ*. Polychrome wood, height 18".
DZIEN 2 STWORZENIA

Plate 4.
DZIEŃ 3. STWORZENIA

A POTEM Bóg rzekł: „Wechaj zbiorą się wody spod nieba w jedno miejsce i niech się ukąże powierzchnia sucha!"
DZIEŃ 4 STWORZENIA

A POTEƒ BÒG RZECZ, NIECH AÝ POWSTANÀ CIÀÐA NIEBIESKIE ŚWIĘCĄCE
NA SKLEPIENIU NIEBA, ABY ODDZIELAŁY DZIEŃ OD NOCY, ABY WYZNA-
CZAŁY FORY ROKU, DNI I LATA

Plate 6.
A potem Bog rzekł: "Niechaj się zarośną wody od raju istot żyjących a przycięcie niechaj lata nad ziemią, pod sklepieniem nieba!"
STWORZYŁ WIĘC BOG CZŁOWIEKA NA SWOJ OBRZĄ... PO EZYM BOG IM BŁOGO
SZAWIK MÓWIAĆ DO NICH: „BARDZIE PLONI I RÓZMNIAJĄCIE SIĘ, ABYŚCIE
ZALUDNILI ZIEMIE I UČZYNILI JA SOBIE PODDANĄ.”

Plate 8.
ODPOCZYNEK Dnia SIÓDMEGO

A gdy Bog ukonczył w dniu szóstym swe dzieło, nad którym pracowal, odpoczyl Dnia Siódmego po calym swym trudzie jaki podjat.

Plate 9.
Plate 10. Bolesław Parasion (b. 1950), *Noah’s Ark*. Polychrome wood, height 13½".
Plate 11. Bronislaw Bednarz (b. 1925), *Abraham and Isaac*. Polychrome wood, height 26½".

Plate 12. Konstanty Marcinkowski (b. 1921), *Moses*. Polychrome wood, height 12".
Plate 13. Adam Wydra (b. 1953), *Moses*. Polychrome wood, height 31".

Plate 15. Stanisław Dużyński (b. 1923), *Expulsion from Eden*. Polychrome wood, height 12".

Plate 16. Waclaw Suska (b. 1922), *The Prodigal Son*. Polychrome wood, height 9½".
Plate 17. Waclaw Suska (b. 1922), *Sorrowing Christ*. Polychrome wood, height 10".
Plate 20. Roman Śledź (b. 1948), *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. Polychrome wood, height 11".
Solomon Chamberlin’s Missing Pamphlet: Dreams, Visions, and Angelic Ministrants

An 1829 pamphlet tells of the early experiences of a visionary man who was guided to Joseph Smith in Palmyra and who recognized the Restoration as the fulfillment of his spiritual quest.

Larry C. Porter

Now and then a historian’s long-time quest for a particular document that seemed impossible to find is unexpectedly rewarded when the item suddenly materializes. For years I searched to find a pamphlet published by Solomon Chamberlin (1788–1862), an April 1830 convert to the Church in western New York. The pamphlet had been published in 1829.

I first became aware of the pamphlet in 1969. Provo resident Jennie Romney Swensen (now deceased), a great-granddaughter of Solomon, had in her possession an original autobiographical document entitled A Short Sketch of the Life of Solomon Chamberlin, in which Solomon mentioned his 1829 pamphlet. Chamberlin had sent the Sketch to Albert Carrington, editor of the Deseret News, writing, “Herewith I send you a short sketch of my life, which I wish if you think proper, inserted in the Deseret News.” This note to Carrington accompanied the Sketch and was dated Beaver City [Utah], July 11, 1858.

The pamphlet is also mentioned in one of John Taylor’s Nauvoo journals. The journal itself had been missing until it was rediscovered by Brent F. Ashworth, a Provo collector. Under an entry for Friday, February 28, 1845, Elder Taylor recounted, “Speaking a few days since with a man of the name of Solomon Chamberlin, he related some particulars that I thought interesting concerning the manner that he was brought to obey the truth; and concerning
the early rise of the Church as he was one of the first members. I will relate it in his own words.” He then went on to record Chamberlin’s story.

**Solomon Chamberlin Shares His Pamphlet with the Smiths**

Both the 1858 autobiography and the account recorded by John Taylor in 1845 tell in similar words of Solomon’s visit to the home of Joseph Smith Sr., during the fall of 1829. Solomon averred that “about the time that Joseph Smith found the Gold record,” he (Chamberlin) “began to feel that the time was drawing near, that the Lord would in some shape or other, bring forth his church.” He made inquiries through the country where he traveled “if there was any strange work of God, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Christ.” Solomon stated that while traveling on the Erie Canal from Lyons, New York, to Upper Canada, he had gone as far as Palmyra when he was directed by “some genii or good spirit” to “leave the boat, and go or travel a south course.”

About three miles south of the village, his spirit-guide told him to put up for the night at a farmhouse. It was from a woman in the household where he lodged that he learned about Joseph Smith and the “Gold Bible.” When the woman mentioned the “Gold Bible,” Solomon said, “There was a power like electricity went from the top of my head to the end of my toes.” Finding that he was only about one-half mile from the home of Father Smith, he went “across lots” and called on the household. Solomon entered the Smith home and first saw Hyrum Smith, whom he greeted with the salutation:

Peace be to this house. he [Hyrum] looked at me as one astonished, and said I hope it will be peace. I then said, Is there any one here that believes in visions or revelations, he said Yes, we are a visionary house. I said then I will give you one of my pamphlets, which was visionary, and of my own experience. They then called the people together, which consisted of 5 or 6 men who were out at the door. Father Smith was one & some of the Whitmer’s. They then sat down and read my pamphlet. Hyrum read first, but was so affected, he could not read it, he then gave it to a man, which I learned was Christian Whitmer. he finished reading it.

Following the group’s examination of the content of his pamphlet, Solomon expounded his interpretations of its meaning, and
he "then said, if you are a visionary house I wish you would make known some of your discoveries, for I think I can bear them. They then made known to me, that they had obtained a gold record, and just finished translating it." These conversations led to Solomon's baptism by Joseph Smith in Seneca Lake in April 1830.

The Pamphlet Is Discovered

Solomon Chamberlin's references to his pamphlet at once intrigued me when I first encountered them in the above readings. These two accounts unfolded some invaluable insights relative to the early Church. Not only did both texts refer to the missing pamphlet, but both documents also spoke of things which Chamberlin learned in the course of dreams and visions. Obviously, the content of that pamphlet might prove to be a valuable resource in identifying the circumstances that brought this earnest seeker after truth to the Smith's door. It might also give a more inclusive narration of his personal associations with angelic visitors. I pursued every constructive avenue to retrieve the elusive pamphlet—all to no avail.

In July 1989, I received a phone call from A. Dean Larson, associate university librarian at the Harold B. Lee Library at Brigham Young University, who indicated that a book dealer, Rick Grunder of Rick Grunder—Books, Syracuse, New York, was offering for sale a pamphlet entitled *A Sketch of the Experience of Solomon Chamberlin, to Which Is Added a Remarkable Revelation, or Trance, of His Father-in-Law Philip Haskins: How His Soul Actually Left His Body and Was Guided by a Holy Angel to Eternal Day*, published in Lyons, New York, in 1829. Dean Larson inquired whether this pamphlet would be a valuable addition to the university collection. I am sure that he had anticipated my elation and my resounding response in the affirmative. Brigham Young University acquired the pamphlet on August 17, 1989, and its contents were subsequently made available for research.

Rick Grunder has since informed me that the Chamberlin pamphlet originally "came from Susan Heller [of] Rare and Out-of-Print Books in Beachwood, Ohio," about a dozen miles southwest of Kirtland, and was found "among a small pile of old Shaker
pamphlets which she sold to me.” With the assistance of K. Haybron Adams of the Harold B. Lee Library Archives, I have searched the indexes of library collections across the country and locally. At present, the pamphlet acquired by Brigham Young University seems to be the sole survivor of what was probably a limited printing by Solomon at Lyons, Wayne County, New York.

The twelve-page pamphlet gives two accounts in one. Solomon devoted seven and two-thirds pages to his own account. Following Solomon’s story is a three-and-one-third-page account of a vision experienced by his father-in-law, Philip Haskins, who writes of an out-of-body experience during which a “holy angel” guided him to the eternal world, where he visited with his mother and saw Christ and some Apostles. Appended to the title page was a quotation based on Joel 2:28–29, reading, “And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit.” The pamphlet, including the title page, is twelve pages and measures 17 1/2 x 10 cm. in 3 folio format (three sheets folded in half). A dark blue wrapper (probably not original) has been stitched to the spine. The pages are heavily foxed (brownish spots). On the front of the wrapper, the statement has been penned, “Remarkable gifts To Children of Nature Instructive Psychic Experiences.” The entire text of the pamphlet has been included herein.

**Solomon Chamberlin Searches for a Religion**

In order for readers to more fully appreciate the setting which generated the content of the pamphlet reprinted below, I have included an abbreviated account of Solomon Chamberlin’s life, with emphasis on that period leading to, and associated with, the printing of the pamphlet.

**Early Life and Visions.** Solomon Chamberlin was born on July 30, 1788, in Old Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, the son of Joel (1747–c. 1796) and Sarah Dean Chamberlin (1757–c. 1806). In Solomon’s ninth year, his family moved to Hillsdale, Columbia County, New York, where his father died soon afterwards. Approximately six months later, Solomon’s younger brother also
died. The family relocated immediately north of Hillsdale at Green River, Columbia County, New York, where they became associated with the Congregational Church under the ministry of Reverend John Morse. Solomon’s mother was examined, and the membership voted that she be “propounded” (proposed or named as a candidate for admission to communion with the church) on December 15, 1800. She was received as a member on January 11, 1801. Solomon, his brother Lewis, and sisters Electa and Polly were baptized into that faith on February 11, 1801.\textsuperscript{18}

According to Solomon’s 1858 autobiography, he received two remarkable visions when in his nineteenth year. Solomon describes the first vision in detail in his 1829 pamphlet. He was shown the judgment of God and the dominions of hell, and a heavenly personage gave him one year to rectify his life of wickedness or face an ominous summons.\textsuperscript{19} In the second vision, mentioned in the 1858 autobiography, Solomon beheld “three heavens, and their glories, and the third one, far exceeded the others.”\textsuperscript{20} Seeking earnestly to discover how he might be saved, Solomon conversed with the Congregational minister, Reverend John Morse, “whose meetings,” the 1829 pamphlet says, “I had attended from a child.”\textsuperscript{21} But no satisfactory answer was forthcoming, for, as Solomon confirmed, “instead of enlightening my mind,” Reverend Morse “darkened it.”\textsuperscript{22} Solomon’s darkness remained until he attended a Methodist Episcopal prayer meeting, where he prayed publicly for the first time. “Thus I began to vent my feelings to God,” he later recalled and soon “felt a peace of mind.”\textsuperscript{23} His burden lifted, Solomon leagued with the Methodist Episcopal and remained with them until about 1816.\textsuperscript{24}

During this time, Solomon’s family situation changed dramatically. His mother, Sarah, died about 1806, leaving the family bereft of parents. On October 23, 1809, when he was twenty-two years old, Solomon Chamberlin of Green River, New York, married Hopestill (Hope, Hopee) Haskins, age twenty-three, of Adams, Massachusetts. Hope (1787–1847) was the daughter of Philip Haskins (1748–1820) and Mary (Molly) Myrick (1752–?). The marriage was performed by Jesse Blackinton, justice of the peace at Pownal, Bennington County, Vermont. Three children were born to this union—Lorenzo D. (1810), Polly (1812), and Electa (1814)—apparently all in the town of Adams, Berkshire, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{25}
Solomon's association with the Methodist Episcopal Church did not last. According to Solomon's 1829 pamphlet:

I joined the methodists and lived with them 10 or 12 years, at the expiration of which I felt uneasy and began to conclude they as a people had apostatized from God and I began to be uneasy and pray much to the Lord to shew me his true church and people; about this time I became acquainted with the people called Quakers; here I was greatly deceived on account of their plain speech and dress and being averse to baring arms, but God gave me soon to see how poor and naked their spirits were, and my greatest desire was to find those that lived the nearest to God.\textsuperscript{26}

**A Vision and the Reformed Methodist Church.** At this juncture, Solomon experienced yet another dream or vision of the night in which he saw in detail a gathering of "some of Gods dear children."\textsuperscript{27} A few days after the vision, he heard of a quarterly meeting which was to be conducted at Readsborough, Vermont, by the Reformed Methodist Church, a recent offshoot of the Methodist Episcopal Church.\textsuperscript{28} Solomon had never heard of the Reformed Methodists before but concluded he would attend. As he descended the mountain into the valley and proceeded to the house of worship to be greeted by the people, he was astonished to discover that the setting—the physical terrain, the house of worship, and the speakers—was exactly the same as that witnessed in his vision. Stirred by this divine witness, he "joined them to live and unite with, so long as they would follow the Lamb of God."\textsuperscript{29}

Soon after the founding of the Reformed Methodist Church in 1814, leaders decided to gather a central core of their adherents into a single community. Reverend Wesley Bailey described the rationale behind this common-stock society:

> With a view to thrust labourers into the field, a sort of community was formed, Wm. Lake, E[lijah] Bailey, E[beneser] Davis, E[zra] Amadon, and several others being members of it. They bought a farm on the state line in the town of Bennington, Vt., and Hosack [Hoosick], N. Y. This farm consisted of several hundred acres, and the community, of near a dozen farmers.\textsuperscript{30}

Savoring the implications of his conversion, Solomon aligned himself with the new community: "In 1816, I moved to Shaftsbury [Vermont] into the combination." He explained their ultimate design:
At this time the heads of the Church and some families myself with the rest, purchased a farm that cost $25,000, and moved on to it, thinking that the day of the gathering had come; and we came into common stock, striving to come on to the Apostles ground.  

The newly discovered pamphlet supplies much information about Chamberlin's experiences and visions during the time he was associated with this group. The combination, however, was short-lived. Solomon later recalled: "We believed in revelation and the healing of the sick through faith and prayer; but we were wrong in many things, we had no prophet nor priesthood. This year (1816) we found we were mistaken in many things."  

Reverend Wesley Bailey, a son of one of

The State Line House. Built by Captain David Mathews about 1783, it was occupied by some members of the Reformed Methodist Church at the time Solomon Chamberlin stated, "In 1816, I moved to Shaftsbury [Vermont] into the combination." The structure still stands. Photo from Grace Greylock Niles, The Hoosac Valley: Its Legends and Its History (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1912), 225.
the founders, Reverend Elijah Bailey, spelled out his own assessment of the demise of the order:

Providence did not seem to smile on the undertaking, though conceived in the purest benevolence. The cold season’s coming on, the want of funds to pay in advance for the farm, rendered it impossible for them to pay for the place, and after remaining near two years on the premises, they were compelled to scatter; not scattered to abandon their principles, but to promulgate them in other regions, where Providence might open the way.33

A Heavenly Visitor and a New Church. Just what Solomon did after the combination failed is unclear. His 1829 pamphlet skips from 1816, when he still considered himself a Reformed Methodist, to 1819, when he again associated with the Methodist Episcopal. His break with the Reformed Methodists is not discussed. But in the 1845 and 1858 accounts, Solomon wrote about the combination and then immediately told of another vision.

According to the 1858 account, the vision occurred in the year 1816.34 Solomon recalled feeling “very anxious to know whether there were any people on the earth whose principles were right in all things; for I was tired of all orders unless they had the true principles of God.”35

In the 1845 account, Solomon wrote:

I believed we might receive revelation for ourselves before God in mighty prayer, and asked in sincerity he would give us; I did so with all my heart, and he answered my prayer. The Lord revealed to me in a vision of the night an angel, I thought if I could ask him, he could tell me all I wanted to know. I accordingly asked him if we were right. He said not one of us were right, and that there were no people on earth that were right; but that the Lord would in his own due time raise up a church, different from all others, and he would give power and authority as in the days of Christ; and he would carry it through, and it should never be confounded; and that I should live to see the day, and know the work when it came forth; and that great persecution should follow.36

According to the 1858 account, Solomon was shown that he “should live to see the day” when “there would a book come forth, like unto the Bible, and the people would be guided by it, as well as the Bible.”37

Sometime after the Reformed Methodist combination failed, Solomon returned to his old haunts in the town of Adams, Berkshire,
Massachusetts, where he established a cooper's shop, a trade which he had learned in his youth and had continued to follow. Solomon attended the funeral of his younger sister, Mary Chamberlin, on October 23, 1818. He said of that occasion that Mary was a believer in Christ and “seemed very near to me,” and “I was so filled with the glory of God, that when I went into the room of brother Buel's where the corpse lay, I shouted the praises of God aloud.”

By the fall of 1819, he was once more associated with his old friends in the local Methodist Episcopal Church and tried to introduce to them certain reforms that he had previously espoused among the Reformed Methodists. He was rebuked by the class leader for his particular approach to the preaching of the doctrine of sanctification, and he managed to upset a number in the congregation who mocked his exhortations that called for specific persons within the flock to repent. Soon, however, his mind was cleared as he read Matthew 10:32-33, and he felt that Christ would confess him before God. Chamberlin, convinced of “the fallen state that the church was now in,” soon experienced a manifestation “of the presence of Christ” in his workshop. This feeling was so strong that it left him without appetite for a week and led to other spiritual experiences mentioned in the 1829 pamphlet.

Solomon's activities between 1820 and 1828 are more difficult to trace. The Solomon Chamberlin family appears in the 1820 census for Adams, Berkshire, Massachusetts. But between then and February 1828, when Solomon purchased an acre of land on the Erie Canal in the township of Lyons, Wayne County, New York, his activities are unknown.

Solomon Joins the Church and Shares His New Faith

Solomon and Hope sold the Wayne County property in December 1828. However, Solomon was still at the site or in the immediate vicinity of Wayne County in the fall of 1829 when he described himself as “living about 20 miles east of where the gold record was found, on the Erie Canal.” After his previously described visit to the Smith home, Solomon spent two days receiving instruction from the Smiths on the Book of Mormon. He was then taken to Palmyra to the shop of E. B. Grandin, Book and Job
Home of Solomon Chamberlin in Lyons Township, Wayne County, New York. It stands one mile northeast of the village of Lyons on the northeast corner of the junction of the Pilgrimport, Lock Berlin, and Bishop roads. The porch is a later addition. Courtesy Larry Porter.

Printer, where the printing of the Book of Mormon was under way. There his new friends gave him sixty-four newly printed pages of the incomplete work before he continued his journey toward Lockport, New York, and on to Upper Canada. Solomon specified, “I preached all that I knew concerning Mormonism, to all both high and low, rich and poor . . . [and] exhorted all people to prepare for the great work of God that was now about to come forth, and it would never be brought down nor confounded.” Solomon then enumerated various episodes involving his preaching of the Book of Mormon in Canada and among the Baptists and members of the Reformed Methodist Church in the New York area. On April 6 of the following year, the Church was organized, and “a few days after,” Solomon later declared, “I was baptized in the waters of Seneca Lake by Joseph Smith” and in the spring of 1830 “ordained a Priest under the hands of Hyrum Smith.”
As Phinehas and Joseph Young passed through the town of Lyons on or about August 20, 1830, they called on their "old acquaintance" Solomon Chamberlin, now a Latter-day Saint. The two men were on their way to the Kingston/Earnestown area of Upper Canada as preachers for the Reformed Methodist Church. Solomon told the brothers that "there was a Church organized, and ten or more were baptized, and every body must believe the Book of Mormon or be lost."\(^{48}\)

On his way home from Canada, Phinehas Young met his brother Brigham at the annual conference of the Reformed Methodist Church held at Manlius, Onondaga County, New York. Solomon Chamberlin also attended the gathering. Phinehas related that Solomon "told me he had come to offer the conference the Book of Mormon, saying that if they rejected it they would all go to destruction. He soon filled his mission, and was driven from the place by the voice of the conference."\(^{49}\) Solomon reported, "At this conference was Brigham and his brother Phinehas Young, they did not oppose me but used me well."\(^{50}\) While returning to the town of Lyons, Solomon recalled,

I stopped at their [the Reformed Methodists] Camp meeting, where I found one of their greatest preachers, whom I contended with concerning the Book of Mormon, by the name of Wm Lake, who utterly condemned it & rejected it, who spurned at me and the Book, and said, if it was of God, Do you think he would send such a little upstart as you are around with it.\(^{51}\)

It is most interesting that Solomon signed as one of the two witnesses to the highly significant indenture dated April 7, 1831, in which Martin Harris deeded 151 acres of his Palmyra farm land to Thomas Lakey in return for $3,000. Martin Harris then paid that amount to E. B. Grandin to liquidate the debt owed to Grandin and secured by Harris for the publication of the first edition of the Book of Mormon.\(^{52}\)

Solomon and Hope emigrated to Ohio in 1831 and in the fall of that same year journeyed to Missouri, where they resided with the Saints in Jackson County as members of the Prairie Branch. When forced from Jackson County in 1833, Solomon and Hope lived among the Missouri Saints in Clay, Caldwell, Clinton (that portion which later became Gentry County at "Three Forks"), and
Daviess counties until their expulsion by the 1838 extermination order of Governor Lilburn W. Boggs. Solomon and Hope left Missouri in the spring of 1839 and soon settled with the faithful at Nauvoo during the formative years of that community.53

Following the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith in 1844, Solomon continued his allegiance to the Church under the leadership of President Brigham Young. In the exodus to the valley of the Great Salt Lake, Hope Haskins Chamberlin was among the many who died at Winter Quarters, passing away on January 12, 1847.54 Solomon went west with Brigham Young’s 1847 pioneer company. He married Terressa Morse in Salt Lake City in 1848, and they had one child, Sarah Louisa, born October 8, 1849.55

Solomon served settlement missions to Southern Utah, assisting in the establishment of the communities of Parowan, Cedar City, Beaver, and Santa Clara and was also among those who briefly mined for gold in California during 1850. In January of 1862, Solomon and Sarah Louisa, then twelve years old, survived the terrible flooding of the Santa Clara River by clinging to a tree while the water swirled about them for some thirty-six hours. An aged Native American, seeing their predicament, managed to get some bread to them and also assisted in their rescue.56 Already sick before the deluge, Solomon was further debilitated by the exposure he suffered in that incident. He died shortly thereafter at the home of John D. Lee in Washington, Washington County, Utah, on March 26, 1862.57

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NOTES

1Excerpts of Chamberlin’s A Short Sketch of the Life of Solomon Chamberlin [1858] were published in Larry C. Porter, “Solomon Chamberlain—Early Missionary,” BYU Studies 12 (spring 1972): 314–18. The original unpublished document was donated in its entirety to the Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives), by Mrs. Albert D. Swensen (Jennie Romney) through her brother, President Marion G. Romney, in September 1977. Kathy
Swensen Graf to Larry C. Porter, September 17, 1997. In all of Chamberlin’s own writings, his name is spelled “Chamberlin.” Family members later spelled the name “Chamberlain.” Solomon Chamberlin’s *A Short Sketch of the Life of Solomon Chamberlin* is hereafter cited as Autobiography [1858].

Solomon Chamberlin to Albert Carrington, July 11, 1858, LDS Church Archives. This letter is the cover to Autobiography [1858]. Although Solomon did not date his autobiography, it was probably written in 1858, in preparation for submission to the *Deseret News*. I can find no record that the newspaper ever published this autobiography.


4Jessee, “John Taylor Nauvo Journal, 1845,” 44. Solomon apparently recorded this version of his life history up to 1845. The later version Chamberlin sent to the *Deseret News* in 1858 updated his life since 1845 and reworked some of the earlier details.

Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 5.


Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 7; Solomon’s unexpected reaction to the “Gold Bible” piqued his curiosity: “I said to myself I shall soon find why I have been led to this place in this singular manner.” Jessee, “John Taylor Nauvo Journal, 1845,” 45.

Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 9. Jessee, “John Taylor Nauvo Journal, 1845,” 45, gives the same account but does not mention that several people read the pamphlet.


In our survey of repositories, done at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, on September 11, 1997, we could detect no previous listing of the pamphlet in any of the following: RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network); *National Union Catalog*; ORBIS, Yale University; *Catalogue of the Library of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts*; American Antiquarian Society library; *Cornell University Library Catalog*; the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; *British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books*; American Imprints; and *Catalogue of American Publications Including Reprints and Original Works, From 1820 to 1852, Inclusive*.

For the full text of the vision, see pages 131–40 below. Philip Haskins’s heavenly vision was titled *A Sketch of the Experience of Philip Haskins;
A Remarkable Revelation. Haskins specified that his visit with a holy angel came as a result of his constant expression of a desire for the Lord to give him some evidence that all his sins were forgiven. The death of his mother, who had "never made an open profession of religion," also made him anxious to know what had become of her. While accompanying the angel, who had come "to be his guide to the mansions of eternal day," Haskins saw that his body was still lying on the bed, apparently asleep, next to his wife. In the eternal world, he met and spoke with his mother and read a series of inscriptions on a golden girdle about her waist. He saw Christ and some of the Apostles. He also met some former acquaintances. He expressed disappointment that he had to return to his body. For several years following the vision, Haskins felt "happy in the love of Christ," but anger entered his soul once again. In anguish Haskins confessed, "I fell from my steadfastness—I grieved the spirit of God, and lost that sweet peace out of my soul, and now I fell the gnawing of that worm, that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched."

A closing commentary, apparently written by Solomon Chamberlin, states that before Haskins's demise he "rage[d] like a devil, filled with madness, desiring and wishing to die, that he might know the worst of his case." Philip Haskins died in 1820, suffering in "black dispair" because of his failure to maintain the love of Christ that he had obtained during this vision.


17Larry W. Draper, Curator, Americana and Mormonism, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, assisted me with the collation of the pamphlet.

18Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 1-2 [pages 131-32 below]; Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 1-3; Loras Burke Tangren, "Solomon Chamberlain," 1979, LDS Church Archives. Solomon remembered Reverend John Morse as a Presbyterian minister; however, he was a Congregational pastor. "Records of the Congregational Church of Green River (New York)," 1792-1845, 26, 48, 75, LDS Family History Department, Salt Lake City. I am grateful to Cindylee Butler Banks, a third great-granddaughter of Solomon Chamberlin for providing the Congregational Church records.

19Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 3 [pages 131-32 below].

20Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 2.

21Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 3 [page 132 below].

22Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 3-4 [page 132 below]. Solomon wrote in 1858 that when he asked a Presbyterian minister [Morse] "what I should do to be saved," the minister "appeared like a man astonished," saying that the Lord would bring Solomon to salvation "in his own due time." Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 3.

23Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 4 [pages 132-33 below].

24Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 4 [page 133 below]. The chronology of these early events as Solomon later remembered them may be slightly inaccurate. According to the 1829 pamphlet, Solomon received "a clear witness of what God had done for my poor soul" in 1805 at the Methodist Episcopal "Greenbush campmeeting"—well before the visions of his "nineteenth year" that seemed to prompt the search for personal salvation. Moreover, Solomon
recalled the camp meeting coming "soon after" talking to Reverend Morse. If Solomon dated this camp meeting witness and his visions correctly, the witness came prior to the visions.

28Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 1-2; Elmer I. Shepard, comp., Berkshire Genealogical Notes No. 3, Marriages in Pownal, Vermont to 1850, from Books No. 1 and No. 2 of the Pownal Town Records (Williamstown, Mass.: n.p., 1941), 24; Solomon Chamberlin family records, in possession of author.

29Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 4 [page 133 below].

30Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 5 [page 133 below].

28The founders of the Reformed Methodist Church seceded from the Methodist Episcopal Church and formed themselves into a body during a convention held in Readsborough, Vermont, on January 16, 1814. They numbered only fourteen at that time. During a subsequent conference on February 5, 1814, they adopted articles of religion and rules of church government. I. Daniel Rupp, An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the United States (Philadelphia: J. Y. Humphreys, 1844), 466-67.

30Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 4-5 [page 133 below]. Solomon identified one of the speakers at the Reformed Methodist meeting, William Lake, as the man he had seen in vision a few days before speaking in "love, power, and authority." Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 4-5 [page 133 below]. Lake was one of the first dissenters from the Methodist Episcopal. Rupp, Original History of the Religious Denominations, 466-67.

30Rupp, Original History of the Religious Denominations, 474. The farm was situated on the state line running between Vermont and New York and involved portions of the towns of Bennington, Bennington County, Vermont; Shaftsbury, Bennington County, Vermont; Hoosick, Rensselaer County, New York; and Cambridge, Washington County, New York. The land was acquired from John Mathews, the brother of Elizabeth Mathews Lake, wife of William Lake of the Reformed Methodists. Indentures dealing with the acquisition and immediate disposition of certain properties involved in the transaction are dated November 11, 1815. Shaftesbury, Vermont, Town Deeds and Records, Book 7, 176, 178, 277-80, 344-45.


33Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 5.


33Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 5. Note that the message of this vision, which focuses on coming forth of the Book of Mormon, contrasts with the vision Solomon recorded in the 1829 pamphlet: "I saw my Saviour stand before me with the bible in his hand, and said to me this is the book—live in the spirit that this was wrote and you shall shine in the external [sic] world on high." Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 8 [page 136 below].
Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 9 [page 137 below].
Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 6–7 [page 135 below].
Chamberlin, Sketch of the Experience, 1829, 7 [pages 135–36 below].
The date of indenture is February 26, 1828. The site of the property and
the original one-and-one-half story frame home (which had been at one time a tav-
ern) are located one mile northeast of the village of Lyons at the junction of
County Road 244 (Pilgrimport Road), County Road 245 (Lock Berlin Road), and
Bishop Road. The home is directly across the road to the north from the 1825 bed
of the old Erie Canal (a different channel later bypassed the location). Wayne
The property was sold to Lorenzo Johnson on December 16, 1828.
Wayne County Land Deeds, Liber 9, 92.
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 6. The New York Census for 1830
places Solomon in Lyons Township, Wayne County.
Solomon later said of his time conversing with the Smiths: “Now the Lord
revealed to me by the gift & power of the Holy Ghost that this was the work I had
been looking for.” Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 10.
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 10.
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 10–11; Jesse, “John Taylor Nauvoo
Journal, 1845,” 45–46. Solomon asserted that his preaching was “the first that
ever printed Mormonism was preached to this generation.” Chamberlin, Auto-
biography [1858], 10. Of the results of his preaching, he recalled, though “I had
but few to oppose, they had not made up their minds, and they knew not what to
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 13, 18.
Brigham Young, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844, ed.
Young, Manuscript History, xxii–xxiii.
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 11–12.
Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 12. William Lake was evidently the
same Reformed Methodist preacher Solomon had earlier seen in vision [page 133
below]. Solomon later stated that soon after the Book of Mormon was printed, he
attempted to convince the Reformed Methodists of the book’s truth. “I accord-
ingly went to one of their conferences, where I met about 40 of their preachers
and labored with them for 2 days.” The result was that “they utterly rejected
me and the Book of Mormon.” Their leader abused Chamberlin and ordered him
off the premises, but the leader “was soon taken crazy, and died a miserable
death.” Chamberlin, Autobiography [1858], 11–12.
Wayne County Land Deeds, Liber 10, 513–15; Wayne Cutler Gunnell,
“Martin Harris—Witness and Benefactor to the Book of Mormon” (master’s the-
esis, Brigham Young University, 1955), 37–39, 97–100. The other witness was
Abner F. Lakey.
Jesse, “John Taylor Nauvoo Journal, 1845,” 46; Chamberlin, Autobiog-
raphy [1858], 13–14; Clark V. Johnson, ed., Mormon Redress Petitions (Provo,
Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1992), 159–60, 428–29;
note Lorenzo D. Chamberlin’s redress petition as well, 428.
Hope (Hopee) Chamberlin is mistakenly listed as “Hooper Chamberlin” on
the large bronze plaque at the Winter Quarters Cemetery registering the names of
many who died and are interred there.


A

SKETCH OF THE EXPERIENCE OF

SOLOMON CHAMBERLIN

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A REMARKABLE REVELATION,

OR TRANCE

OF HIS FATHER-IN-LAW

PHILIP HASKINS!

NOW HIS SOUL ACTUALLY LEFT HIS BODY AND WAS

GUIDED BY A HOLY ANGEL TO

ETERNAL DAY.

"And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall see visions: And also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit.—Joel 2:28th 29th."

LYONS, N.Y.

1829.

Title page of Solomon Chamberlin's pamphlet. Published in 1829, the pamphlet details the visionary experience of Solomon Chamberlin, whose spiritual quest led him to join the Church in 1830. The pamphlet, possibly the only extant copy of a limited publication, was acquired by Brigham Young University in 1989. Courtesy BYU Archives.
Singular Views

I WAS born July 30th 1788. at old Canaan. Connecticut; my
fathers name was Joel Chamberlin, from Tolland and, Sarah Dean his
wife. When I was in my ninth year my father moved to Hillsdale, in
York State, and a few years after departed this life, leaving no evi-
dence behind that he had closed his eyes in peace. This made solemn
impressions on my mind, but they like the rest that I had from a child
soon wore off again. About six months after my youngest brother
died, in his seventh year, with heaven on his countenance; about his
last words were, while looking up to his mother with a smile, mother
I am going home and thus expired.

At this scene my impressions of mind returned seven fold sev-
erer than before, and my mind was impressed like this, "be ye also
ready for in such an hour as you think not the son of man cometh," and
it may be thy turn next. I began to feel awful on account of my
sins; I thought I should die and go to hell; I began to promise the Lord
if he would spare me a little longer I would lead a better life; but those
promises were soon broken, and I again fell into bad company and
became worse than ever. Thus I went on with a high hand and an out
stretched arm, drinking, fighting, swearing, pursuing my way down to
hell against all the strivings of Gods holy spirit, and became noted for
wickedness. At a certain time in the neighborhood a school house
took fire and consumed; I was soon charged of being guilty of it, but I
was innocent of it and can assert it if they were my dying words, but
I rolled sin under my tongue, and turned a deaf ear to all the tender
whispers of Christ; at a certain time I was alarmed by a supernatural
power; one first day evening when playing at cards, it was a clear
night of a full moon about midnight, the door of itself opened, we shut
it, & continued playing; in a few minutes it opened again, we shut it
and said we would not be beat off so, it directly opened the third
time, at the same time we were ready to see if any human being did it
and found none, at the same time we heard a noise in the chamber as
though a man was walking on the floor. we searched the chamber and
found nothing, I said Lord it is enough, this shall be my last game, and so
it was for I kept my promise; I have always tho' it was a call from God
to alarm my poor wicked soul.—Thus God called me in various ways;
soon after God called me by a vision of the night. At this time I was in
the 19th year of my age; while in my slumbers I saw that the day of
judgment had fully come, & all nations were assembling to hear their
doom; we were drawn by an irresistible power; I tried hard to stop
but could not, for I shuddered at the thought of coming before God to give an account of my wicked life. I at length descended down to the regions of the damned and while standing in the door or gates of the prison of the damned, I saw them blowing up the flames and preparing red hot iron to lay their faces on to all eternity. I trembled at the thoughts, and expected every moment to begin my eternal torment; but to my great joy and surprise a man came to me and said, you may go back to yonder world and have one year longer to prepare for death in, and if you are not prepared at the expiration of one year, you, or one of your neighbors by the name of Ephraim Herger will come to this place of torment. I then awoke and found it to be a vision of the night; I was in a great sweat, a groaning and crying to God for mercy, and glory to God it had its desired effect; I thought if I did not repent and lead a better life I should soon die and go to hell.

I began to consider on my past life and give way to conviction. I felt the need of religion, and having Christ for my friend; I began to cry "God be merciful to me a sinner, save Lord or I perish." I thought I would go to some professor and enquire what I should do to be saved, for I was so ignorant of the plan of salvation that I knew not what to do to be saved, and I thought all that professed religion enjoyed it, but I soon found my mistake, there were many in high profession and not one in the place that could say they knew their sins forgiven. I concluded that the presbyterian preast by the name of Morse, whose meetings I had attended from a child could tell me what to do in order to be saved; the first opportunity I had, I enquired of him what to do to be saved, and I said to him if I die as I now am I shall be eternally miserable, after pausing a while he said, be not to forward, but wait the Lords time, and in his own due time he will bring you in; instead of exhorting me to "repent of my sins and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ." and I should receive a pardon of my sins; and thus instead of enlightening my mind, darkened it, and the devil tempted me, and I almost believed that I was one of the reprobates, and I expected to die and go hell, and if I died I would die at the feet of Jesus, and I would go to hell crying for mercy; thus under my dreadful load I went till I heard of a methodist prayer meeting about five miles distant which I attended; while we were on our knees praying I felt every moment as though I should sink into eternal misery. There was one kneeled each side of me that urged me hard to pray, I never had prayed in public in my life, but the devil told me that I could not pray correct, and I should make many blunders, but blunder or not, I thought, I will pray if the devil be at my elbow, for it seemed that I could not live long so. Thus I began to vent my feelings to God and cry with a loud voice,
for "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," for my mouth was filled and my burthen fell off, and I felt a peace of mind.—Soon after at Greenbush campmeeting in the year 1805 I received a clear witness of what God, had done for my poor soul; from this time till the year 1816 I passed through various scenes, sometimes happy in God, and oftentimes I had to mourn my apostacy from God; after my acception with Christ, I joined the methodists and lived with them 10 or 12 years, at the expiration of which I felt uneasy and began to conclude they as a people had apostatized from God and I began to be uneasy and pray much to the Lord to shew me his true church and people; about this time I became acquainted with the people called Quakers; here I was greatly deceived on account of their plain speech and dress and being averse to bareing arms, but God gave me soon to see how poor and naked their spirits were, and my greatest desire was to find those that lived the nearest to God; and one night while in my slumbers I was traveling a very strait road in pursuit of the people of God, I saw much people by the wayside and quite out of the path, among the rest were many Quakers; I listened to see if they were the Diclples of Jesus, but their whole discourse were on the things of this world; I followed on and descended into a valley where was a house built for the worship of God; as I entered the building I looked very narrowly if happily I could see one of God's dear children; the building was full of people; I soon saw a man with a very solemn countenance, I said, I have found one of God's dear children. Soon he arose & spake in such love, power, and authority, as I had never heard before, and then a young woman arose and spake in the same power, it reached my heart, and I felt thankful to think I had found some of Gods dear children, and it seemed we had a good meeting: thus I awoke and found it a dream or vision of the night. A few days after I heard of a quarterly meeting held by the Reformed Methodists at Reedsborough, I had never heard of them before, I thought I would go and see what people they were. but to my great surprise in going I went down the same mountain I had seen in my dream. In the valley I saw the same house of worship, after I saw the same man and woman and heard them speak in the the same power, though I never had seen them before, yet I knew them and asked them their names; he said his name was William Lake, and thus all my vision was fulfilled this day; thus I went home rejoicing in the Lord, and joined them to live and unite with, so long as they would follow the Lamb of God.

In 1816, I moved to Shaftsbury into the combination; I had professed sanctification about six years but had mistaken it for the witness
of sin forgiven; I soon found I never had been clearly convicted for it, one night, while I was in my highest light and love, brother William Lake & Baily with the assistance of the Holy Ghost convinced me of the necessary of a clean heart or sanctification.—The more I gave way to the truth of what they said, the more I saw the corruption of my own heart, and my great animation in a measure was gone, and a great hunger and thirst in my heart was created for the bread and water of eternal life; I now had keen temptation from the devil, I was tempted to believe I was backsliding from God, and I had better give over my supposed convencement or necessitied of the blessing; but thought I, I will retain my peace with God, and seek for the blessing if it shall be to the expense of my life, I felt no condemnation, but a distress and labor of soul for a clear heart, and my soul to be filled with the nature of God. I was now drinking of the cup of Christ sufferings in a small degree and being baptized with his baptism, I followed the distress and labor of my soul for six weeks, which was like dying, and could not die for Fareo and all his host, in my heart had to die a hard death at the expiration of six weeks.

The Reformers campmeeting came on at Reedsborough Sept. 5. 1816; I thought it my duty to go, at which the brethren objected against; at the same time I had exceeding sore eyes, and thought if they so continued I should take no comfort if I went; I besought God, if it was my duty to go, to give me a sign by healing my eyes, which he did in less than twenty four hours, and the brethren gave their consent, and I accordingly went. My sore distress, firery trial, and crucifixion continued till thursday evening, when the work seemed to come to a crisis, and it appeared victory was near at hand.

The first assault the Satan made was to personate himself in the person of Christ and impressed my mind with these words! You aught to be as willing to go home without the blessing as you are to receive it here! I answered let my will be God's will! He then says it is Gods will you should live without the blessing as long as Hayms did, which was 20 years; I was on the point of hearing to it when an impression struck my mind like this—God is always willing on his part and it may be that I am not fully prepared to receive the said victory; my life for six weeks past was brouet before me, I viewed it over to see if I had left any thing undone, I could see nothing, for I had done every duty and followed his good spirit as he had made it manifest unto me, yet said I, Lord I am destitute of the blessing—I cried Lord what shall I do? I am sinking into despair! And while standing between hope & despair I saw my supposed Saviour to be Satan, who had transformed himself into an Angel of light; but he disappappeared in an instant, and
the blessed son of God stood close by me and said, give your case to me. It seemed there was nothing lacking only my resigning my case and giving up my all into the hands of my blessed Savior, which I could do as easy as to breathe; hope sprung up and I cried Lord Jesus, live or die, dam'd or saved, all I have and am is thine—I give it thee! That moment the light and love of God broke into my soul by the power of the Holy Ghost, and I felt a change to go all over me, and through soul and body, as plain as if a pail of water had been poured on to my body; I felt such humility as I never felt before, and such love to all mankind, even my worst enemies, as no tongue can tell, or heart conceive unless they have had the like travel. Glory, honor, and renown, be unto the Lamb for ever and ever. Thus I went home rejoicing & my peace became as a river. In the fall of 1819, while I was enjoining my highest light, and walking in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, great concern came over me, for the society of the Episcopal Methodists in Adams, Mss. where I then lived, and I began to learn testimony of the work of God in my soul, and that amongst various orders. The class leader soon rebuked me for letting my light shine before the world, for said he, it will not do to preach up sanctification before unbelievers—it will only prejudice their minds, but it will do to hold it up to believers. Here I began to reason with the enemy of souls, and I was tempted to give it over, but the Lord soon cleared my mind by applying these words to my heart with power, 1st Matthew, 10, 32, 33, "whosoever therefore shall confess me before men him will I confess also before my father which is in heaven, but whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my father which is in heaven." I felt stronger in the faith than ever, and had something of a discovery of the fallen state that the church was now in, and the power of Antichrist.

Here a circumstance took place which I feel it my duty to mention. One Monday morning while at work in my shop I was taken with a weakness through my whole system, the cause I could not tell, I was well in body but the exercise increased more and more, and in awful awe and glory of the presence of Christ filled the room, and my mind was wonderfully drawn up into heaven; I felt a very still and quiet spirit, for to stand still and see the salvation of God; my appetite for food was wholly taken away from me, and my body as completely satisfied as if just refreshed with food and drink; it seemed I required no literal food for I ate but little of any kind for almost seven days; sometimes my wife over-persuaded me to drink a little milk, for she said I was going deluded. My exercise increased till Wednesday in the afternoon I was in a continual scene of prayer all this while, I now cried
with a vocal voice and said Holy Ghost teach me from the eternal world, and I prayed in faith. That moment there was a departed spirit entered the room.

The reader may wonder how I should know that there was a departed spirit in the room and could not behold it with my bodily eyes, but I could behold it with the eyes of my spirit; it was a woman that formerly had belonged to the society, and died happy in the Lord; she was the wife of Daniel Arnold, she saluted me with these words, "doint you remember the exhortation that I gave you while on my dying bed." I now knew her in a moment, and said yes, that I do sister spirit. Now the exhortation was this, she exhorted me to live more obedient to God, and not live so light and trifling—be more sober and watchful, &c. the spirit says "go thou and do likewise," tell my husband he must repent and do his first works, or where I am he never can come. This man had backslden from God, in heart, & had a name to live in the church. The spirit gave me a message for a number of the society of like cases, and gave me a charge to be faithful and go and deliver them at their meeting on Sunday—she said they all would be their and that I should have an opportunity, & speak in the power & authority of the holy Ghost.

The state of the society was now opened to my view, and I had a spirit of discernment, and could discern the sandy foundation that many of them were building on. I now fell on my knees and gave thanks to God for his condescension to unworthy me, and while lifting up my soul to God it appeared to me that I saw my Saviour stand before me with the bible in his hand, and said to me this is the book—live in the spirit that this was wrote and you shall shine in the enternal world on high. I now felt joy and peace that is "unspeakable and full of glory." I opened my bible that lay on my bench, and it was opened to my understanding with such glory as I never saw before, and my exercise increased, for I now felt my message to be from the eternal world.

Sunday arrived, and at 2 o'clock I told my wife if she would go with me to the house of worship she would see the end of my travel, and we accordingly went; I felt to take my seat and wait patiently till the class leader had gone through with his lifeless discourse as usual, and no liberty was given, and he about to close the meeting. I arose and stept out on the floor, and said I, I have a message from the eternal world to deliver to this people; and said I, it came not by my own imagination neither is it a phantom of the brain, but I will tell you how I came by it; I then related my exercise for the week past, and delivered my message first to the man that sat close by me who was formerly husband to the departed spirit as before mentioned. I then
turned and delivered my message to several others, while some wept, others mocked, and I spake to an aged professor in the tenderest love and said, dear neighbor you have used me like a kind father, and I respect you as such, and the love that I feel for you is, that I could drane my veins of the last drop of blood for you if it was required of me, as freely as to ate when a hungry.

Here I was interrupted, for he sprang up in a great rage and said, Solomon, stop, I want none of that—you are going to fast. Said I stop dear man, wait patiently and hear me through, and then mock on.—he sat down and heard me through; after I had freed my mind; now said I, I am clear from the blood of this people, and if Christ should say to me this moment, man give an account of the stewardship, I am now ready; I now felt the glories of the invisible world to fill my soul, and could eat my meat with gladness and singless of heart. But shocking to relate the husband of the departed spirit, a few years after went and hung himself Oct. 23, 1818. This day I attended the funeral of my sister, Mary Chamberlin, she being my youngest sister and a believer in Christ, seemed very near to me, and I was so filled with the glory of God, that when I went into the room of brother Buel's where the corpse lay, I shouted the praises of God aloud, and while relating the dealings of God with my soul; a young woman present began to weep on account of her sins, and I now could pray and weep for the living and not for the dead. Why I was moved in this singular manner I cannot tell, unless it was on account of the formal traditions of man; for in time of worship while at the meeting house, my friends were weeping all around, I did not refrain from shouting aloud the praises of my redeemer, and on the road to the grave at this time, I was so filled with the life of God, that if she had died in her sins, I should have shouted the praises of my redeemer, and glory be to God, many refreshing seasons have I enjoyed from the presence of God, even up to this day; and now I feel wholly given up to follow the lamb of God withersoever he shall be pleased to lead me, if it shall be through tribulations and persectuions, 'till I am translated to a better world.

A SKETCH OF THE EXPERIENCE OF PHILIP HASKINS;
A REMARKABLE REVELATION.
I was born in the town of Taunton and county of Bristol, State of Massachusetts; I was the son of Henry Haskins and Mary Rowsful his wife. I followed farming until I arrived at the age of eighteen, I then
took to the seas and followed them for seven years, chiefly whaling. I then returned to Berkley and was married to Mary Mirric daughter of Nathan Mirric;—by her I had eight children, six daughters and two sons, the eldest of which followed the seas, and died in his return from the West Indies, with the yellow fever, in the twenty-eighth year of his age.

Soon after I was married, these words came to my mind with great power, "turn ye, turn ye for why will ye die oh house of Israel". These words followed me from day to day I knew not that they were in the bible; but on searching it I found them; they then rested seven fold heavier than before, and so continued for about the space of one year; at the expiration of one year, it pleased the Lord to give me an evidence that my sins which were many were all forgiven me.

The people amongst whom I lived were chiefly Baptists. They exhorted me to be baptized & join the church, but I refused. One morning while lying in bed, these words were impressed on my mind;—"arise and be baptized, calling on the name of the Lord &c.", I accordingly arose and made my desires known to the brethren; it being in the month of January, they cut a hole in the ice and I was baptized by Elder Hyme, and joined the church and lived happy in Christ for several years. During this time my mother died; she had never made an open profession of religion and it labored hard in my mind, what had become of her. These thoughts kept impressed in my mind, what has become of her—where has she gone; these words seemed impressed in my mind, and the more I tho' of it the more anxious I felt to know her condition; at length I had become so given up to the meditation, that it was not absent from my mind while awake one hour.—for months. It appeared to me that I should be made acquainted with her condition soon, and this ere long was the case; one night as I lay in bed with my wife, what time in the night this view happened I cannot tell; the first I knew I was almost to the chamber floor with a holy angel, who had come to be my gude to the mansions of eternal day; the room was as light as day, and by guide turned me round and I saw my body lying in bed with my wife apparently a sleep. I likewise saw my children sleeping in their bed; I next found myself in open air.

I had all my rational powers of mind. My eye-sight was strengthened beyond description. I was carried I cann ot tell how far or how swift, at length through the regions of space my eyes caught sight of eternal day, or what is called heaven. I saw my mother seated on the right hand of Christ; she then appeared to be millions of miles distant, but the light of eternal day was so bright and my eye-sight so clear and
piercing that I saw and knew her in a moment. While I stood viewing
and admiring this shining abode with the deepest wonder and admi-
ration these words came into my mind. Rev. 21—22—23—while I
was viewing my mother at this amazing distance, it seemed but a
moment and I was there. On going up to her she thus addressed me.
Well Philip, you have soon came after your mother." I replied, yes
mother. I have soon followed you. There appeared to be a girdle
around her waist which was of the purest gold, and on it was reading,
the letters of which were smaller than the eye of a cambric needle;
she said come Philip, read what is round my wast. I replied I will
mother if I can. I then began and read one verse, upon which the
heavenly angels struck in and sung the same; I then proceeded to read
another verse, which was sung likewise, and so on until the whole
was finished. I then looked round on the angels and those just ones
made perfect, but in attempting to describe their glory, their powers
and loveliness, language fails me, for no tongue can express, no heart
conceive nor understanding comprehend the thousandth part of their
happy, holy and heavenly appearances. Their skin appeared like that
of an infant, or a child eight or nine months old. There was one
that stood close by me, and whom I viewed to my satisfaction;—he
like the rest appeared to be three or four feet above the streets which
were of the purest gold. They were larger than a common sized man
and had six wings.—They had on robes of the most beautiful white
that my eyes ever saw, but their glorious features cannot be described;
their glorious features and their immortal music was such, that no
imortal could endure it unless strengthened with immortal powers
and faculties to see and know people for millions of miles. I then
understood that the sun received its light from this inexhaustible
source of day.

The reader may think it strange that I should know people here
which I never before saw, but I most certainly did, I knew Christ, I
saw some of the Apostles, which I instantly knew; I also saw several
of my old acquaintance. I moved on a little further and saw one
Nathaniel McCumber, with whom I was well acquainted; we shook
hands, I asked him how long he had been in this knew abode, he
replied about twenty days, and how long said he have you been here?
I have just come I repeated. At this we passed on; I saw one of my
ship-mates and would have spoke to him, but my guide would not
admit it; so we passed on and joined with Peter and John, two of
Christs beloved disciples. Peter was the largest and John was the
slimest and handsomest. I had no thoughts of ever returning to this
earthly habitation again, but to my great disappointment I understood
by my guide that I must return. It appeared to be an immense distance to this earth, and the next that I knew, my spirit was returning to my body again and the daylight shined into the windows. How long I had been gone I could not tell, I was in great distress when my blood began to circulate, it first began at my heart, and from thence extended in to all my members; I tried to move but I could not; I tried to speak but I could not; at length my blood having reached and circulated in all my limbs, I found I could move; I then awoke my wife and related the occurrence, but she treated it all as a dream and said if what I had said was a reality, and if I had actually been there, I could remember the verses that was on the golden girdle, I told her I could and likewise rehearsed them to her, which soon convinced her of the reality of it. They were then taken from my memory and I could never remember them more, for they were the language of immortals and not to be retained by mortals.

I now felt more happy in the love of Christ than ever, and could praise and bless his great and holy name for condescending to gratify my desire. I believed as little in dreams, visions, or revelations in our day, perhaps, as any one, but this I certainly know, that my soul left its earthly habitation and was guided by a heavenly messenger to the regions of eternal day. This I can affirm as my dying words.—This happened in the year of our Lord 1798. Thus I lived happy in the Lord for several years, but at length I was ovetaken with anger, and I gave way to it till it became so headstrong that I became its slave. I fell from my stedfastness—I grieved the spirit of God, and lost that sweet peace out of my soul, and now I feel the gnawings of that worm, that never dies, and the fire that is never quenched.

"How is gold changed and the most fine gold become dim."

Though this man had great natural abilities, strong powers of mind,—a great memory and a great scripture, and it was thought by some he had a call to publish salvation and neglected it, he was often heard to say in his last sickness, a little before he died; I have once been to heaven but I shall never go there again.—He often would rage like a devil, filled with madness, desiring and wishing to die, that he might know the worst of his case.

He died in the year of our Lord 1820, about 20 years after this view happened, in black despair.

Adams, Massachusetts.
Book Reviews


Reviewed by Daniel C. Peterson, Associate Professor of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University.

At the height of a successful career as a scholar, teacher of American literature, and university administrator, Marilyn Arnold took early retirement from Brigham Young University. It would seem, from the writings appearing out of St. George (on both Latter-day Saint and general literary topics), that she is using her time well.

_Sweet Is the Word_ is designed, Arnold tells us, for at least two audiences. It is written partially for her colleagues who are not Latter-day Saints—people who, as she herself says, may be perplexed that a person with such training and literary experience could take Joseph Smith and Mormonism seriously. The author continues, “I also write it for my Mormon friends, . . . those who have not yet been swept away by the miracle of the [Book of Mormon], and those who have. May the latter find new reason to celebrate it” (xi).

Arnold concentrates on the text of the Book of Mormon itself, giving virtually no attention to the growing body of secondary literature on the book. She writes “I am not a scriptural scholar, and I have not called on the scholars to assist my reading. This essay is, very simply, my personal response to the book” (vii). Her approach has considerable merit. Too often, we read the Book of Mormon for proof texts on, for example, faith and then, having found the isolated passages we want, proceed to discuss that subject, feeling little need to make further reference to the scriptures.
themselves. But there is a much to be said for paying close sustained attention to the canonical texts themselves, to their style and method and nuances.

In some ways, we are fortunate to know so little of the original setting of the Book of Mormon. We know too little of pre-Columbian philology, archaeology, and history to let it distract us from the message of the book; every reader thus stands effectively equal to every other reader before the English text, which, for all practical purposes, is our original text. As Arnold asserts, "More than other scripture, the Book of Mormon can be read and appreciated by ordinary people with no special training or historical background, so long as they are humbly seeking the Spirit's understanding" (vii).

One of the few exceptions to Arnold's abstaining from citation of secondary literature is her reference to John Hilton's 1990 BYU Studies article about statistical analysis of the Book of Mormon text. She cites Hilton in order to buttress her own, more subjective conclusion, based on an "English teacher's eye," of multiple authorship in the Nephite record (123). She is also aware of various opinions over the location of the ancient Hill Cumorah and, from her own reading of the text, comes to support the view that two different hills were called Cumorah.

A few minor errors in this book might have been avoided by consulting the secondary literature. Arnold's reference to Laban as a "priest" (4) seems to have no basis in 1 Nephi. And given that the Lehite party landed in Mesoamerica, it is not clear that the latter-day Gentiles of Nephi's prophecy should be identified solely with the British. In Mesoamerica the Spanish would be more likely candidates. She assumes that, apart from the peoples specifically enumerated in the Book of Mormon, the New World was entirely uninhabited. But the Book of Mormon does not demand this, and American archaeology seems to rule it out.

Arnold finds it incongruous that the Lamanites, hostile to the religion of Lehi and Nephi and their descendants, would have named one of their cities Jerusalem. On the contrary, since Laman and Lemuel, at the fountainhead of the Lamanite tradition, identified themselves so closely with the ruling class of that city (an identification with which, ironically, Nephi agreed)—a city they did not want
to leave and to which they badly wanted to return—such nostalgia was to be expected. Furthermore, Arnold's suspicion that the cataclysmic destruction of 3 Nephi had perhaps altered the landscape beyond recognition has been discussed and shown to be groundless by the work of John L. Sorenson. And, finally, the Jaredites, who originated in Mesopotamia, probably did not travel by way of either the Mediterranean or the Red Sea to reach the Americas.

But these are minor issues. Arnold's emphasis is on literary analysis, and this is indeed the book's strength. Moreover, her careful reading sometimes leads her to excellent points that go beyond the literary. For instance, her remark on the structural integrity of the Nephite barges is insightful and, so far as I am aware, original to her (316 n. 4).

She is acute and convincing in her recognition of vastly different personalities among the chief characters of the Book of Mormon. There are, for example, the solitary and melancholy Jacob and the sad Moroni, long surviving his annihilated people, painfully aware of the finality of what he is writing, and acutely conscious of his own perceived literary weakness. Her discussion of Alma as the great convert, who knew for himself the powerful change of heart that he so earnestly commended to his hearers, is powerful. Arnold says, "Whenever Alma speaks of this change, his language fairly shimmers with the beauty and wonder of it" (125).

As Arnold insists, the Nephite text is vastly rich and abundantly repays close attention: "The Book of Mormon is, quite frankly, the most challenging and compelling text I have ever tried to explicate, the most densely rich and rewarding text I have ever read" (vii). It is "many-layered and structurally complex" (vii). Of Mosiah 7–17, Arnold remarks, "Even if there were no other evidence for the authenticity of the Book of Mormon, the intricacies of these chapters should convince the most skeptical of readers. A narrative jumbled this way would tax even an accomplished fictionist, and a literary novice like Joseph Smith would have been lost before he began" (99).

Discussing the sermons of Alma the Younger, she says, "They rival the beauty and power of any scripture anywhere. . . . No paraphrase or discussion can adequately describe the verbal acuity and oratorical skills of this great man of God. . . . I cannot begin to do
justice to Alma 5. It simply must be read, preferably aloud" (119, 123). Of the great discourse on faith in Alma 32, Arnold writes, "This rather amazing sermon, so simple in its form and so grand in its message, is a diamond of lucidity and brilliance, a dazzling treasure" that reveals Alma to have been not only a prophet, but also "an artist" (168). She says of the account of the resurrected Savior's ministrations to the people at Bountiful, "Nothing in my reading experience equals this account for tenderness and pure feeling. . . . I am still awed by the quality of Mormon's mind" (258, 349).

*Sweet Is the Word* is, indeed, a kind of testimony to the truth and power of the Book of Mormon, borne by a trained and morally sensitive literary scholar. Of the Book of Mormon, Arnold writes, "This is the essence of Mormonism; this is the sweet word, the sweetest of words" (xv). Appropriately, she concludes her book with a final and eloquent expression of gratitude.

I suggest that the best use of *Sweet Is the Word* is not to read it straight through, as if it were a novel. Rather, its chapters should be studied in company with the relevant chapters of the Book of Mormon itself. Thus used, it will be very much like attending a class led by a wise, discerning, and profoundly committed teacher.

**NOTES**


Reviewed by Hollis R. Johnson, Professor Emeritus of Astronomy, Indiana University.

This accessible and stimulating book about modern science should be of interest to LDS thinkers. For those of us who did not make it through Penrose's previous books (The Emperor's New Mind and Shadows of the Mind), this book is a new opportunity to learn some of the key ideas of those at the frontier of the scientific quest to understand intelligence and human consciousness.

An advantage of this book is its panel-discussion format. The first three chapters are taken from the 1995 Tanner lectures by Penrose, and these are then critiqued by each of the associate authors listed above. In a final chapter, Penrose responds to their criticisms. The level of the book and the information density is high (the book is not easy!), but a thoughtful reading will surely provide new ideas about our fantastic minds.

An introductory chapter presents basic ideas about space-time, quantum physics, and cosmology. Combining the worlds of nature and mathematics, Penrose describes the world at the quantum level (the small: elementary particles and atoms) and the classical level (the large: people and stars), with some bridge between. This bridge becomes very important later. We meet light cones and general relativity. Penrose, who loves his subject, coaxes us to the world of gravitation and the curvature of space. Three possible geometries of space—open (hyperbolic), flat (Euclidean), and closed (elliptic)—are described. Penrose explains why he prefers the open geometry, and he likewise tells why he does not favor the popular "inflationary" scenario at the beginning of the universe. He emphasizes the incredibly small probability of the universe being exactly what it is by chance but leaves open the question of why it is so.

Chapter two presents some of the mysteries of quantum physics. After discussing the unreasonable effectiveness of mathematics in describing the real world, Penrose gives an impressive
list of experiments that can be explained only by quantum mechanics (QM)—from the stability of atoms to lasers and superconductors. He describes the famous double slit experiment as the archetypal experiment of quantum physics. Something strange happens when one makes a transition between the “quantum world” and the “classical world” (the “real” world), but not everyone agrees wherein that strangeness lies. Penrose divides the strangenesses of nature into two groups: Z and X, which he calls puZZles and para-doXes. “PuZZle” mysteries are those things we simply do not understand, and “ParadoX” mysteries are those things which do not make sense. The former (for example, the wave-particle duality and nonlocal effects) are real parts of nature. Penrose believes the latter (the measurement problem, illustrated by Schrodinger’s cat paradox) indicates the lack of a proper theory—that QM as now understood is incomplete. Why he believes so and what additions are needed occupy much of the remainder of the book (as it did in the first two books).

Two puZZles are described by Penrose, the most important being the quantum nonlocality or quantum entanglement. A theorem by Bell, since substantiated by experiment, states that in the real universe, particles are not completely independent; they are “entangled.” Somehow, completely contrary to normal expectations, each particle seems to “know” what other particles are doing. A second puZZle is the “null measurement” problem, which Penrose illustrates by a complicated “bomb-testing” experiment.

Regarding the nature and reality of the QM wave function, Wald is quoted: “If you really believe in QM, then you cannot take it seriously” (72). Penrose proceeds to classify famous physicists (with a figure!) as “believers in QM” (that is, they believe in QM because its application yields correct results) or as “serious about QM” (that QM is a correct description of the nature), and then he guesses at their reactions to later developments. Surely not all would agree with his classification, but it provides a starting point for a useful discussion of the reality of the wave function, the “many worlds” idea, and the question of whether any new effects might arise from additional QM parameters. Such considerations finally lead Penrose to propose that a new (now missing) theory is needed between the quantum level and the classical level of
reality. As a start, Penrose considers the relations between various fundamental theories of nature.

In chapter three (likely even more interesting to LDS readers), Penrose calls upon Popper's world of culture in addition to the world of the physical and the world of the mind. Penrose then defines consciousness as consisting of awareness, activity (exercise of free will, for example), and understanding. He distinguishes four viewpoints on the nature of consciousness, ranging from "purely computational activities" to "something that cannot be explained in physical or computational terms." He chooses the third alternative, that "physical action of the brain evokes awareness, . . . but this physical action is something which cannot even be simulated computationally" (101). This is the main point of the book. Some things cannot be computed (as Penrose repeatedly demonstrated in his first two books), and consciousness seems to be one of these. Penrose says something is lacking. He is not thinking of something outside the realm of modern physics. Penrose is simply saying that at present QM, which predicts so many incredible results that accord exactly with experiment, is incomplete. It is this new piece for which Penrose is searching, to which the responses of the panelists are interestingly varied. I was particularly fascinated by the responses of Shimony.

Of course, many questions remain: Where should intelligence be built into the theory? Will a pile of atoms produce intelligence? Reading the book should provoke much thought. For me, a final question remains about the future of LDS research into consciousness and intelligence. As is clear from this book, speculations about the operations of the human mind stand at the edge of the scientific frontier. What is our response as Church members? What do we bring to the discussion?

One of the singular contributions of the gospel is its teaching that each individual has, or is, an immortal spirit and a spirit child of our Heavenly Father. How can we incorporate this grand idea into scholarly thinking? What is the relationship of the human spirit to the human mind? Are consciousness and intelligence simply manifestations of the spirit? These are important questions, and here is an opportunity for LDS scientists and all similarly believing religionists to make an impact on scholarly thinking.
Unfortunately, although the existence of the spirit seems obvious, we have not demonstrated it in a scientific way, and we have no testable (falsifiable) theory of the relation of the spirit to the mind (to consciousness, say). There is work to do!

Science, a process through which we humans search for an understanding of nature, concerns itself with the entire world of matter and energy and their interactions—anything and everything that can be detected or measured. Scientists attempt to search out the facts of nature and find explanations for them in terms of natural processes. (As a cautionary note, we must carefully distinguish the facts of nature from theories about the facts.) In this regard, it is reassuring to recall that the Church has always taught that our Heavenly Father works by natural principles and processes in accomplishing his work. Thus science and the gospel share a basic premise that allows for mutual interaction and enrichment.

Because they are so subtle and elusive, spiritual matters present great difficulty for the scientific method as well as for religious thinkers. One way to try to avoid this difficulty is to deny the existence of spiritual phenomena. That is, if the matter-energy world is the complete world, there is nothing else to speculate about. I find that road a dead end. Another way out is to say that spiritual matters are real but belong to another or higher dimension—the spirit exists, but we can detect it only as God makes it manifest in transcendent ways. However, this answer does not increase our understanding of either spirit or mind. We must travel other roads to seek understanding.

Joseph Smith was an avid scholar, thinker, and teacher. There was power and enthusiasm in his attempts to understand all aspects of the world. I hope this attitude is as strong in the Church today as it was originally.

Reviewed by Wayne K. Hinton, Chair of the Department of Social Science at Southern Utah University.

After years of neglect, state constitutional histories have undergone an upsurge of interest and study. Jean Bickmore White’s attractive but brief work, *Charter for Statehood: The Story of Utah's State Constitution* is a part of this new genre. Since 1971, White has published at least four scholarly articles on statehood and the ratification of the state constitution in Utah. Research interest and academic training make her well qualified to provide a scholarly work based on detailed research.

The study of state constitutional histories has led White to conclude that each state is different in political climate and in the needs and expectations of its citizens; therefore, each state constitutional convention seeks to create a document that will provide the kind of government warranted by these particular needs and expectations. Because state constitutions spring from distinct legal theories, consciously include many policy preferences designed to limit the choice of future state legislatures, and inevitably tend to distribute particular advantages and disadvantages to various groups in society, state constitutions are traditionally long and detailed.

As with other state constitutions, Utah’s document is not only a product of experiences it shared with other western territories, but also a product of its own unique culture, history, and philosophies. It was written at the end of a troubled territorial period that included religious conflict that had to be reconciled before Congress would grant statehood.

Utah’s long, difficult fight for statehood began in 1849 with the Constitution of the State of Deseret, modeled on the Iowa and Illinois State Constitutions (20–21). Instead of statehood, Utah was given territorial status, but this first constitution provided the basic framework for two later constitutions (1856 and 1862) drafted in the unsuccessful hopes of attaining statehood.

Utah’s desire for statehood was rejected partly because the predominate Mormon religion virtually governed the territory as a
theocracy, causing disputes over separation of church and state. As Congress legislated to reform the Mormons, delegates in 1872 worked from the Nevada State Constitution to develop a new constitution much altered and expanded from the earlier efforts. In an attempt to bridge the mistrust between Mormons and non-Mormons on the polygamy issue, the 1872 constitution offered a compromise: Utah would embrace within its constitution conditions prescribed by Congress and ratified by a vote of the people. Congress remained unconvinced or cared little for the compromise. In response, a fifth constitutional draft was prepared in 1882. It also was based on the Nevada Constitution, but it clung fervently and defiantly to its political and economic policies and to plural marriage.

By 1887, Mormons were ready to invite non-Mormon participation in another try for statehood. When the invitation was spurned, the Mormon People’s Party proceeded with a convention whose memorial was the most subdued in tone to date, declaring polygamy a misdemeanor, consistent with the 1887 Supreme Court decision in Reynolds v. United States and forbidding union of church and state, or domination of the state by any church.

After the Manifesto of 1890 came careful observation to determine conformity before Congress passed an Enabling Act in 1894, which included requirements for a perpetual public school system free from sectarian control and guaranteed perfect toleration of religious freedom. At last the convention that convened to write a state constitution in March 1895 had the approval of Congress. The document that was produced, like other state constitutions, was a product of its time. It reflected the need of an agrarian-based economy in a semiarid, capital-starved western territory to industrialize, but without submitting to corporate or trust control. It also attempted to bridge territorial issues.

The 107 delegates who wrote the Utah Constitution came from a broad range of ages, religious affiliations, and economic interests. Several were experienced in governmental affairs. They avoided experimentation, sticking to safe language and articles borrowed liberally from other states such as New York, Washington, California, and Wyoming. The result was a patchwork of delicate compromises on many issues: it included women’s suffrage (the most hotly debated issue of the convention) and contained provisions
restricting taxation and debt and controlling costs, but left the delicate matter of liquor manufacturing to future legislatures.

Utah’s Constitution is a typical late-nineteenth-century document that placed Utah squarely in the mainstream of American states. Many issues of personal rights, church and state, and religious freedom were adopted to convince the nation that Utah had become like other states in political and economic affairs. Over the century since statehood, Utahns have found it appropriate, as circumstances changed, to amend their constitution eighty-four times.

White’s book is readable, logical, convincing and leads to worthwhile understandings. The biographical sketches of delegates found in the appendix is valuable despite a few factual errors, such as erroneously crediting Lycurgus Johnson with coming to Utah in 1846 (112) and mistakenly stating that William B. Preston, who was born in 1830, was Presiding Bishop of the LDS Church from 1844 to 1908 (117); these minor errors do not materially detract from the contributions this book makes in detailing Utah’s interesting constitutional history.
Brief Notices

A Peculiar Treasure: Old Testament Messages for Our Day, by Brent L. Top (Bookcraft, 1997)

If you are looking for a book that will help you understand the history and culture of ancient Israel, buy something else. But if you want to learn how to liken the stories and teachings of the Old Testament to yourself and your family, this is the book. Brent L. Top, associate dean of Religious Education at Brigham Young University, illustrates principles of eternal import by tracing a thread of ancient covenant-keepers—and a few covenant-breakers—from Genesis to the opening of the Christian era. The messages contained in this book are not only timely, but timeless.

Clearly, the author has learned a lesson from Nephi, who likened all scripture—even very ancient scripture—to himself and his people (1 Nephi 19:23–24; 2 Nephi 11:2, 8). Not everyone would read these stories the way Top does, but, then, that’s the nature of likening the scriptures to ourselves.

The book begins by explaining the concept of birthright and covenant in ancient Israel, contrasting those who, like Esau, despised such heavenly blessings with others, such as Joseph and the prophets, who sought to do the Lord’s will. Throughout, Top makes continual reference to God’s desire that his children become “a peculiar treasure” through love, trust, and obedience, in return for which he blesses them. In all this, the book stresses the importance of placing God at the center of our lives in order to gain a perspective of our own role in the divine plan.

Top also makes Old Testament passages relevant to Latter-day Saints by drawing parallels with teachings of modern prophets and personal experiences. The principles are sound and full of hope. If the complexity and historical remoteness of the Old Testament scare you, try reading it with a dose of this book. Then share its teachings in your family and Church circles.

—John A. Tvedtines


Few recent publications contain as much original research as does this volume of papers delivered at a symposium held in Des Moines, Iowa, in May 1996. The purpose of the symposium was to “identify,
mark, map, and celebrate the historic Mormon Pioneer Trail in southern Iowa" (v). Interestingly, participants included both Mormon and non-Mormon scholars and experienced as well as novice historians, including eighth-grade students. These students, supported by grants from the Iowa Department of Education, spent two summers interviewing longtime residents for oral histories about the Mormons in Iowa and reconnoitering the terrain around Mt. Pisgah on what turned out to be a successful search for signs of the Mormon Trail.

The symposium also included reports from local historians along the Mormon Trail. These reports demonstrate extensive research into pioneer diaries and county and cemetery records, including findings from exploration of the terrain, such as the "footprints" (223) of fence posts indicating boundaries of camps and burial sites, as well as the correct site of the Chariton River Camp. (The straightening and realigning of the river in 1906 had led to the original erroneous identification of the campsite.)

Presentations by well-known LDS scholars examine familiar and also little known aspects of Iowa trail history. James B. Allen discusses the reasons the Saints left Illinois, and Donald Q. Cannon describes the settlements they abandoned. William G. Hartley justifies the ill-timed spring exodus of the Saints in 1846, while Richard E. Bennett defines the exodus as a refining experience that strengthened the Church. Carol Cornwall Madsen presents women's experience on the Iowa Mormon Trail. Her inclusion of many diary excerpts and valuable information from reminiscent accounts produces an excellent chapter on female travelers.

Sometimes scholars fail to describe Mormon experiences in a worldwide context. Stanley B. Kimball reminds us that the pioneer trek was part of a "westward surge" of many emigrants looking for new land and adventure (86). He categorizes the Mormon travelers into groups such as women, singles, children, and African Americans. Loren N. Horton, retired senior historian of the State Historical Society of Iowa, gives a brief history of events, such as the drive for statehood, that were occurring in Iowa at the same time the vanguard company of Mormon pioneers slogged through the mud.

A discussion of the social life and entertainment of the travelers is also included. William Pitt's Brass Band buoyed up the spirits of the Saints and earned money by performing in settlements along the trail. The book also contains accounts of hardships in the Nauvoo Poor Camps, which were populated by those forced at gunpoint to leave the city in the fall of 1846.

The editors are to be commended for producing this fascinating volume that provides new and useful information on this less familiar portion of the Mormon pioneer story—the evacuation of Nauvoo and the trek across Iowa to Winter Quarters.

—Audrey M. Godfrey
Pioneer Spirit: Modern-day Stories of Courage and Conviction, by Heidi Swinton (Deseret Book, 1996)

During the sesquicentennial year of 1997, while celebrating the faith and courage of nineteenth-century pioneers, Latter-day Saints were encouraged to recognize that pioneering occurs in many ways and many places. Heidi Swinton’s lively book drives home this point—telling story after story of the pioneering spirit of Saints throughout the world.

The author has published a number of original sketches, energetically conducting oral history interviews and drawing from unpublished material, but she has also summarized many sketches first published in the Church News or in Church magazines. The stories are from all parts of the world; however, the majority come from England, Continental Europe, and Asia, with fewer from South America, Africa, Canada, the United States, and the Pacific Islands. Because it is difficult, if not impossible, to cover the diversity of the modern Latter-day Saint experience in a work of this kind, Pioneer Spirit offers only a sampling.

While the experiences included in this collection are all positive and faith-promoting, they offer numerous examples of trials and challenges. It is easy to feel connected to these new members and modern pioneers. I especially like Swinton’s inclusion of a short, relevant scriptural passage for each of the sketches. This volume is a handy, sprightly collection of personal stories that demonstrate the power of the restored gospel and its capacity to inspire and influence lives for good.

—JoAn Bitton

Voices of Old Testament Prophets (Deseret Book, 1997)

The 26th Annual Sperry Symposium centered on various Old Testament prophets, especially the little-known figures and obscure events in their lives. Interesting details and analyses are included, often for the first time in LDS circles, for example, on the mentoring of Jethro, the rebellion of Korah, the stability of the prophets in the Exile, the saviors referred to by Obadiah, the hopeful stories of Habakkuk and Abigail, and the blessings of the temple in the ministry of Haggai. More familiar themes deal with Isaiah’s indictments, the Millennium, the priesthood, and the eternal nature of the gospel.

The unnamed organizers have succeeded in bringing several new scholars to publication. Some of their names will be as unfamiliar to most readers as are the prophets of whom they write. Readers should enjoy getting to know them all.

—John W. Welch

David Rolph Seely

The Prophet Joseph Smith described the Restoration as a bringing forth of treasures of “things new and old,” and indeed modern revelation has shed great light on ancient truths. From Oliver Cowdery’s commentary on Zephaniah published in The Evening and the Morning Star in 1833 to the present outpouring of publications in preparation for the Sunday School course of study on the Old Testament in 1998, Latter-day Saints have generated a wealth of writings on the Old Testament which examine anew this ancient book of scripture in light of the Restoration. Through the spectacles of the Restoration we are able to remember the patriarchs Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, and the great things the Lord has done for our fathers. We are able to understand the covenants the Lord has made in past dispensations and in the latter days. We are also able to better comprehend the writings of ancient prophets such as Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel and to discern from them the timeless message of repentance, the themes of scattering and gathering, and the prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah—first in the flesh to atone for the sins of the world and again at the end of time. Just as the Old Testament provides a foundation for reading the rest of the scriptures, the light of the Restoration can reveal hidden treasures in the Old Testament. This bibliography is an attempt to guide readers to this treasury of “things new and old.”

Criteria for inclusion. This bibliography is meant to be a comprehensive listing of books and articles written by Latter-day
Saints to Latter-day Saints about the Old Testament from 1830 through 1997. To be included, a book or an article must be primarily on an Old Testament topic. Consequently we have not included New Testament, Book of Mormon, or Pearl of Great Price topics unless they are specifically related to the Old Testament.\(^2\) Nor have we included writings on apocryphal or pseudepigraphical books unless they are relevant to the Old Testament. We have included general conference addresses published in the *Ensign* (1971–), but we have not included conference talks before this time. We have included a few articles by non-Latter-day Saints aimed at an LDS audience, but have not included biblical studies presented by LDS scholars in non-LDS settings.

The Old Testament has been the course of study in Sunday School from September 1972 to August 1974 and September 1980 to August 1982, and from January to December in 1986, 1990, 1994, and 1998. Numerous Old Testament items have been published in those years. The articles that appear weekly in the *Church News* and coordinate with Sunday School lessons have not been included in this bibliography.

The following periodical or recurring sources were surveyed for this bibliography: *BYU Studies* (1959–); Church Educational System symposia and manuals; The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints manuals; *Contributor* (1879–1896); *Dialogue* (1966–); *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*; *Ensign* (1971–); *The Evening and the Morning Star* (1832–34); *Improvement Era* (1897–1970); *Millennial Star* (1840–1970); *New Era* (1971–); Sperry Symposia; *Sunstone* (1981–); Theses and Dissertations at BYU; and *Young Woman's Journal* (1889–1929).

**Three lists.** The entries are organized in three overlapping lists. First, all entries are listed by author’s names with complete bibliographic information and a very short abstract in cases where the contents of the publications are not adequately described by their titles. This is followed by a list of the entries organized by canonical books of the Old Testament. A third listing is divided into subject categories. All the entries are found in the author list and are found again listed either in the canonical or the subject categories. Many entries are found both in the canonical listing as well as in one or more subject listings.
Gaining Access. Most, if not all, of the entries in this bibliography are available at the Harold B. Lee Library at BYU. Many of them are readily available on the shelves, but some are kept in Special Collections. The bibliography itself can be accessed electronically at http://humanities.byu.edu/BYU Studies/homepage.htm.

Acknowledgments. This bibliography began with a work by Dane Robertson entitled Index of Mormon Literature on the Old Testament, compiled for the History and Religion Library at BYU, which included entries up through 1981. Originally we intended to simply update that index, but in the course of our work we adopted somewhat different criteria for collecting and organizing the entries, and we ended up surveying the corpus of LDS writings again. We remain indebted to this earlier work. Many have worked in various capacities on the bibliography over the last several years: Eryn Johnson Gibson, Brian Jones, Jennifer Hammond Merrill, Becky Schulthies, and Luke Todd have worked through Religious Education on compiling, typing, abstracting, and checking the entries. Daniel B. McKinlay helped with the compilation. Jennifer Hurlbut, David Allred, and the interns and staff at BYU Studies rechecked and formatted the entries.

We invite corrections and additions. A master list is kept in electronic form and can readily be expanded and reorganized. Hopefully, a supplement can someday be issued including future publications and additions to this bibliography. This work is one of collection and description. We have not attempted to evaluate the entries in terms of scholarly accuracy or doctrinal correctness.

NOTES

1 Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 102.

Abbreviations

BYU  Brigham Young University

CES  Church Educational System


Old Testament Bibliography by Author

——. "Jesus’ Commandment to Search the Words of Isaiah." In Sperry 1986, 177-92.
——. "Many non-LDS scholars claim that the second half of the book of Isaiah was written after the time Lehi left Jerusalem. Yet the Book of Mormon contains material from both halves. How do we explain this?" Ensign 14 (Oct. 1984): 29.
——. "Seth." In EM, 3:1299-300.
Alder, Lydia D. "‘Thou Shalt Have No Other Gods before Me.’" Improvement Era 3 (Oct. 1900): 919-26.
Alfred, Garth L. "The Therapy of Faith." In CES 1983, 1-4. How faith gives strength to avoid the natural fight or flight syndrome.


"Are There a People in the Far North?" *Improvement Era* 27 (Jan. 1924): 256–60. Speculation as to where the lost tribes are located.


Baird, Douglas F. "Enoch, the Covenant, the Sign, and Zion Today." In *CES 1983*, 12–15.


——. "Isaiah’s Imagery of Plants and Planting." In *Sperry 1993*, 17–34. Plant imagery used to teach man’s relationship to God, the need to repent, and Israel’s future in God’s plan.


Bennion, Steven D. “Abel.” In *EM*, 1:5.


Brandt, Edward J. “Aaron, Brother of Moses.” In *EM*, 1:11.
———. “I recently acquired a copy of a text called the Book of Jasher, which is claimed to be the book of missing scripture referred to in the Bible. Can you tell me if it is authentic?” *Ensign* 11 (June 1981): 36–37.


----. "The Book of Hosea." In *SS 4*, 61-67. Hosea's description of his marriage to a harlot as a key to understanding his words concerning the Lord’s anger and the eventual triumph of divine love.


----. "The Exodus: Seeing It as a Test, a Testimony, and a Type." *Ensign* 20 (Feb. 1990): 54-57.


----. "Trust in the Lord: Exodus and Faith." In *Sperry 1986*, 85-94. The Exodus was a means by which the Israelites developed faith.

----. "What was the actual political condition of the populace of the promised land when the Israelites conquered it, and who were the people living there?" *Ensign* 3 (Oct. 1973): 58.


Cain, Seymour. “Judaism and Mormonism: Paradigm and Supersession.” Dialogue 25, no. 3 (1992): 57–65. A look at the relationship between Judaism and Mormonism in terms of supersession (Judaism was superseded by Christianity) and paradigm (the exemplary model of biblical Israel’s faith).


Capener, Cole R. “A Mormon Concept of Armageddon.” Sunstone 10 (Aug. 1985): 4–8. The fulfillment of the prophecy of Armageddon will depend on the faith of the Saints and there will be no nuclear or conventional war.


Chandler, F. F. “Reading the Bible.” Contributor 1 (July 1880): 225–27. Reasons why the Bible should be read by the youth of the Church.


Christianson, James R. “Noah, the Ark, the Flood: A Pondered Perspective.” In Sperry 1986, 35-49. The historicity of the flood and speculations concerning ways to reconcile scientific findings with the biblical account.


——. *The Old Testament Seminary Home Study*. [Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints], 1980.


Cohen, Irving H. *The Authors of Genesis as Explained by the Colophon System*. Scotia, N.Y.: Cumorah Book, 1966. Argument that the different sections of Genesis were originally written autobiographically by the patriarchs.


“Concerning the Creation.” *Improvement Era* 7 (Mar. 1904): 385–86. Argument as to when man was created, reconciling the apparent discrepancies in Genesis 1 and 2 and the Pearl of Great Price.


Creer, J. Preston. “Fruits of the Fall.” *Improvement Era* 6 (Feb. 1903): 277–82. The conditions in the premortal life including a description of the war in heaven, an account of the Fall, and what has been gained from it.


Damron, Paul E. “Suggestions for Teaching Ezekiel.” In CES 1979, 66–68.
Dorigatti, James L. “Relating the Old Testament to the Youth of Today.” In CES 1979, 69–70.
Draper, Richard D. “The Book of Daniel.” In SS 4, 320–33. Theme of God’s sovereignty over all nations as shown by Daniel’s experiences and visions.
—–. “The Book of Malachi.” In SS 4, 365–72. Malachi’s rebuke of Israel for their lack of faith and his prophecies.
—. "Sacrifice and Offerings: An Ordinance Given by Jehovah to Reveal Himself as the Christ." In CES 1979, 71–78.
"Ephraim and Manasseh as Tribes of Israel." Improvement Era 6 (Nov. 1902): 70–71.


——. "The Tabernacle—a Type for the Temples." In CES 1979, 90-96. The symbolism and purpose of Israel's tabernacle.

Garrard, LaMar E. "The Last Shall Be First and the First Shall Be Last." In Sperry 1986, 233-60. The offering of the gospel first to the Jews then to the Gentiles in ancient days and its latter-day offering first to the Gentiles and then to the Jews.


——. "What did the Israelites do relating to genealogy, welfare, missionary work, and the family—the four major emphases of our day? What was religion for them?" Ensign 11 (Dec. 1981): 60-62.


Grant, Heber J. "Results of Obedience." *Improvement Era* 5 (May 1902): 540–42. The Old Testament theme of “to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams” (Samuel 15:22).


Gygi, Alma E. "Is it possible that Shem and Melchizedek are the same person?" *Ensign* 3 (Nov. 1973): 15–16.


Hallen, Cynthia L. "The Lord's Covenant of Kindness: Isaiah 54 and 3 Nephi 22." In *IIBM*, 313-49. A linguistic analysis of the symbol of a barren woman associated with Zion, the earth, and the Lord's servants.

Halversen, Stephen C. "How Can Johnny Learn from the Old Testament When Johnny Can't Read Well?" In *CES 1979*, 120-25. Helping students with reading disabilities to be able to understand the scriptures.


Hanks, Marion D. "'I Will Look unto the Lord.'" *Ensign* 16 (Nov. 1986): 11-13. The examples of Micah, Jeremiah, and David.


Hedges, Andrew H. "Isaiah in America, 1700-1830." In *IIBM*, 391-405. The use of the Bible and especially Isaiah by ministers at the time of Joseph Smith.


Hinckley, Gordon B. "Be Not Afraid, Only Believe." Ensign 26 (Feb. 1996): 2–5. From the story of Daniel we learn that the kingdom of God will fill the whole earth.


Hoffmann, Albert W. "Some Insights into and from the Joseph Smith Translation." In CES 1979, 135–42.

Holbrook, Gordon B. "The Lord as Teacher." In CES 1979, 143–46. Examples from the Old Testament of some of the methods the Lord uses to teach.


——. "Oil, Consecrated." In EM, 3:1027.

——. "Urim and Thummim." In EM, 4:1499–1500.

——. "Where Was the Ur of Abraham?" Ensign 21 (July 1991): 62–63. Ur may be in present day Syria rather than in Mesopotamia. A longer version is in The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations from God.


"Hostility to Jacob." Improvement Era 6 (Apr. 1903): 474.


Hunter, Howard W. "And God Spake All These Words..." Improvement Era 68 (June 1965): 510–12. The Ten Commandments and how Christ used them.


——. "An Understanding Heart." Improvement Era 65 (June 1962): 442–43. The relevance to Church members of Solomon’s plea for an understanding heart.


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