



A MULTIDISCIPLINARY
LATTER-DAY SAINT
JOURNAL

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COVER: *Front*: Angel's Landing, Zion National Park, Utah. © W. S. D., 2001, all rights reserved. As Tony Ivins hunted in southern Utah's red-rock country, he would have encountered scenes similar to this one.

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FIG. 1. Nineteenth-century grave markers in a cemetery by Mekhzavod village, which is near Samara in southern Russia. Locals and Latter-day Saint missionaries have traditionally called markers with this peaked-roof design “Mormon crosses” despite the fact that the Church was not officially established in Russia until over one hundred years after these burials. All photographs courtesy of the authors.

Russia's Other "Mormons"

Their Origins and Relationship to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Eric A. Eliason and Gary Browning

In 1990, when The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established its first mission in Russia, the missionaries there almost immediately began hearing and passing on stories from native Russians about long-established "Mormon" communities already there.¹ "Whole tribes of native Siberians call themselves Mormons. Many people in villages around Orenburg and Samara are Mormons but will deny it if you ask them. My grandfather was a Mormon, but he died long ago," are paraphrases of the more common story types.

These rumors intrigued missionaries and Latter-day Saint scholars alike, since the limited missionary resources of the early Church and the effectiveness of both Tsarist and Communist opposition to foreign missionaries kept Latter-day Saints from establishing an official presence in Russia until Gorbachev's reforms in the late 1980s. There is no known historical evidence that the Church had any converts in Russia before 1989, except for one pre-Soviet-era family that left the country. Nevertheless, for over a decade, many Latter-day Saint missionaries and members, scholars, and various Russians have assumed a historical link of some sort between these reported indigenous Russian "Mormons" and the newly arrived Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Some sort of link seemed plausible since locals explained that besides sharing a name, the Russian "Mormons" also often did not smoke or drink, had strong family values, held secret worship services, and may have once practiced something like polygamy. The rumors even alluded to secretly transcribed copies of the Book of Mormon circulating in Russia for decades. Based on such parallels, some Latter-day Saint missionaries tried to reintroduce the local "Mormons" to the official Church but had difficulty finding them. At times they seemed ephemeral. It seemed most stories of "lost Mormons" in Russia would be best understood simply as new additions to a vibrant body of Latter-day Saint missionary folklore about independent "Mormon" groups in remote areas.² Such folklore arises despite the Church's great care to "go through the front door" and obey local laws; for example, eager young missionaries occasionally circulate rumors about secret Church organizational efforts in

countries, such as the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s and China in the 1990s, that are closed to missionaries.³

However, the whole body of stories about Russian “Mormons” cannot be readily dismissed as enthusiastic but spurious rumor. The existence of “Mormons” in various places in Russia long before 1990 is attested to in the works of early twentieth-century Russian religious studies scholars such as S. V. Bulgakov and Timofei Ivanovich Butkevich.⁴ In the 1950s, Russian “Mormons” came to the attention of John Noble. After World War II, this American, who was accused of spying, served time in Vortuka, a Soviet labor camp incarcerating many “religious criminals” near the Arctic Circle. Noble wrote:

Assisting the [Mennonite] bishop in the stockroom was another elderly man, a Mormon. The Mormons in Soviet Russia and its satellite countries are a very small group. They are also relentlessly persecuted, due to the fact that the belief in the Book of Mormon originated in the United States . . . and that the international headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is located in Salt Lake City, Utah. . . . There were only a handful of Mormons in our compound but on their days off they would always meet for meditation and prayer.⁵

Noble suggests that the “Mormons” he came in contact with were the same people who bear this nickname in the United States. However, Bulgakov and Butkevich both claim that some of Russia’s pre-1990 “Mormons,” notably those around Samara, had nothing to do historically with the Utah-headquartered Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints but got the nickname *Mormon* only because they practiced something akin to polygamy. The dated and sketchy reports of Bulgakov, Butkevich, and Noble leave a host of questions unanswered about why the term *Mormon* was, and still is, being used in Russia to refer to various people who are not members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and who may or may not practice a related form of religion.

Apart from the informal reports of the Church’s missionaries, no contemporary research has focused on non-Latter-day Saint “Mormons” in Russia today. As with many smaller religious groups, it was not clear if or how well Russia’s “Mormons” had survived the Soviet era. If living representatives of these groups could be contacted and interviewed, perhaps a tangled knot of puzzling historical questions about the origins and current status of “Russian Mormons” could begin to be unraveled. The results could provide insight into the issues of survival and representation that many marginalized religious movements have faced.

Latter-day Saint Missionary Reports

In late 1998 and early 1999, detailed firsthand accounts from returning Latter-day Saint missionaries who had actually spoken with Russian

Mormons began to surface. Tania Rands Lyon, now a sociology doctoral candidate at Princeton, compiled a wide-ranging report identifying Barnaul, Omsk, Orenburg, and Samara as likely places where contemporary Russian "Mormons" might live. She recounts a conversation she had in 1998 with a woman in Samara, "Babushka Nadia," who tacitly admitted to being "Mormon" but denied knowing anything about Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon. The woman balked at Lyon's request to attend a service, explaining they were as sacred and as off limits to outsiders as Latter-day Saint temple ceremonies.⁶

James Scott, now a Brigham Young University undergraduate, served in the mission office of Sheridan T. Gashler, the Russia Samara Mission president from 1998 to 2001. At President Gashler's request, Elder Scott wrote a careful, detailed report chronicling Latter-day Saint missionary encounters with Russians who pointed out "Mormon" neighborhoods and, in at least one oft-repeated case, mentioned having seen a very old, hand-transcribed copy of the Book of Mormon. Locals claimed "Mormons" had long lived in their area, did not drink or smoke, and worshipped secretly. Elder Scott identified three separate areas of such "talk of Mormons" in and around Samara—the Ninth Microregion in Samara itself, the village of Mekhzavod or "Nineteenth Kilometer" near Samara city limits, and the village of Bogdanovka about one hundred kilometers away. A cemetery near Mekhzavod displayed many examples of an unusual cross with a peaked roof (see fig. 1, p. 6). From the locals, the Latter-day Saint missionaries had learned to call these "Mormon crosses."⁷

With the permission of the Area Presidency, President Gashler assigned Elders Justin Cooper and Brent Van Every to Bogdanovka village in spring 1998. The "Mormons" proved elusive and other villagers unreceptive to the missionaries' message. President Gashler withdrew the missionaries immediately after seemingly hostile men in a car almost ran them down.⁸

President Gashler has played a major role in every attempt to document and disseminate information about pre-perestroika "Mormons." The authors' research would not have been possible without his pioneering work, enthusiasm, and generous hospitality. Following the leads provided by Lyon and Scott, we were able to spend the summer of 2000 in Russia working in archives, interviewing Russian scholars of religion, and doing fieldwork in areas where indigenous "Mormons" were said to be.

Origins of the Russian "Mormons"

Latter-day Saints and American scholars of Russian religion encountering reports of pre-1990 Russian "Mormons" have generally assumed them to be Latter-day Saints who operated secretly and separately from The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints during the decades of Communism.⁹

There are several reasons to believe that underground communities of Latter-day Saints theoretically could have survived for many decades. Despite Orthodox efforts to restrict religious diversity and Soviet efforts to eliminate all religion, limited religious practice did exist within Russia. Religious people became adept at secrecy, keeping their faith communities alive under harsh conditions. We heard inspiring personal stories from Molokans, Pentecostals, Baptists, and Seventh-day Adventists who had survived just as precarious an existence as Latter-day Saints would have had to endure. Outside Russia, Latter-day Saint communities are known to have continued during long periods of isolation and separation from the official Church, for example from 1852 to 1892 in French Polynesia,¹⁰ from 1862 to 1888 in Samoa,¹¹ and from 1924 to 1945 in Japan.¹² Doctrinal deviation and reluctance to rejoin the “mother church” often characterized such cases. It would be remarkable if long-isolated Russian Latter-day Saints, if indeed they existed, did not show similar patterns.

The reemergence of pre-perestroika Saints would not be the first case in world history where religious groups have surfaced after long periods of secrecy. In fact, the whole spectrum of Russian religious belief could be said to be emerging from just such a context. In Japan, after over 250 years of living underground, the Kakure Kirishitan (hidden Christians) around Nagasaki reemerged in 1865, much to the surprise of Japanese authorities and returning Christian missionaries alike.¹³ Some of these communities reincorporated into their mother churches. Others continue independent today with Buddhist-Christian syncretic traditions. In such situations, habits of secrecy continue despite the disappearance of oppression—sometimes as mere tradition, sometimes as a prudent precaution, and sometimes as an integral part of the religion itself. It is also noteworthy that a sacred text called the *Beginning of Heaven and Earth*, made up of Bible stories and local religious lore, circulated clandestinely among the Kakure Kirishitan much like the *Book of Mormon* is said to circulate among indigenous Russian “Mormons.”¹⁴

However, recent developments in the scholarly study of crypto-Jews provide a useful caution to anyone who might hope for the reemergence of lost Mormons. From the time of their forced conversion or expulsion from the Hispanic world in 1492 to the present, Jews who have secretly held onto vestiges of their religion (crypto-Jews) have allegedly been reemerging in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal. Recently, folklorist Judith Nuelander has pointed out serious problems in the methodology used to identify purported Jewish cultural traces among the long-established Hispanos of northern New Mexico.¹⁵ (For example, four-sided spinning-tops among the Hispanos have long been regarded as evidence of Jewish origins even though many nearby non-Jewish cultures also use them. Also, while

Ashkenazi Jews used dreidels, they are unknown among the Sephardic Jews from whom crypto-Jew Hispanos are supposed to have descended.¹⁶) Neulander's evidence suggests Hispano Jewishness has a stronger basis in the romantic imagination of Ashkenazi travelers to New Mexico than it does in the Southwest's actual history and culture. Neulander warns that overeager interpretations of artifacts, words, and practices within a limited frame of reference often cause interpreters to overlook more plausible accountings for what seem to be reemergent cultural continuities. "[The] propensity to find what one is seeking, regardless of what is actually there, clearly distinguishes the imaginative 'traveler' from the academic ethnographer, not only in terms of method, but in terms of motivations to discover."¹⁷

Despite these cautions, one conclusion is clear, based on Russian scholarship as well as Noble's, Scott's, and Lyon's reports: Russians in a few specific areas were calling particular neighbors "Mormons" for many years before the 1990 arrival of Latter-day Saint missionaries. But this practice does not answer the question of origins. Four possibilities seem likely to explain the use of *Mormon* in Russia. These possibilities are not mutually exclusive, and in an extremely large country with a history of limiting the free flow of people and information, several possibilities could operate simultaneously, overlapping with each other. We have found no conclusive disproof of any of these possibilities, but the last one is supported by Russian scholars and our fieldwork. It is unique in its ability to account for virtually every reported case of pre-1990 "Mormons" in Russia.

1. Missionaries. Tsarist Russia had strict laws against non-Russian Orthodox proselytizing that would have greatly complicated Church missionary efforts, such as that anticipated, but not undertaken, by Orson Hyde and George G. Adams, who were appointed as missionaries to Russia by Joseph Smith in 1843.¹⁸ Laws relaxed enough before the 1917 revolution to allow the Johan and Alma Lindelof family—ethnic Swedes from the Russian Empire's Grand Duchy of Finland who moved to St. Petersburg—to meet with a Latter-day Saint missionary sent from Sweden at their request. The Lindelof parents were baptized in the Neva River in 1895.¹⁹ By 1905 at least two Lindelof children and another Finnish woman in St. Petersburg had joined the Church. As far as is known, the surviving Lindelofs all eventually fled Russia, some of them after serving time in labor camps.²⁰ Perhaps some Lindelofs made an undocumented return to Russia. Maybe some of this wealthy family's friends or domestic help experienced unrecorded conversions and stayed in Russia as an underground seed that became today's Russian "Mormons."²¹ Despite these possibilities, Latter-day Saint missionaries never established or maintained a continuous, official presence in Russia until 1990.

2. Migration. Another possibility is that converts from other places immigrated into areas that became part of the Soviet Union. For example,

the 1915–16 exodus of 300,000 Armenians from Turkey to the Russian-controlled Caucasus²² may have included Latter-day Saint converts from the 1880–1909 mission to Armenians in Turkey and Syria.²³ Half a dozen officially organized Church units now operate in the former Soviet republic of Armenia. It is unknown whether any of these congregations include Latter-day Saint participants in the Armenian exodus or their descendants²⁴—many of the early Armenian converts immigrated to Utah.

Before the fall of Communism, East Germany had several thousand Latter-day Saints. Much smaller groups also existed in Poland²⁵ and Czechoslovakia. Some Czech members even found a creative and modestly successful way to share their faith through yoga classes.²⁶ Conceivably, the influence of these East Bloc Latter-day Saints might have extended into Russia itself. Since at least one Russian soldier joined the Church in East Germany in heady 1989, perhaps others were converted earlier.²⁷ However, none of these situations seems very likely to have planted seeds capable of germination in Russia, and there is no known evidence that they did.

3. Materials. In countries where the Church is not established, small scraps of information such as a pamphlet or a Book of Mormon can arouse much curiosity and go a long way in influencing people. Often Church literature (even anti-Mormon literature) has spread to even the most isolated places and has produced converts without the aid of official missionaries.²⁸ In the hands of extraordinary individuals, it can lead—even in difficult circumstances—to many conversions. The Sicilian Protestant seminary student Vincenzo di Francesca found a discarded, coverless Book of Mormon and believed it while isolated for decades from Church members.²⁹ With only scant access to Latter-day Saint printed materials, many leaders of indigenous “Mormon” churches in West Africa from the 1950s to the 1970s baptized hundreds, resulting in several thriving congregations without priesthood authority or direction from Salt Lake City.³⁰ Such occurrences suggest there could have been a handful of Russian converts to some aspect of Mormonism between 1830 and 1990—especially since the suppression of religion in Russia often increased curiosity about it. However, whether or not any current “Mormon” groups can trace an origin tributary to such events is still entirely speculative.

4. Misnomer. Bulgakov’s and Butkevich’s assertion that the “Mormons” near Samara are a group unrelated to Latter-day Saints could explain more than just this case of Russian “Mormons.”³¹ Perhaps Russia’s various “Mormon” groups, despite a number of seemingly uncanny similarities, are scarcely related to each other let alone to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Perhaps the multiple applications of a term borrowed from English, rather than the expansion of a religious movement, were behind reports of Russia’s many “Mormon” groups. As our research provided more and more evidence for these possibilities, our efforts shifted

from trying to find long-lost Latter-day Saint cousins to seeking to explain how the term *Mormon* came to be applied to disparate groups in several places in Russia. The history of Russian religious dissent and the history of Latter-day Saint stereotypes in Russian popular culture proved to be the crucial context out of which the application of the term *Mormon* to multiple Russian groups would grow.

Religious Dissent in Russian History

In 988, Kievan Prince Vladimir accepted Orthodox Christianity on behalf of the ancient Rus'. From that time, Orthodoxy has stood beside secular leaders as a companion pillar of power. Yet in the seventeenth century, Russia saw the emergence of watershed religious changes. In the 1650s, Patriarch Nikon began enacting liturgical reforms designed to bring the Russian Orthodox Church in line with what he considered to be the more authentic ritual of the Greek Church.³² Those who opposed these reforms were called Old Believers, since they regarded the reforms to be heretical innovations.³³ The spectrum of Old Believerdom ranged from those who retained icons, priests, and a hierarchy much like Russian Orthodoxy to those who rejected them in favor of more immediate forms of religiosity.³⁴ Fearful of the official church and its supporting state, Old Believers became secretive. Among many congregations today, visitors are still not allowed at services. Despite severe persecution in the past, Old Believers remain the second largest Christian group in Russia, having millions of adherents.³⁵

The religious ferment of the seventeenth century—often emerging from monastic discussions but also from fervent peasants—produced many groups and ideas that influenced and interpenetrated each other. One early and particularly energetic group was the Believers in Christ (*Khristovoveri*), popularly known as Khlysty³⁶ (in English, "Flagellants"). Later, many other reformist or restorationist groups such as the Dukhobors, Molokans, and Skoptsi³⁷ arose in opposition to the elaborate Russian Orthodox rites and beliefs. These groups generally lessened or rejected Orthodox practices such as praying before icons, crossing oneself ritualistically, emphasizing the cross as the emblem of one's faith, using a formulaic liturgy in difficult-to-understand Old Church Slavonic, believing in the miraculous powers of holy relics, venerating saints, and worshipping the Mother of God (Mary) as humanity's intercessor before Christ. Russian religious dissenters often simplified or jettisoned church sacraments, ordinances, and traditions—such as baptism, the Eucharist, marriage and funeral ceremonies, and fast days, as well as the church's multilayered hierarchical structure. For example, the Molokans (Milk Drinkers) rejected the efficacy of the rites and fast days of the Orthodox Church and drank milk on days when it was forbidden.

For many Russian religious dissenters, the Bible in the hands of the believer or direct communication from the Holy Spirit became the principal source of guidance. Leaders no longer needed to be highly trained graduates of theological seminaries but were chosen of God from among the more simple folk. Common to many of these groups was greater emphasis on inner worship, scripture reading, individual and congregational prayer from one's heart, group singing, family, moral purity, and belief in the rapidly approaching end of the physical world. Abstinence from alcoholic drinks, from tobacco, and, frequently, from meat (especially pork) was common. Even more mainstream Old Believers have often promoted temperance and antismoking and have at times refused to drink tea.³⁸ Not infrequently, lay prophets within these groups claimed revelations from the Spirit, the content of which superseded the Bible or formed new scriptural text to be read in conjunction with it.³⁹

While rejection of ordinances, hierarchy, and the physical world is not part of Latter-day Saint doctrine, most of the rest of this thumbnail sketch is composed of ideas with which a Latter-day Saint's spirit might resonate. Given the widely diverse forms of Russian religious dissent, one can readily comprehend how some of these forms may seem, from certain angles, uncannily similar to Latter-day Saint religiosity. However, these practices and ideas arose independently in the context of Russian religious history and not as a historical consequence of Latter-day Saints proselytizing in Russia.⁴⁰

Images of American Latter-day Saints in Russia

Along with certain currents of Russian religious history, the shifting image of Latter-day Saints in Russian popular culture helped lead to non-Latter-day Saint people being called "Mormons." By the mid-nineteenth century, transatlantic print culture was well enough established that educated Russians would have been exposed to the popular depictions of the day. Reports appeared of religions from abroad, including The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which, in Russia, was nearly always called the Mormon Church. As early as the late 1840s, the plight of Latter-day Saints expelled from their city of Nauvoo and the westering Mormon pioneers attracted considerable interest in the Russian press.⁴¹ Especially sensational were accounts of the suffering and death of those crossing the plains and caught in blizzards. Some reporters conflated the story of the snowbound Latter-day Saint Willie and Martin pioneer handcart companies with that of the Donner Party and erroneously reported Latter-day Saint cannibalism.⁴² In addition, rumors of secret polygamy and lurid tales of sexual licentiousness in the Salt Lake Temple titillated the Russian imagination. More significantly, newspaper and magazine articles about Mormons were especially common in the 1870s and 1880s, when the United States

government and citizenry most forcefully opposed plural marriage and Latter-day Saint political autonomy.⁴³

Further, Arthur Conan Doyle's 1887 short novel about polygamy, *A Study in Scarlet* (*Krasnoe po belomu*), appeared in a Russian translation at the beginning of the twentieth century. Russian readers were captivated by the demonizing portrayal of a despotic Brigham Young requiring, through threat of Danite murder, an upright widower, who opposed plural marriage, to give his beautiful adopted daughter to a polygamist.⁴⁴ *A Study in Scarlet*, featuring for the first time Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Watson, was far more popular in Russia than in America and has remained so to the present. A Russian rock band called "Dr. Watson" has enjoyed some success, and a film based on the novel is still occasionally shown on Russian television. When one asks an educated Russian what he or she knows about the Mormons, two frequent answers are polygamy and *A Study in Scarlet*.⁴⁵

In Russia as elsewhere, polygamy forms an ongoing central feature of the Mormon stereotype. However, other, more positive elements have come to figure prominently in more recent years. These features include a strong work ethic, abstinence from alcohol and tobacco, strict discipline and unswerving obedience to a strong leader, a reputation for building close-knit, mutually supportive communities, and a common goal of creating a materially abundant heaven on earth. This perceived uniqueness has spawned articles and TV documentaries on the blossoming of Utah's desert into a somewhat overstated paradise of wealth and comfort.⁴⁶

Along with the stereotypical images mentioned above, another contemporary use of the term *Mormon* shows a basic unfamiliarity with the American religious landscape. As elsewhere in Europe, the Russian subtitles of popular American movies such as Harrison Ford's *Witness* and Randy Quaid's *Kingpin*, which depict stereotypes of German-American pietism, translate *Amish* and *Mennonite* as *Mormon*. In these cases, *Mormon* seems to be used broadly and clumsily to refer to an old-fashioned and peculiar American religion.

A history of loose usage of the term *Mormon* coupled with evolving media images of Latter-day Saints has provided a variety of stereotypical motifs that appear in the various meanings of the term *Mormon* as it is used today in Russia. Russians have found a useful resource in *Mormon* as an epithet with which to brand local groups that show features similar to stereotypes of Latter-day Saints.

How Indigenous Russian Religious Groups Came to Be Called "Mormons"

The successful importation of stereotypical images from America coupled with a history of indigenous religious groups with seeming similarities to

American Latter-day Saints has created an environment charged with the possibility of Russians applying the term *Mormon* to particular fellow countrymen, even though they are not Latter-day Saints. But this possibility provides no evidence of how such connections were first made. Written sources are few, but two religious studies scholars at Orenburg State University, Viktor Vladimirovich Kovalenko and Iakov Vladimirovich Riabinovich, independently provide the following explanation.⁴⁷ Especially in the 1880s and 1890s, some Russian Orthodox priests were much concerned about the persistence and spread of what they deemed abominable sects, such as the Khlysty. Having recently read considerably about the Utah-based Mormons in the popular media, they asked their followers questions such as, “Why all the attention to the American Mormons? Why direct all your disgust and condemnation toward them? We have our own Mormons right here in Russia. For example, just look at the depraved Khlysty all around you! They’re our Russian Mormons!”⁴⁸ Following such exhortations, gradually some Khlysty groups became branded as “Mormons,” a highly pejorative term. Villagers could have referred to their seemingly fanatical or aberrant religious neighbors as Khlysty or as “Mormons,” but the term *Mormon* had the advantage of being foreign, hence possessing a starker semantic field of that which is alien, frightening, and evil. Over time, villagers apparently came to realize *Mormon* could serve as a generic term for many dissident individuals or groups, thereby obviating the need to identify them by specific name.

Kovalenko and Riabinovich’s explanation seems plausible, since Latter-day Saints may have come to be associated with Khlysty in particular because, of all the Russian dissenting religions, the Khlysty were the most infamously associated with sexual deviancy. This widely varied movement had other facets as well that could cause Russians to think of the Latter-day Saints. Upon closer examination, however, the similarities between Latter-day Saints and Khlysty seem superficial and the differences more fundamental.

According to the still often consulted S. V. Bulgakov, a runaway soldier named Danilo Filippov founded the Khlysty movement that at first existed within the Russian Orthodox Church but was later expelled. In the late 1600s,⁴⁹ Filippov began his ministry by claiming the spirit of God Almighty now inhabited his body. Soon Filippov announced his assistant, Ivan Suslov, had become filled with Jesus Christ’s spirit. Suslov’s wife became the receptacle for the Mother of God, and twelve followers housed the spirits of the twelve New Testament Apostles. Many other adherents spiritually became the Holy Ghost and the ancient prophets. While the office of Apostle and a belief in the return of ancient scriptural figures are central to Latter-day Saint belief, any idea of a spiritual indwelling of deceased persons in the living is alien to Latter-day Saint theology.

Unlike Latter-day Saints, who believe the human soul is incomplete without a physical body, a body that should be respected, Khlysty followed a dualistic theology in which the body is inherently and inalterably evil. They were said to practice mortification of the flesh by, among other ways, lashing themselves with switches during worship, hence the nickname *Khlysty* (Flagellants) given them by Russian Orthodox priests. (Again the role of Orthodox priests in applying nicknames to religious minorities appears.) While Latter-day Saints require marriage for the highest level of salvation, tend to have large families, and regard the Fall as a fortunate event unrelated to sexual sin, the Khlysty rejected marriage, believing Adam fell through sexual sin. Children were unavoidably born in sin and despised as shameful proof of parental guilt. Khlysty paralleled Latter-day Saints in abstaining from alcohol, tobacco, tea, and coffee but went further in tending to refuse meat, especially pork, as well as sugar, onions, garlic, and potatoes.

Most memorably and sensationally, Bulgakov continues, at their meetings Khlysty were said to practice "striving" or "rejoicing" (*radenie*).⁵⁰ At these sessions, one of their number was posted to prevent any outsiders from entering. Candles or, if the adherents were in the forest, campfires were lit. Then rejoicing began and manifested itself in many forms such as walking, shuffling, dancing, hopping, or whirling around and around in a circle alone, in pairs, or as a large group holding hands while singing and praying ever more ecstatically as they felt the Holy Ghost descend upon them. But the form of *radenie* most talked about and condemned were the times Khlysty reportedly became so physically aroused and overcome with the Holy Spirit that, having extinguished the candle or fire, they collapsed, exhausted, into a heap, and engaged in random sexual activity (*sval'nyi grekh*). According to the reports, children born from these encounters were believed to be of the Holy Spirit and, hence, acceptable. Despite occasional manifestations of spiritual gifts, primarily in the nineteenth century, Latter-day Saint services have historically been sedate and devoid of any kind of worship practice that might be regarded as sensational or ecstatic.

Bulgakov concludes his article on the Khlysty by reporting, "From the end of the nineteenth century and especially during the last decade the Khlysty have begun to come under the influence of rationalist sects, namely the Molokans and especially the Stundists, and also the Tolstoyans, and to break into various persuasions." Bulgakov then lists ten of these persuasions, the second of which are the "Mormons,"⁵¹ by which he apparently means not Latter-day Saints but a group called "Samara Mormons." Bulgakov claims the sect arose in the 1840s. These "Mormons" also practiced *radenie*, "sometimes partially unclothed" (*polurazdetye*). Those who became Samara "Mormons" had to swear an oath to keep their rites secret and to obey no one and no authority but the "living God," their leader. These "Mormons" did eat meat, however, and they reportedly practiced

polygamy. Otherwise they led “a disciplined and abstemious life.” Bulgakov claims the name *Mormon* is “arbitrary” (*proizvol’noe*), given to this group simply because “like the American Mormons they allow polygamy.”⁵²

Confusion about unusual family arrangements is a key factor in the practice of calling indigenous Russian groups “Mormon.”⁵³ Historically, when people have engaged in arrangements other than monogamous marriage as a matter of religious principle, outsiders often mistake disciplined observance for excessive libertinism. According to Eugene Clay, an American specialist in the history of Russian religious sects, many unrelated groups came to be called “khlysty,” and sexual radenie may not have happened at all except in the suspicious imaginations of non-Khlysty Russians who could not believe the Christ Believers’ extraordinary commitment to celibacy.⁵⁴ Khlysty sexual radenie, if it even happened, is only superficially similar to, and uninfluenced by, Latter-day Saint plural marriage, which involved establishing households after the example of Biblical patriarchs. Contemporaneous non-Mormon observers of Latter-day Saint plural marriage found it to follow, and even exceed, restrained Victorian norms in every respect except in the number of wives a man was allowed to marry.⁵⁵ The deepest similarities between Khlysty and Latter-day Saints appear to lie in a shared negative public perception rather than in similar theology and practice.

A more substantial Latter-day Saint similarity to some Khlysty groups—a belief in scripture in addition to the Bible—sheds light on still-circulating reports of people having heard of, or even seen, a large, manuscript, pre-1980 Russian edition of the Book of Mormon.⁵⁶ The Khlysty revered their Book of Life Commandments as scripture and clandestinely circulated hand-transcribed copies.⁵⁷ The Book of Life Commandments collected sacred hymns and sayings of Khlysty leaders, but its believing readers never claimed it was an ancient scriptural record like the Book of Mormon. However, if the Khlysty were called “Mormons,” then people referring to the Khlysty’s book could have referred to “the Mormon book” or “*Kniga Mormona*,” which is “Book of Mormon” in Russian. While rare copies of the Book of Life Commandments still exist, to our knowledge no one in our day has ever been able to produce any indigenous book entitled the “Book of Mormon.” Nor do the rumors of such books contain any details that might suggest a relationship to the Latter-day Saints’ Book of Mormon—even such unforgettable events as ancient Israelites sailing to America or Christ appearing to these people after his Resurrection.

The Khlysty have continued into contemporary times, but much like the Shakers in America (with whom parallels seem much more apparent than with Mormons),⁵⁸ they have lost much of their earlier vigor and numbers.⁵⁹ The use of the term *Mormon* to refer to Khlysty-related groups, and even groups apparently not related to the Khlysty, has proven to be more tenacious than the groups themselves.

Three Contemporary Case Studies of Localized Usage of the Term "Mormon"

Our fieldwork provided ethnographic data to corroborate the two main points of Kovalenko and Riabinovich's explanation: that Russian "Mormons" are historically related to Khlysty and that *Mormon* has been used as an epithet for indigenous Russian religious groups due to Russian familiarity with certain Mormon stereotypes. In Bogdanovka, Orenburg, and Mekhzavod, the residents are familiar with the term *Mormon* but use it with distinct local nuances.

Bogdanovka. In a village just over a hundred kilometers from Samara lives Vasilii Stepanovich Safronov, a self-identified Molokan born in 1914 (fig. 2). Safronov attended several "Mormon" worship services as a youth. He recalled that a guard would be posted at the window to warn of unwanted guests. The worshipers present would sing, take turns reading from the Bible, and pray, repeating sequences over and over at great length. Their worship service, as he demonstrated, included the adherents circling around the room while holding hands and rhythmically shuffling their feet, as they continued to sing and entreat God, at times falling on their knees to pray. After a long time, they might remove a few articles of clothing in order to feel cooler. More singing, praying, and circling the room would follow. Finally the worshippers would fall to the floor exhausted and exclaim, "Ukh, du, du, du," several times. (Safronov's meaning was unclear but *dukh* in Russian means "spirit," a word often reported as occurring in Khlysty chants.) Their candle (or campfire) might then be extinguished, and the participants would rest for a while. Then the worshippers would arise and continue their praying, singing, and circling.

Safronov's detailed description indicates these "Mormons" worshipped in a way similar to the Khlysty and were likely Samara "Mormons." Safronov and other villagers, such as Nikolai Mikhailovich Ovchinniakov and the village administrator, said there had been many "Mormons" and Molokans in the village in the past. Safronov and Ovchinniakov suggested that fairly often people in the past switched from one faith to the other, generally at the time of marriage. Bogdanovkans also suggested that the groups often became blended, sharing doctrines and practices. Only a handful of old Molokans and no "Mormons" now remain in this village.

Orenburg. While in Bogdanovka "Mormons" are barely remembered as a part of community history, in the city of Orenburg "Mormons" are a widely discussed, controversial topic. Everywhere people told us "Mormons" were "bandits," "hooligans," "racketeers," or "Mafia"—best to be avoided. They are probably the best-known group of Russian "Mormons" today. Employees at a "Mormon"-owned store named "*Stanichnyi*" (meaning



FIG. 2. Vasilii Stepanovich Safronov in front of his house in Bogdanovka village, Russia. As a child, Safronov visited indigenous “Mormon” services.

“belonging to a Cossack village”; fig. 3) directed us to the Ivan Ivanovich Zhabin home in the “Mormon” part of town. There we met Tat’iana Mikhailovna Zhabina, Ivan’s wife, who smiled and seemed surprised anyone would want to talk to her. She said her husband, the leader of the extended family group, had gone to his ancestral village at Sofievka about two hundred kilometers away. She laughed out loud when we explained that we were interested in indigenous Russian “Mormons.” She apparently

had heard the term applied to her people before but found it amusing. Tat'iana said her family is all Russian Orthodox, but they do not drink alcohol, smoke, or use profane language. She did not know why others call her family "Mormons," but the Zhabin family do not ever refer to themselves in this manner. She explained they are of a Cossack group (*kazachestvo*) living in a Cossack village (*stanitsa*). She said we might obtain additional information next door by talking with her husband's brother and business partner, Aleksandr Ivanovich. We found Aleksandr, his wife, daughter, and her husband in their well-appointed kitchen and dining area. Aleksandr, born in 1958, did most of the speaking.

Aleksandr explained he did not know why people call his family "Mormons" other than the fact that the Zhabins abstain from alcohol and tobacco. According to his recollection, people have been classifying them as such since the late 1970s. Aleksandr and his family were unfamiliar with Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon, but he had heard of American Mormons being driven out of their homes and of their migration to the West. He knew there now are Latter-day Saint missionaries in Orenburg but expressed a preference to not establish contact with them. He did not know anything about Samara "Mormons" or "Mormon" groups in other cities or villages.

Like his sister-in-law, he explained that his people are Cossacks, or historically independent and free Russians who refused to become serfs. Ivan



FIG. 3. The Zhabin family's store in Orenburg, Russia. Called "Mormon" by other villagers, the Zhabins are actually Russian Orthodox. Their clan may have been conflated with Latter-day Saints because the Zhabins are seen as close knit, hardworking, and well-to-do.

Ivanovich is a Cossack *ataman* (leader of a village or tribe). Ivan and Aleksandr are two of eight children. Their father was a strict disciplinarian, teaching the family to work hard, be abstemious, and care for each other. Any child who violated family standards was punished, for example, by being compelled to cut river ice in the bitter cold. Kostia, the son-in-law, said the power of family example keeps the third-generation children in line. "You see the benefits of the lifestyle," he said. The benefits include not only good health but also involvement in lucrative family financial activities.

Aleksandr and Ivan came to Orenburg in the late 1970s and obtained a vocational education as chauffeurs. Initially they both drove taxis. Their father, meanwhile, helped them obtain a run-down, but private, home on the outskirts of town in the area in which they still live. They remodeled this home and sold it for a profit. Then they purchased and repaired two more homes, selling those profitably and buying more. During Gorbachev's perestroika, it became possible to begin a private construction business, which they were well poised to do. They were energetic, visionary, and capable. Business mushroomed. The Zhabins now have purchased or built several homes, apartment complexes, and gasoline stations; own oil wells; and are ever expanding into other businesses.

Aleksandr said his family is attempting to regenerate their ancestral villages, which formerly had about a thousand farms. In recent years, they have built a flour mill, a meat processing plant, a macaroni plant, a bread factory, and produce-storage facilities. They also provide fuel for farm machinery and have reconstructed one of the two former Russian Orthodox village churches—the Kazan Mother of God. Under the Communists, the church was used to store grain and was finally torn down in the 1970s. Aleksandr seemed forthright and unrestrained. He did not seem reluctant to speak or appear to dissemble.

Strangely, it was only after our interview with the Zhabin family that we began to hear assessments of the Orenburg "Mormons" more nuanced and complex than the initial reports of straightforward criminality. These reports meshed with the general picture the Zhabins painted of themselves and added more details. Several taxi drivers and academics said the "Mormons" are hardworking, close-knit, and wealthy. They take care of one another's needs and resolve their own problems. Several informants observed that the family has had some problems keeping their youth in line with their health code and keeping them from acting like tough-guy outlaws, but these problems have generally been resolved within the family. Several times we heard comments along the lines of "some people say the Mormons are criminals, but I say if everyone in Russia were like them, the country would be much better off."

Crime and wealth are seen as virtually inseparable in most contemporary Russians' minds. In colloquial Russian speech, an *ataman* means a robber or gang leader as well as a Cossack leader. The word *businessman* (*biznesman*) in Russian also has a pejorative connotation. The Russian term *Mafia* is often loosely applied to anyone who is wealthy. (Like *Mormon*, *Mafia* is also an example of a word being reapplied from its original context to refer to a somewhat similar but historically unconnected group in another country.) While the Orenburg "Mormons" are sometimes called *Mafia*, the term is usually used to refer to the "New Russians" or New Rich of the post-Soviet era. Our most knowledgeable informants made a distinction between Orenburg "Mormons," New Russians, and organized crime. They suggested that most New Russians have become much more entangled with criminal organizations than the "Mormons," who form only a small minority of the wealthy people in Orenburg. We do not know to what degree the Zhabins are actually honest or dishonest in business. Such distinctions are difficult to make in the constantly shifting, murky waters of the twenty-first-century Russian economy. The Orenburg "Mormons" probably operate within the complex system of Russian law when possible but work around laws they consider unnecessary or foolish. They have established for themselves what could be called a tacitly sovereign autonomous zone, where they operate according to their own moral, but clannish, set of imperatives.⁶⁰

Often an informant emphasized that there is no other group in Orenburg quite like the "Mormons." Many Orenburg residents felt the "Mormons" were a fascinating and peculiar social phenomenon. However, the further away one gets from intimate interaction with the Orenburg "Mormons" or the more one is suspicious of their success, the easier it is to misplace them into other ready-made social categories. Some conflate them with the *Mafia*, others conflate them with Latter-day Saints. A recent book entitled *Religious Organizations of Tol'iatti* by Russian scholar of religion Vadim Iakunin makes this mistake in a chapter on Mormons. He gives a brief overview of Latter-day Saint history and doctrine and then discusses the capitalist undertakings of the Orenburg "Mormons" without realizing he has shifted from Latter-day Saints to Russian "Mormons":

Essentially everywhere Mormons operate they are very active in attempting to become integrated in the life of the country. Thus, in Orenburg, Mormons are acquiring stocks in enterprises producing natural gas, entire buildings in new housing developments, and infrastructure. They also position their people in local governmental agencies. The work of Mormons in Russia is carried out in strictest secrecy. Thus, virtually nothing is known of their real goals and kinds of activity in our country.⁶¹

We found no evidence that the Zhabins were ever anything but Russian Orthodox or that they ever engaged in unusual sexual arrangements, although they have a tight family clan organization that might be called unusual in contemporary Russia. It is possible that among their ancestors there may have been people involved with, or confused for, members of religious dissident “Mormon” groups known to have historically been prominent in the Orenburg area.⁶² More likely, as Alexandr believes, the Zhabins are called “Mormon” today because of the second, more recent, popular perception of Latter-day Saints as hardworking, self-supporting, tight-knit, disciplined, wealthy builders of a heaven on earth. Common reports in Orenburg seem to indicate enough familiarity with late twentieth-century Latter-day Saint stereotypes to draw this parallel and apply the nickname *Mormon* to the Zhabins.

Mekhzavod. Another quite unusual variant usage of the term “Mormon” can be found in the Mekhzavod (Fur Factory) suburb on the outskirts of Samara. This village of small, but well-kept, private homes is a remarkable haven for religious diversity. Russian Orthodox, Old Believers, Molokans, Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and almost certainly others live side by side in close proximity. Such concentrated diversity is unusual for Russia. Paul Steeves, an American scholar of Russian religious history, suggests that the whole Samara region experienced a period in its history somewhat like western New York did in the early 1800s. Hence it still displays features of having once been a “burnt over district” that produced and attracted innovative and diverse forms of religious enthusiasm.⁶³ Mekhzavod is an extreme example of this tendency within the Samara region.

Many Samarans and local Latter-day Saint missionaries unfamiliar with the extent of Mekhzavod’s diversity have claimed that many secretive “Mormons” live in the area. When asking Mekhzavod residents about the location of possible members of nontraditional faiths, we referred to Molokans, Old Believers, Evangelicals, Mormons, and Pentecostals each time so *Mormons* would not stand out. The large majority of the approximately three dozen people we spoke with ignored the other suggestions and replied that “Mormons” do live in the village. Many pointed out houses down the street or around the corner where they thought “Mormons” lived. The occupants of the indicated “Mormon” houses clearly identified themselves as Russian Orthodox, Old Believers, Molokans, Evangelicals, or Pentecostals but never claimed to be “Mormons.” Often people would say something like “I am not a Mormon, but the person in that house around the corner is.” At the indicated house, we only heard again, “I am not a Mormon, but the person in that house down the street might be.” Yurii, the man most often referred to as a “Mormon,” was actually

the local pastor of an American-style nondenominational Evangelical Christian group. Yurii was out of town, but we met his family and observed visiting pastors from America. We also spoke with a local member of Yurii's church. The vehicle and head of this follower were adorned with such unmistakably American pop-Evangelical paraphernalia as an English-language "Go with Jesus, He's #1" bumper sticker and a "You Are Always a Winner with Jesus Christ" baseball hat. This group was clearly neither indigenous Samara "Mormons" nor Latter-day Saints.

We could discern no special reason for people to claim to be of another nontraditional faith if they really were "Mormons." All would have had comparable reasons under the Soviets to be wary of disclosing their affiliation. Apparently, the villagers used the term *Mormon* to identify any unknown "religious other." For them, *Mormon* had become a generic term, now largely nonpejorative but implying someone who is devout, possibly clandestine, peculiar, and "not one of us."

However, the fact that Mekhzavod residents were very familiar with the term *Mormon* while others in the Samara region were much less so did seem to indicate that some group called "Mormons" may have once lived there. In surrounding villages, we were mostly told, "There are no Mormons here." One woman in nearby Starosemeikino said she knew a "Mormon" but took us to a Baptist's house. Another said, "Go to Mekhzavod; there are lots of Mormons there." Despite our success in speaking with many people from formerly suppressed religious groups, one Mekhzavod man who owned a building rumored to be a Mormon church (fig. 4) (which he denied) told us he felt sorry for us. He explained our task would be very difficult since "Mormons" would be reluctant to tell us about their religion because they had been oppressed in the past. Another resident explained, "There are both Molokans and Mormons here, but the Mormons will not let you come to their meetings." This secrecy would be expected of Samara "Mormons" or Khlysty.

Our efforts to meet Mekhzavod's "Mormons" proved fruitless, but the recollections of Dan Jones, one of the first Latter-day Saint missionaries in Samara, suggest we may have missed something. Elder Jones's missionary journal entries reflect his focus on proselytizing at the time and mention little more than "we then went to visit the 'Mormons.' We talked with them about the Church for a while and then decided it wasn't worth it to go out there."⁶⁴

Jones remembers that in May 1993—when Russian curiosity about things Western and religious was still high—a small group of people from Mekhzavod called "Mormons" sought him out to discuss religious matters. Jones recalls, "They did call themselves 'Mormony' but I'm not really clear as to whether they originally called themselves that or if they adopted the name that others gave them."⁶⁵ Only after listening to the missionaries'



FIG. 4. A view of Mekhzavod, showing a building rumored to be a “Mormon” meetinghouse.

message did the “Mormons” reluctantly explain that their religion had a leader or chief, was strictly off-limits to outsiders, and did not proselytize. Even members’ own children were not told of their faith until they were initiated into its absolutely secret practices. Some of their group opposed the delegation’s decision to contact the Latter-day Saint missionaries. In meeting with Jones, these Mekhzavod “Mormon” delegates showed little interest in the Book of Mormon or Joseph Smith but were keen to know about secret Latter-day Saint temple ceremonies. Of course, Jones could not give them the details that they wanted, and they left, reluctant to make any further appointments. Eventually, Jones stopped visiting them. His is the only known, detailed, firsthand account of meeting known “Mormons” in Mekhzavod, people who were probably descendants of Samara “Mormons.”⁶⁶ Jones received the impression that the delegation may have been hoping to fill in gaps in their understanding of their own religion or to find information that may have been lost over the years. However, they quickly concluded that the Latter-day Saint missionaries were not adherents of the same faith and decided to have nothing more to do with them. Apparently, from the point of view of these Mekhzavod “Mormons,” Latter-day Saint missionaries represented the “other Mormons.”

Conclusions

These three case studies show a variety of ways the term *Mormon* is used in contemporary Russia. Local understandings of grave markers in a cemetery near Mekhzavod illuminate several broader issues of representation and misinterpretation concerning Russia's indigenous "Mormons." In this cemetery, along with the predominant Russian Orthodox crosses and abstract geometric Soviet-era markers are found many, perhaps more than a hundred, triangle-capped crosses—the "Mormon crosses" mentioned in Elder Scott's report (see fig. 1). Indeed, the surnames on these crosses can be found among the Mekhzavod residents identified as "Mormons." However, two sextons and the cemetery director, the latter a practicing Old Believer, all confirmed that a peaked-roof cross indicates an Old Believer grave. The Rogozhskoe Cemetery in Moscow at the spiritual center of Old Believerdom contains similar triangular crosses almost exclusively (fig. 5). A priest on duty confirmed that peaked crosses are distinctively Old Believer but ascribed no special significance or function to the design except perhaps "to keep water off."

It is not clear how Old Believer crosses in Mekhzavod came to be called "Mormon crosses." Perhaps the local penchant for identifying as "Mormon" anything religiously unfamiliar is responsible. Whatever the reason,



FIG. 5. Peaked-roof crosses in Moscow's Rogozhskoe Cemetery. These crosses indicate graves of Old Believers, not Latter-day Saints.

Latter-day Saint missionaries have interpreted these crosses as a sign of the existence of long-lost Mormon cousins in Russia. It may seem ironic that Latter-day Saints, who do not use crosses, have interpreted a peculiar cross as a sign of Mormonness. However, the “Mormon cross” looks less crosslike than traditional crosses and could be interpreted as the syncretic accommodation of a religious group trying to survive underground. Or the story of Mekhzavods’ “Mormon crosses” could also be interpreted as a symbolic reminder of the ease with which artifacts’ historical significance can be misinterpreted.

Tania Rands Lyons suggests that the Latter-day Saints’ long curiosity about Russia, speculation about the whereabouts of the lost ten tribes, and the legacy of the Cold War have made Russia into a vast screen onto which some Latter-day Saint imaginations project wondrous speculations.⁶⁷ Such suggestions may be true. However, it was not any naive gullibility or theological agendas on the part of American missionaries that originated the widespread Latter-day Saint folk belief in secret Russian Latter-day Saints. Such a belief came from a quite reasonable process of deduction. When confronted with solid evidence and firsthand reports provided by native Russians of people who do not smoke or drink, who worship separately or in secret, who might have additional scripture, and who are called “Mormons” by their neighbors, the simplest explanation would seem to be that “long-lost religious cousins” had been found. The problem arises not from gullibility but from missionaries’ focused range of language proficiency and lack of time to explore esoteric cultural background knowledge. Even non-Latter-day Saint informed expert observers such as Vadim Iakunin, John Noble, and scholars of Russian religion have assumed Russian “Mormons” and Latter-day Saints are the same or are historically related.

The Russian “Mormon” phenomenon ultimately has less to do with Latter-day Saints in the past or present than it has to do with the way images and information about minority religions circulate in local settings in a modernizing world. Popular media reports in Russia, fictional misrepresentation by Doyle, clumsily subtitled movies, and Orthodox and Communist interference with communication in general and discourse about religion in particular—all these have provided local Russian communities with the opportunity to work out peculiar shared understandings of the term *Mormon* that meet their particular needs. For most Russians, *Mormon* has meant little or nothing—it is an insignificant linguistic resource. For others, it has meant something vaguely distant, religiously subversive, and negative. For others in special historical and geographic circumstances, *Mormon* has been a nickname sometimes interchangeable with others referring to particular groups such as Latter-day Saints, Khlysty, Old Believers, and teetotaling Cossacks. Usage has varied from place to place and time to time.

As a more unfettered media culture emerges in Russia, the complexity of the geographically diverse usage of the term *Mormon* will likely undergo further adaptation. Local folk usages may work their way into print and television, which will in turn influence how local usages develop. Vadim Iakunin's mistake of assuming the Orenburg "Mormons" and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are one and the same gives a new nuance to the term *Mormon* that may or may not be picked up elsewhere in Russia.

Often when Russians use *Mormon*, they are not referring to Latter-day Saints but may not realize this. These findings shed new light on the provocative statements made several years ago by the then politically emergent General Alexandr Lebed, who called Mormons "slime" and "mold."⁶⁸ These statements raised concern in the American media about Russia's fragile religious freedoms. But to whom did the general intend to refer and how clear in his mind were the distinctions between the various kinds of "Mormons" in his own country?

Summary

This study presents a picture of the shifting semantic domain of the term *Mormon* in contemporary Russia. Perhaps the simplest way of describing what we have found is that some Russians, especially those in Mekhzavod, are using the term *Mormon* in a way somewhat similar, but more focused and varied, to the way Latter-day Saints once used the term *Gentile*. If the tenacious hold of Columbus's misapplication of the word *Indian* can serve as a guide, *Mormon* may well retain multiple meanings in Russia indefinitely.

However, the inherent limitations of this project should qualify any of its conclusions. There are 140 million people, eleven time zones, and thousands of isolated villages in Russia. Very likely there are meanings and uses of the term *Mormon* in Russia still unknown to westerners.⁶⁹ Future research may yet reveal actual hand-transcribed copies of the Book of Mormon and people, in addition to the Lindelofs, who display clear historical and doctrinal connections to Latter-day Saints. However, until that happens, the borrowing of a term inspired by popular stereotypes of marginal religious groups rather than the clandestine expansion and rediscovery of a lost branch of Latter-day Saint religion best explains the ongoing use of the term *Mormon* to refer to Russians who are not members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

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1. Gary Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 344–45.

2. Such stories circulate in many areas where Latter-day Saint missionaries are active. For some examples from Japan, see "The Lost Tribes of Israel" web page by folklorist D. Glenn Ostlund, http://www.php.indiana.edu/~dostlund/lost_tribes.htm.

3. On Latter-day Saint missionary folklore, see William A. Wilson, "On Being Human: The Folklore of Mormon Missionaries," Utah State University Faculty Honor Lecture (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1981); and "LDS-World-Gems, LDS Internet Hoaxes and Mormon Urban Legends," <http://www.ldsworld.com/gems/ul/>. For a more appreciative look at Latter-day Saint missionary folklore, see D. Glenn Ostlund, "Mormon Missionary Folklore—Virtual Web Archive," <http://php.indiana.edu/~dostlund/mission.htm>.

4. S. V. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia kniga dlia sviashchenno-tserkovno-sluzhitelei* (Schisms, heresies, sects that go against Christian and Orthodox teachings) (1913; reprint, Moskva: Moskovskii Patriarchat, 1993), 2:1671. Timofei Ivanovich Butkevich, *Obzor russkikh sekt i ikh tolkov* (A survey of Russian sects and their beliefs) (Khar'kov: Tipografiia gubernskogo pravleniia, 1910), 597–600, also concludes the Samara "Mormons" had nothing to do with Joseph Smith.

5. John Noble and Glenn D. Everett, *I Found God in Soviet Russia* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1959), 126, 141.

6. Tania Rands Lyon, "Soviet Mormons: A Preliminary Report," February 1999, 12, manuscript in possession of the authors.

7. James Wesley Scott, "Nineteenth Kilometer' Early Converts in Russia: Mission Historical Report," Russia Samara Mission, June 1998, in possession of Gary Browning.

8. Sheridan T. Gashler, interview by authors, May 16, 2000.

9. Stetson University scholar of Russian Religion Paul Steeves, telephone interview by Eric A. Eliason, July 25, 2000.

10. R. Lanier Britsch, *Unto the Islands of the Sea: A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1986), 16–23.

11. Britsch, *Unto the Islands*, 349–54.

12. R. Lanier Britsch, *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1851–1996* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 76, 84–91.

13. Special thanks is due Van Gessel for guiding us to scholarship on the Kakure Kirishitan of Japan. A useful book on this topic was Stephen Turnbull, *The Kakure Kirishitan of Japan: A Study of Their Development, Beliefs and Rituals to the Present Day* (Richmond, Surrey, United Kingdom: The Japan Library, 1998). Japan's Shusaku Endo, regarded by many to be one of the world's greatest fiction writers, wrote several stories specifically about Japanese hidden Christians—for example see "Mothers," in Van C. Gessel, trans., *Stained Glass Elegies* (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1985); and "The Final Martyrs," in Van C. Gessel, trans., *The Final Martyrs* (New York: New Directions, 1993).

14. Christal Whelan, trans., *The Beginnings of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996).

15. Judith Neulander, "The Crypto-Jewish Canon: Choosing to be 'Chosen' in Millennial Tradition," *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 18, nos. 1–2 (1996): 19–58. This

issue of the *Review* is dedicated to the question of crypto-Jews and contains articles and letters expressing many facets of this topic.

16. Nuelander, "Crypto-Jewish Canon," 22.

17. Nuelander, "Crypto-Jewish Canon," 23.

18. Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, 4–5.

19. A. H. Lund, "Introduction of the Gospel into Russia, St. Petersburg, Russia, June 18, 1895," *Millennial Star* 57, no. 26 (June 27, 1895): 413–15.

20. Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, 10–12.

21. One slim possibility is that the much-wandering Elder Mischa Markow, who preached in most of Eastern Europe and even one small part of Russia at the turn of the nineteenth century, may have converted some in Russia. See Richard O. Cowan, "Mischa Markow: Mormon Missionary to the Balkans," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 1 (1970): 92–98; and William H. Kehr, "Missionary to the Balkans, Mischa Markow," *Ensign* 10, no. 6 (June 1980): 29–32.

22. Gérard Chaliand and Jean-Pierre Rageau, *The Penguin Atlas of Diasporas* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1995), 83–89.

23. *Deseret News 1999–2000 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1998), 272; "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Information," an informational brochure published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Europe (no other publication information available), 1997, 7.

24. In Samara today, Latter-day Saint missionaries report disproportionate interest among Armenian immigrants. However, this seems to be unrelated to the fact that Russian scholar of religion S. V. Bulgakov mentions "Caucasus Mormons" in his still-consulted *Nastol'naiia*, 2:1636.

25. *1999–2000 Church Almanac*, 377.

26. Olga Kovarova Campora, *Saint behind Enemy Lines* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 60–63.

27. Thomas F. Rogers, *A Call to Russia: Glimpses of Missionary Life* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1999), 153.

28. Latter-day Saint educator and founding BYU president Karl G. Maeser was first attracted to the Church by "reading between the lines" of an anti-Mormon tract. See *Deseret News 1997–98 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1996), 329.

29. "Forty-Year Wait for Baptism," in Hartman and Connie Rector, eds., *No More Strangers* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1971), 82–89.

30. For numerous stories of such conversions, see E. Dale LeBaron, *All Are Alike unto God* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1990); and Alexander B. Morrison, *The Dawning of a Brighter Day: The Church in Black Africa* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1990). While explaining the possibility of Latter-day Saint ideas in pre-1990 Russia to a professor of religion at Omsk State University, we learned that he had never heard of indigenous "Mormons" in particular but that the phenomenon of the individual prophet/leader was common in relatively religiously diverse and active Siberia. He said he would not be surprised at all if Latter-day Saint ideas ended up in the Siberian religious mix. It seemed provocative to us that many of the thousands of German immigrants to Siberia came from regions of high missionary activity and success. Even though most had come from before the arrival of Mormonism in Germany, some came after. No official Russian translation of the Book of Mormon or other Church materials appeared until 1980, but materials in German had been available since 1852.

31. Scholars in the Brigham Young University Germanic and Slavic Languages Department had been aware of the Bulgakov suggestion that the Samara "Mormons"

were unrelated to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, but Bulgakov did not suggest that all “Mormons” in Russia were unrelated to the in Church in America. Bulgakov, *Nastol’naia*, 2:1636. We also considered the possibility that *Mormon* was by sheer coincidence a native Russian word but discounted this hypothesis due to lack of evidence.

32. Michael S. Flier, “Court Ceremony in an Age of Reform: Patriarch Nikon and the Palm Sunday Ritual,” in *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, ed. Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollman (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1997), 73–95.

33. Roy R. Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), 4; F. E. Mel’nikov, *Kratkaia istoriia drevlepravoslavnoi staroobriadcheskoi tserkvi* (A brief history of the ancient Russian Old Believer Church) (Barnaul: BGPU, 1999), 22–34.

34. Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 127–29.

35. One estimate puts the number of Old Believers in contemporary Russia at sixteen million. Lyudmila Vorontsova and Sergei Filatov, “Paradoxes of the Old Believer Movement,” *Religion, State, and Society* 28 (March 2000): 53.

36. Recent scholarship suggests that *Khlysty* is better not capitalized since those referred to by the term are not one group but many unrelated ones. However, we kept the traditional capitalization used in most of the sources we consulted. Eugene Clay, email to Eric Eliason, August 16, 2000. See also Eugene Clay, “The Theological Origins of the Christ-Faith [Khristovshchina],” *Russian History* 15 (spring 1988): 21–41; and Eugene Clay, “Literary Images of the Russian ‘Flagellants,’ 1861–1905,” *Russian History* 24 (winter 1997): 425–39.

37. On the Skopsti who emerged from the Khlysty, see Laura Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom: A Russian Folktale* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 26.

38. Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 96, 107–14, 128, 161, 163.

39. The Skopsti, for example, saw the Bible as “but a dead letter.” Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom*, 19.

40. This sketch of the history of non-Orthodox Russian religious groups benefited from consulting the following works: Baron and Kollman, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Russia*; Judith Deutsch Kornblatt and Richard F. Gustafson, eds., *Russian Religious Thought* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); Sabrina P. Ramet, *Nihil Obstat: Religion, Politics, and Social Change in East-Central Europe and Russia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998); Jerry G. Pankhurst, “Religious Culture,” in *Russian Culture at the Crossroads: Paradoxes of Postcommunist Consciousness*, ed. Dmitri N. Shalin (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 127–56; A. I. Klibanov, *History of Religious Secularism in Russia (1860s–1917)* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982).

41. V. Skvortsov, *Deianiia 3-go Vserosiiskago Missionerskago S’ezda v Kazani* (Proceedings of the third all-Russia missionary congress in Kazan) (Kiev: I. I. Chokolov, 1897), 115.

42. Victor Vladimirovich Kovalenko, interview by authors, May 12, 2000.

43. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1995), 175–78, 186–202.

44. For an overview of anti-Mormon fiction of the time, see Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, “Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature,” *Western Humanities Review* 22 (summer 1968): 243–60; and Terryl L. Givens, *The Viper on the Hearth: Mormons, Myths, and the Construction of Heresy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 97–120.

45. In fact, Russian academics twice lectured us on how Western literary scholars do not fully appreciate the genius of Doyle and why we should include him in our literary canon where he belongs.

46. Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, 300.

47. Kovalenko, interview; Iakov Vladimirovich Riabinovich, interview by authors, May 13, 2000.

48. While actual documentation of this rhetorical move has been hard to come by, a similar invocation of the United States as example happened as Old Believers pushed for legal bans on tobacco after the passage of the Act of Toleration in 1905. "If Michigan, Texas and Illinois can ban smoking, why can't we in Russia," argued one writer. S. Bv., "Vragi chelovechestva" (Enemies of humanity), *Zlatostrui*, no. 2 (1910): 33, as quoted in Robson, *Old Believers in Modern Russia*, 110.

49. The oral tradition among Filippov's followers suggests that he began his ministry in 1645 but available historical documents suggest a later date. Eugene Clay, "Repression of Matriarchy? The Cult of the Kostroma Peasant Danilo Filippovich, 1650–1850," manuscript in author's possession.

50. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia*, 2:1636.

51. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia*, 2:1671. Butkevich, *Obzor russkikh sekt i ikh tolkov*, 597–600, also concludes the Samara "Mormons" had nothing to do with Joseph Smith.

52. Bulgakov, *Nastol'naia*, 2:1636.

53. Latter-day Saints, Khlysty, and Samara "Mormons" are just a few of many Christian groups to have engaged in religiously motivated sexual arrangements other than monogamous marriage. See, for example, Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); J. Gordon Melton, *Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 4th ed. (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993); and *The Encyclopedic Handbook of Cults in America* (New York: Garland Press, 1986).

Though nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints are arguably the best-known polygamists, plural marriage inspired by biblical patriarchs is not unique to Latter-day Saints. A small movement among Evangelical Protestants claims the practice of polygamy is still valid today. See "Christian Polygamy: Marriage Authorized by God," <http://www.polygamy.net/> and "The Truth Bearer," <http://www.thestandardbearer.com/Acts2414/Exodus2110/TruthBearer/>.

54. Clay, "Literary Images," 425–39.

55. Eric A. Eliason, "Curious Gentiles and Representational Authority in the City of the Saints," *Religion and American Culture* 11 (summer 2001): forthcoming; Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, *Missionary to the Mountain West: Reminiscences of Episcopal Bishop Daniel S. Tuttle, 1866–1886* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 307–15; B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 84–126.

56. The first official translation of the Book of Mormon into Russian appeared in 1980.

57. V. D. Avdeev, "Bibliia i Kristovoveriye," in *Vremia i Bibliia*, comp. V. M. Riabikov (Cheliabinsk, Iuzh.-Ural'sk, 1978), 91.

58. The Khlysty schismatics, the Skoptsi, were aware of, and approved of, the comparison of their own movement to that of the Shakers, who were also known for their dualism, renunciation of sex, ecstatic forms of worship, following of modern prophets, and reputation for sober industriousness. N. M. Iadrintsev, *Russkaia obshchina v tiur'me i sylke* (St. Petersburg: Morigerovskii, 1872), 257, as quoted in Engelstein, *Castration and the Heavenly Kingdom*, 20.

59. Kovalenko, interview.

60. Eric Eliason's idea of a tacitly sovereign autonomous zone emerged as a reaction to radical aesthetic philosopher Hakim Bey's notion of a "temporary autonomous zone." While Bey describes his notion as an ultimately indescribable area of creative chaos apart from everyday rules and authority, the tacitly sovereign autonomous zone is an island or nexus of order and authority within a larger context of chaos and competing authority claims. Hakim Bey, *T.A.Z., the Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism* (Brooklyn: Autonomedia, 1991).

61. Vadim Iakunin, *Religioznye organizatsie v Tol'iatti* (Religious organizations of Tol'iatti) (Tol'iatti: Sovremennik, 1999), 139; translation by Gary Browning.

62. Browning, *Russia and the Restored Gospel*, 344–45.

63. Paul Steeves, telephone interview by Eric A. Eliason, July 25, 2000.

64. Daniel Jones, missionary journal, June 24, 1993.

65. Daniel Jones, email to Gary Browning, June 9, 2000.

66. Daniel Jones, email to Gary Browning, June 13, 2000.

67. Tania Rands Lyon, "What's in a Name? The Discovery of 'Mormon' Communities in Russia," 3, manuscript in authors' possession.

68. "Lebed Vows to Cleanse Russia of Religious Filth," combined Associated Press and Reuters, Deseret News Archive, June 27, 1996, http://www.desnews.com/cgi-bin/libstory_state?dn96&9606270043.

69. Almost immediately upon returning, Gary received an email from a Latter-day Saint missionary at the Novosibirsk office mentioning an "old Mormon" village in Altai province that we had not found, let alone heard of, despite spending a week there. Elder Beagly, Russian Novosibirsk Mission office, email to Gary Browning, May 12, 2000.

Voice Lessons

Melissa Helquist

On voiceless days, I feel as if I'm at the end of an uncomfortable, midday summer nap, the kind where my mind is waking up but my body won't respond. Move, arm. Move, eyelid. They stay motionless, and I know that I have to fight or I will lose myself somewhere between sleeping and waking. Somehow not fighting means not waking up—ever. When I do wake up, I wake up exhausted, tense, confused, wishing I hadn't closed my eyes at all.

On voiceless days, I am more than alone. I walk to my blue-and-white-painted house, watching new autumn leaves fall to the sidewalk, where they rest within a pattern of leaves that was long ago pressed into wet cement. I think my own thoughts and listen to them echo through my head. I get tired of trying to make people hear me, of repeating myself to constant inquiries of "What?" I stand on the outside of conversations because it's impossible to insert a barely-whisper into voiceful clamor. I try to telephone my best friend, Terra, but her son thinks no one is on the line. My dad, standing two feet away from me, starts writing me a question on a slip of paper. In my inability to speak, he forgets that I can still hear.

Voiceless, my self seems less than self, like looking in a mirror and barely seeing a reflection. As I walk, I watch the pattern of leaves and sidewalk cracks; I hear the wind turning in the trees above me, the cars on University Avenue splashing through rain puddles; I smell the rainwater as it moves around the tires, the earthiness of smashed worms, and everything cold and soulful. The day says something to me, and I wish I could say something back. I want to laugh out loud, or hum, or say hello to a stranger passing by. But when I tell my vocal cords to move, my voice, my hum, my laugh all come out sounding like a needle sliding forgotten over a vinyl record.

On voiceless days, I read a lot of Whitman. He stands on top of rooftops and shouts:

My voice goes after what my eyes cannot reach,
With the twirl of my tongue I encompass worlds and volumes of worlds.

I wish my yell were so powerful, but it is hardly audible. Whitman says that voices are more than words and tongues. He builds a choir out of a carpenter dressing a plank, a clean-haired Yankee girl working her sewing machine, a prostitute dragging her shawl. "Song of Myself" tells me that there are many ways to sing, to make my voice heard—that just by living, I am saying something. I like to believe that Whitman is right, that even a

voiceless girl can encompass worlds in the twirl of her tongue. I try to find other ways of speaking. I write with a new pen, and I smile when someone tells me my writing voice is strong and clear. I cook, trying new ingredients, mixing spices, tasting and stirring. I run my fingers along the strings of my viola, making half steps and counting rests, trying to ignore the missed notes between the moments of solid tone. These are good ways of speaking, but they are not enough. Even when I do construct a resonant phrase or perfect a new recipe or pull my bow solidly to make my viola sing, there is no spontaneity to these voices. I have to write and revise, I have to buy ingredients, I have to rosin my bow. When I can speak, my voice is hardly perfect—I say “hell” instead of “well,” I snort in the middle of a fit of laughter, I babble—but it is immediate and candid. Nothing is hidden, and somehow in my speaking I feel intimately known.

The larynx, the box that builds my imperfect voice, sits where the trachea and the esophagus begin their separate journeys—the esophagus carrying food to the stomach, the trachea carrying air to the lungs. The larynx works like a train switch, making sure the food and air move in the right directions, and it allows for voice production—inside the cartilaginous structure, the vocal cords vibrate, touch, move apart as air passes through to make sound. Wrapped around the outside of the larynx is the thyroid, a butterfly-shaped gland that controls metabolism.

I was barely aware of my thyroid’s existence until a surgeon at London’s Cromwell Hospital showed me a picture that was made by injecting radioactive iodine into my bloodstream and scanning my neck for concentrations of the isotope. I had come to the hospital because of a chronic, but mild, sore throat, fatigue, and an odd fixation that something was wrong. In five weeks, I saw five different doctors, discovered I had asthma, and listened to doctors try to solve my fatigue with questions like “Maybe you’re just bored?” Finally, after numerous blood tests, an ultrasound, and the isotope scan, I was told that I “needed to have surgery on my neck as soon as possible.” The surgeon discussed my options, told me that I might have a thyroid cancer, showed me the picture of my gland, shades of red and green against a black surface. On the left wing of the butterfly gland was an almost-round white spot. The butterfly’s new decoration. When I first saw the picture, I couldn’t feel the lump they said was there, the spot that I could see clearly in pixelated red and green. I’d push on my neck, just where the surgeon had pressed, and I felt nothing. Two weeks later, back home in Utah, just before my surgery to remove the butterfly’s wing, I pressed again. What I hadn’t been able to detect before was now obvious. It was growing and by only lightly pressing, I could feel its edges moving outward. That butterfly wanted to fly. After the surgery, I again felt the spot on the left of my neck. I pushed my fingers deep into a newly carved hollow.

In exchange for the offending half of my thyroid gland, I got a thin, red scar at the base of my neck, what my surgeon optimistically called “an extra smile.” After my new smile healed, I drank a small dose of I-131, iodine’s radioactive isotope—the first step in obliterating the not-yet-offending half of the gland. The thyroid functions on iodine, so the gland took up the radiation, which began to kill the remaining thyroid tissue. As my thyroid gland started to die, my body slowed like an out-of-power windup toy. For months, I slept a large portion of my days, my cheeks swelling up like chipmunks, my eyes continually watering. My body attempted to recover my metabolism by pumping large amounts of thyroid stimulating hormone (TSH) into my bloodstream. After every blood test, I prayed that my TSH levels would be high enough for the next dose of iodine. Finally, they were high enough, and I got to have my toxic cocktail—I-131 mixed with water in a thick, metal container. I sucked all the I-131-rich water up through a plastic straw, and my thyroid gland, desperate to function, grabbed up the iodine. But instead of working again, the gland was utterly destroyed—in an instant.

I sat for the next three days in isolation in a corner room of Utah Valley Hospital, waiting for the radioactive waves emanating from my body to ebb. My door was plastered with red-and-yellow biohazard signs; one was taped to the end of my bed. I thought they should have attached one with a string to my big toe, just in case. The rooms next to me (two on each side) were vacated. I had visitors, but they could stay for only ten minutes at a time. I sat in almost complete silence for those three days, walking back and forth the long room, flipping channels, writing one letter, and reading forty pages of *Portrait of a Lady*.

I didn’t want to read or watch TV or write. I wanted to talk. When anyone came, I’d try to keep them beyond their allotted ten minutes, even though I’d heard the technician’s geiger counter clicking away at the base of my bed and I knew that I was a biohazard. But I couldn’t take the isolation. I kept talking, reasoning that if I wasn’t dying from drinking the isotope, no one could die from sitting in my room. Terra reasoned the way I did, staying every day well past the end of her lunch hour. Some people were afraid of me and my red and yellow signs, so they hovered in the doorway. Some friends wouldn’t even step next to my bed to hand me the “Congratulations” balloons they’d brought. After they left, I had to retrieve the balloons from the corner where they’d left them floating.

When my days of isolation ended, I was still left in the margins. I had to eat from disposable plates, I couldn’t stand within six feet of anyone, and I couldn’t be near children. One night, I plopped down on the couch beside my sister. She immediately got up from the couch and moved across the room. I looked at her in disbelief and then went into my room to cry. I’m a person who often chooses to be alone, but being forced into the peripheral

vision of everyone nearby was too painful. Later my sister sat on the edge of my bed and wrapped her arms around me in spite of the biohazard.

Four months before my cancer diagnosis, while I was in London, I was shocked when my friend Carmen pulled aside the collar of her white shirt to reveal a thick, black line almost blending into her cinnamon skin. I didn't entirely know what it was for; I knew only that it had something to do with her breast cancer. I remember how I thought it was the line where they would cut away her breast. But I soon got lines of my own, lines that marked borders for the soon-to-come radiation—invisible surgery. My radiation borders made a diamond, from my neck outward in both directions nearly to the joint of my shoulder and back to a center spot just above my breasts. The day they made the map, I pulled down the neck of my sweater to pose for a picture. The marker lines were vivid against my pale skin: four red dots, four *x*s and connecting lines. The *x* at the base of my neck was partially rubbed away and looked like a decorative cross, some sort of symbol, something commemorative.

Now all that's left of my radiation map are four tiny black tattoos, the directional points. Sometimes I connect the dots in the mirror, underneath my fingers, in my head and think about all the things that must have been damaged along with the cancer cells. The radiation beams attacked everything they touched: fast-growing cancer cells, sensitive mucous membranes, developing tissues, my spine.

Carmen writes me about her third round of cancer treatments, two years after mine have finished: "Who would have thought I'd be able to put my breasts on a shelf at night?" Cancer comes without warning, and it always leaves with part of you—your hair, a leg, a breast. Even what the cancer might have left alone gets attacked by the things meant to heal you. Doctors draw battle lines, and there are always unintended casualties. I expected to lose my thyroid gland. It was inevitable, part of the bargain. I had little choice but to accept a nonfunctioning metabolism and a daily dose of synthetic thyroid hormone as the price for my life. But I lost something that I didn't expect, something my oncologist only hinted at. As he ended his list of possible side effects from my six weeks of external beam radiation, he added casually, "And you may have some hoarseness through this." Being a relatively new cancer patient, I didn't know then what I quickly learned. Oncologists are notorious for understatement. His telling me that I might have some hoarseness was like hearing a radio weatherman forecast a chance of showers when you are about to drive into a deluge. My six weeks of radiation turned into eight, nearly nine. A mild sore throat became tears at every attempt to swallow and weeks of drinking Ensure. Tissue irritation became blood and flesh in my handkerchief and excruciatingly painful radiation burns on my neck. Three weeks into radiation, some hoarseness became no voice at all.

My voice stayed away for seven months. Now more than three years out of treatment, my life is a cycle of voice-on, voice-off. The surgery, the radiation, another surgery to correct the effects of the radiation have left my throat a scarred landscape. More surgery would make more scar tissue and more trouble. My trachea is shifted to the left. Along the edges of my larynx, I collect infections—what one doctor calls the human equivalent of a hairball. My throat opens thick and heavy, swollen, patched with white. I've seen my vocal cords as they move and try to build sound. I saw them projected onto a television screen, a thin circle of my self caught in the view of a fiber optic lens. "Say, 'Aaaaaaa,'" the doctor says. "Aaaaaaa," I reply, dragging out my vowel. Speaking has never been as hard as at this moment, with the unfamiliar heaviness of the scope tugging inside my throat. "Say, 'Ha, ha.'" "Ha, ha." I cough, and the picture on the screen is blurred as the vocal cords flap wildly. Watching the pictures, numbed to the hilt, I can still feel the pressure of the thin fiber-optic scope along the back of my nasal passage. My hands clench, my eyes water, I sweat just remembering the pain of the first scope shoved through the same path without any numbing. Sometimes the scope is sent through a nostril, through my sinuses, along the back of my throat. Other times it's sent directly through my mouth, where I have to focus all my energy on breathing in and out, in and out, so that my gag reflex calms. Now I always demand to be numbed—a piece of cocaine-soaked cotton placed gingerly in my nostrils or an aerosol sprayed copiously into my mouth, its effects climbing up to my forehead and down to my neck.

The hard, narrow, unfamiliar sensation of the scope still follows me around. I can always call it up to make myself feel better by thinking whatever's present isn't as bad as that. I hate the scope. Thinking about it makes my teeth ache, makes my nasal passage feel rock hard and singed. I never want to see another ear, nose, and throat doctor again, but I will. I keep letting doctors carve the black scope down into my throat because I hope that one day they'll bring back my voice for good.

Every day that comes with a voice is a good day, but I know that nothing is certain. I feel as if I'm simply hunkering down, waiting for the enemy. I cling to my voice. I lie in bed and test my voice, singing a few notes, asking a question; I listen for hoarseness the way I sometimes run my fingers along my neck, looking for new cancer. I am always waiting for my voice to stop.

Once, long before the voiceless days, I climbed to the top of St. Paul's Cathedral. Five hundred and thirty narrow, twisting steps of stone, iron, and wood led me to a view that opened up London's gray skyline from the Houses of Parliament to the Isle of Dogs. Partway up the arduous climb, I rested for a few minutes in the Whispering Gallery, where I looked through a tall, thick, wrought-iron barrier to see the black-and-white marble pavement

stretching out from a wide compass in the center of the cathedral floor. The gallery is watched over by a host of carved saints standing solid within tall alcoves—Jerome, Gregory, Augustine. Leaving my friend at one side of the gallery, I walked along the worn pathway, never sure of my footing on the uneven stone. I sat down on the cold, marble bench running around the edge of the gallery to look up at the dome stretching above me. Conversations buzzed around the walls. There are few secrets here in a place where simple curves become an acoustic miracle. Listening to the echo of the conversations around me, I turned my head toward the graffiti-carved wall and whispered. I could barely hear myself, but as I spoke, the curvature of the wall carried my voice some forty-two meters to my friend, who heard me as if I were speaking right into his ear. If I had foreseen my voiceless days, I wouldn't have climbed to the top of the dome. I would have stayed in the shadow of the saints and talked, and talked, and talked.

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Joseph Smith's Cooperstown Bible

The Historical Context of the Bible Used in the Joseph Smith Translation

Kent P. Jackson

In October 1829, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery obtained the Bible that was later used in the preparation of Joseph Smith's new translation of the Holy Scriptures. It was a quarto-size King James translation published in 1828 by the H. and E. Phinney company of Cooperstown, New York.¹ The Prophet and his scribe likely did not know that their new book would one day become an important artifact of the Restoration, and they probably also never considered the position in history that their purchase had already earned. Both the text within its pages and the physical object itself were the products of a long and fascinating history by which the Lord's word was brought into the hands of millions of Christians in the early United States. The Prophet's continuing work with the Phinney Bible would add to its legacy. In this article, we will examine Joseph Smith's Phinney Bible, the history of the Bible in the English language and in America, the roots from which the Phinney Bible descended, and the way it was used in the creation of the Joseph Smith Translation.

The English Bible in America

Bibles arrived in America with its earliest European settlers, and there is no question about the Bible's role as their most important book and perhaps the single most important influence on their culture. The Puritans (including the members of the 1620 Plymouth Colony) brought the Geneva Bible, first published in 1560, a mainstay of early English Protestantism that was heavily influenced in its translation and marginal notes by the teachings of John Calvin. Other immigrants brought the Bishops' Bible, first published in 1568, the Church of England's more mainline and less revolutionary translation that had been the "authorized version" for half a century. But in time, because of political circumstances and the quality of the work itself, the translation undertaken at the direction of King James I, which was published in 1611, supplanted all others and became the Bible of choice for Protestant colonial Americans. For them, the King James translation eventually became *the* Bible in America.²

The first Bible printed in the colonies was a 1663 translation into the Massachusetts Indian language by John Eliot, a Puritan pastor who was engaged in missionary work among Native Americans. Two years previously he had published the New Testament separately. Eliot's Bible was followed by later editions of the same translation and others in different Native American tongues.³ America's first European-language Bible was a German Martin Luther translation published in 1743.⁴ Even though the majority of European colonists were English speakers, English-language Bibles were not printed in America during the colonial period but were imported from Britain. The reasons include both politics and economics. By British law, only printers who were granted a royal franchise were allowed to print the King James translation. Additionally, the well-established English and Scottish presses could produce Bibles much less expensively than could American presses, and their Bibles were of superior quality. There was no market for American English-language Bibles because colonial printers were not in a position to compete with those of the mother country.

Circumstances changed with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775. After the colonists declared their independence from Britain, they no longer felt constrained to honor the crown's copyright on the King James translation. Seven different American printers published editions of the New Testament during the Revolutionary War.⁵ The first of these was Robert Aitken, who published his in 1777. Aitken was the printer to the Continental Congress, a fact that helped him receive permission for the publication of his full Bible in 1782—the first complete English-language Bible printed in America. It was a small volume of about 3" x 6" and about fifteen hundred pages long. The typesetting and printing were simple and clean, and the book was professionally done, though modest and unassuming compared to the more sophisticated Bibles available from Europe.

Aitken's legacy is one of both good and bad timing. His good timing enabled him to earn a well-deserved place in history with an important American first. But his bad timing was that shortly after his Bible came off the press, the hostilities with Britain ended, and much more attractive and inexpensive English Bibles again overtook the American market. Aitken was left with most of his ten thousand copies unsold. He died a poor man.⁶

With independence from Britain, coupled with an expanding national consciousness and a rapidly growing market, American book publishers soon found ways to compete with the established firms of Europe and to succeed where Aitken did not. Three pioneer printers characterized the enterprising spirit of the new nation and contributed much to creating the American print industry. They were Isaac Collins, Isaiah Thomas, and Mathew Carey.

Isaac Collins, of Trenton, New Jersey, and later of New York, had published two editions of the New Testament during the conflict with the British. In 1791 he published his first complete Bible, a quarto edition of five thousand copies. It was available with a variety of options and with or without the Apocrypha. An instant success, Collins's Bible was well respected and soon became an industry standard. His firm went on to publish many more Bibles in his lifetime and in the lifetime of his children.⁷ Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Massachusetts, was a printer of extraordinary talent and creativity.⁸ In 1791 he published an impressive folio Bible that is as important for its illustrations as for the quality of its printing. Thomas's Bible contained fifty finely executed copperplate images in a rococo style that featured monumental poses, elaborate borders, and cherubs. His contemporary, Mathew Carey, took a different approach with his illustrations; in place of the idealized, quiescent images of Thomas's Bible, Carey's plates emphasized passion, action, and drama. But in time, the more realistic illustrations of other publishers would carry the day.

Mathew Carey was an Irish Catholic immigrant to Philadelphia with tremendous foresight and ambition.⁹ In 1790 he printed America's first quarto Bible. It was also America's first Rheims-Douay Version, the standard English Roman Catholic Bible translated from the Latin Vulgate. Carey continued to publish the Rheims-Douay Version, but he soon found that his best market would be for the King James translation, and he entered the competition for its Protestant readers with great energy, beginning with an important quarto edition in 1801. In a short time, Carey would become "the foremost printer and publisher of the Bible in America."¹⁰ His success was primarily the result of his ability to mass-produce relatively inexpensive Bibles with many options. His Bibles came in different sizes, with different types of paper, in different leather bindings, with different packages of commentaries, concordances, and lists, and with different options for pictures. Thus they met the needs of a broad spectrum of consumers. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Carey published some sixty separate editions of the Bible. At any given time, as many as twenty of his editions were in print.¹¹

When one compares Robert Aitken's Bible of 1782 with those of Collins, Thomas, and Carey, which appeared only a few years later, one can see why the latter three succeeded and Aitken did not. Aitken's Bible, though nicely produced, contained the biblical text and nothing more, aside from a brief introductory note displaying his endorsement from Congress. In contrast, subsequent Bibles were garnished by illustrations of many kinds, marginal cross-references, lists, concordances, indexes, and a variety of other add-ons and attractions. To a large extent it was these, and not the biblical text, that determined whose edition the reader would buy.

As a result, much creativity was employed in producing Bibles with the right look and with the right combination of features.

With the dramatic increase in the production of books of all kinds soon after the Revolutionary War, the science of printing made steady improvements. While the basic technology remained much as it had been since Johann Gutenberg in the fifteenth century, the level of sophistication that American printers demonstrated in their work continued to rise. Along the way, technological advances made books less expensive to produce. Mathew Carey charged \$10 for his 1801 King James Bible;¹² his 1816 Bibles ranged from \$3.75 to \$20.00.¹³ By the late 1820s, most Bibles were selling for about \$3 or \$4, and by midcentury a fine Bible could be purchased for under \$1.

Typesetting and Stereotyping

Joseph Smith's 1828 H. and E. Phinney Bible advertised itself proudly as a "stereotype edition." Stereotyping was, in fact, the newest development in printing technology in the Prophet's day, and because of it the Phinney Bible was among the best available in the United States.

Before the end of the nineteenth century, typesetting consisted of setting in place on the page, by hand, a small piece of metal type for each letter, each punctuation mark, each line, and each space. An average single page in the first edition of the Book of Mormon consisted of about twenty-five hundred pieces of metal tightly held together. An average quarto Bible page consisted of at least sixty-five hundred pieces.¹⁴ Depending on how much type the compositor had, after the printing of one or two signatures—sheets containing eight or sixteen pages—the type usually had to be returned to the cases from which it had been taken. Then the next signature could be set, reusing the same pieces of type. For small items, printers could afford to keep their type standing, that is, to leave the forms intact without redistributing the type into the cases. That way they could reprint the same item each time there was a need, without additional labor costs and without the potential of making new errors. Standing type was thus desirable for projects that were intended to be reprinted—like Bibles. But for an item as large as a Bible, standing type was extraordinarily expensive. Few printers could afford the millions of pieces of type that were required for a job so large—type that would be unavailable for other projects. And the storage space needed for the standing type for a whole Bible was excessive. Even so, aggressive mass-producers like Isaiah Thomas and Mathew Carey soon were printing Bibles from standing type.¹⁵ Carey's first quarto from standing type was published in 1804, and it was reprinted many times until 1816.¹⁶

The technology that revolutionized the economics of Bible printing was stereotyping, a process by which a single thin metal plate was made that contained an entire page of text. From a page set by hand, a mold was made from which the stereotype plate was cast. The plates could be used repeatedly, allowing the indefinite reprinting of popular books.¹⁷ Stereotyping was first used in the United States in about 1812, from plates imported from England.¹⁸ Shortly thereafter, American printers learned the skill and began creating plates of their own. The first Bible printed in the United States from domestically made plates was in 1815. Isaac Collins produced the first stereotype quarto edition in 1816.¹⁹ Only five years later, half of the Bible editions printed in America were stereotyped.²⁰ For both publisher and consumer, stereotype books were very attractive: labor costs for new editions were reduced dramatically, as also was the likelihood of errors in the text. Where errors were found, they could be repaired on the plate without retypesetting anything else on the page. Although stereotype books were desirable, the technology was difficult and expensive, and few publishers actually did their own stereotyping. Hills suggests that most Bibles printed before mid-century were stereotyped by “only two or three firms,”²¹ and she identifies eight Bibles produced by other publishers that derive from plates made by one company—H. and E. Phinney of Cooperstown, New York.²²

The Text of the King James Translation

Joseph Smith's Cooperstown Bible, like other Bibles of its time and like our Bible today, was the product of a long evolution of the King James translation. When the King James Version was first published in 1611 by the king's printer, Robert Barker of London, it was not immune to typographical errors. Many were found and corrected in the 1613 second edition. But that edition introduced its own imperfections, as did subsequent editions.²³ Among the most notorious early King James printings were “the Wicked Bible” of 1631, in which the word *not* was left out of the seventh commandment, resulting in “Thou shalt commit adultery” (Ex. 20:14); and “the Unrighteous Bible” of 1653, in which Paul wrote, “Know ye not that the unrighteous shall [in place of *shall not*] inherit the kingdom of God?” (1 Cor. 6:9).²⁴ A 1795 Bible has Jesus saying, “Let the children first be *killed*” instead of *filled* (Mark 7:27).²⁵ Scores of less-noticeable errors came and went over the translation's history. A 1629 Cambridge edition introduced at 1 Timothy 4:16 the error “Take heede unto thy selfe, and unto *thy* doctrine,” in place of “and unto *the* doctrine,” an error that was perpetuated in many later editions, including Aitken's and other American editions. Our Bible today still has the probable misprint “strain *at* a gnat” in

place of “strain *out* a gnat” at Matthew 23:24.²⁶ Building on misunderstandings and errors made inadvertently by typesetters, problems came about because there never was one official “master copy” of the King James translation from which all others derived.

Early American publishers took their text from the best-available British editions. But Isaac Collins noted that “the different European copies of the Bible, even those printed at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, often varied, and sometimes in the use of important words.”²⁷ He explained that he took the text in his Bibles “from the Oxford edition of 1784 by Jackson and Hamilton—and [was] particularly attentive in the revisal and correction of the proof-sheets with the Cambridge edition of 1668 by John Field—with the Edinburgh edition of 1775 by Kincaid, and, in all variations, with the London edition of 1772 by Eyre and Strahan.” Where there were differences, he picked from one of those British Bibles the words that “appeared to be most agreeable to the Hebrew of Arias Montanus, and to the Greek of Arias Montanus and Leusden,” except in spelling, where he “generally followed Johnson.”²⁸ To assure accuracy in his typesetting, Collins had his proofs scrutinized by committees under the direction of Dr. John Witherspoon, the highly respected president of New Jersey College (now Princeton University), after which he had each page proofed eleven more times.²⁹ Isaiah Thomas obtained the text for his 1791 Bible by examining almost thirty diverse editions of the King James Bible and selecting from them the best readings. He then employed the assistance of local clergy and others to carefully check his proofs before the pages went to press.³⁰ Mathew Carey used eighteen previous editions to establish the text for his 1801 Bible, including four from London, three from Cambridge, three from Oxford, six from Edinburgh, and the American editions of Isaac Collins and Isaiah Thomas. He reported that he found “a most extraordinary number of discrepancies, some of which are incredible,” and he listed some of them in the introduction to his Bible.³¹

But other factors also contributed to the difficulty. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, certain aspects of the King James text remained fluid to some degree. The translation was made before there was a consensus on English orthography, and thus even in the early years there were significant variations in spelling. Barker’s 1611 first edition has the spellings “publique” (Matt. 1:19), “musicke” (Luke 15:25), and “heretike” (Titus 3:10), all of which were gone in a few decades. At 1 Timothy 4:16, the 1611 edition reads, “Take *heed* unto *thy selfe*.” Barker’s 1630 edition reads, “Take *heede* unto *thy selfe*.” His edition of only four years later reads, “Take *heed* unto *thy selfe*,” and his edition of 1639 reads, “Take *heed* unto *thy self*.” The spelling *thyself* (one word) was not standardized until the mid-eighteenth century. Spelling continued to evolve in later printings,

but inconsistently in the hands of various publishers. Punctuation underwent the same development as common usage changed over time and as publishing firms adjusted their rules. Carey was not overstating the matter when he said that the punctuation differences between Bibles were “innumerable.” He gave as an example Genesis 26:8, which had “eight commas in the Edinburgh, six in the Oxford, and only three in the Cambridge and London editions.”³² The punctuation of the King James edition used today differs in the vast majority of verses from that of the first King James printings.

In 1769 Benjamin Blayney of the Oxford University Press published a routine corrected edition of the King James Version, with only modest improvements over a similar new edition of just a few years earlier. Over the course of time, this edition (after its own errors were identified and corrected) came to be viewed as the standard for British publishing houses, and it remains so today.³³ In America, where publishers like Collins, Thomas, and Carey had turned to various British printings for models, Collins's 1791 text soon came to be seen as the standard of correctness, and some other American publishers advertised their Bibles as being based on the Collins text. That position was later assumed by the American Bible Society. By the 1830s, several American publishers touted their Bibles as “Corrected According to the Standard of the American Bible Society” or used similar words.³⁴

For all the variations that have come and gone over the years in the King James translation, the words themselves have remained remarkably constant. Aside from spelling, hyphenation, punctuation, and the errors that inevitably result from typesetting by hand, the words in our modern King James Bibles are virtually identical to those of Bibles from the early seventeenth century and from those of the early United States. Spelling and punctuation evolve with each generation, but the remarkable preservation of the King James words shows that most publishers viewed them as beyond improvement.³⁵

The Phinneys and Their Bibles

Elihu Phinney, a native of Connecticut, moved with his family from Canaan, New York, to the frontier settlement of Cooperstown, New York, in February 1795, bringing with him the equipment from his print shop.³⁶ He reported over a decade later that he “in the winter of 1795, penetrated a wilderness, and ‘broke a track,’ through a deep snow with six teams, in the ‘depth’ of winter, and was received [in Cooperstown] with a cordiality, bordering on homage, to preserve which has ever been his aim.”³⁷ In Cooperstown he soon established a business next door to the courthouse—a bookstore and printing establishment.³⁸ He began publishing a newspaper, the *Otsego Herald*, and in time began publishing books and a popular

almanac called *Phinney's Calendar*. His bookstore offered a variety of works by several publishers. An early advertisement in the *Herald* listed an impressive 350 titles in his stock.³⁹ His store also sold other items not generally associated with bookstores today, including swords,⁴⁰ spectacles,⁴¹ tobacco, "valuable medicines," walking canes,⁴² and onion, beet, and cabbage seeds.⁴³ Working with him in his printing business were two of his sons, Henry and Elihu Jr. (fig. 1). By 1809 they had established a shop of their own, which they worked in cooperation with their father.⁴⁴ Elihu Sr. built a thriving business, and it was doing well when he died in 1813. But the two Phinney brothers expanded on his foundation to make the family enterprise not only one of the largest and most important businesses in town but soon a significant contributor to the national print industry. Elihu Jr. and Henry became prosperous and important citizens, as is evidenced by the size of their houses and their many contributions to civic affairs.⁴⁵ In time they left the newspaper business, but they continued to publish their almanac, which eventually grew to an annual circulation of a hundred thousand.⁴⁶ In their book publishing, they gravitated into three areas of specialization: educational books, children's books, and Bibles.

The first Phinney Bible was a New Testament published in 1813. It was not printed in the Phinney shop, but the copublisher was listed as "H. & E. Phinney, Jun."⁴⁷ After Elihu Sr.'s death, the company would be known as "H. & E. Phinney" until 1849. In 1817 the Phinney brothers printed their first Bible in their own shop, a small-size New Testament.⁴⁸ Over the years they continued to publish separate New Testaments and later the entire Bible in small formats, but their greatest contribution to printing Bibles would be in the quartos they would soon produce in large numbers, one of which would make its way into the hands of Joseph Smith. The quarto size, generally about 9" x 12", was not a pulpit edition nor a pocket edition but what we now often call the "family Bible." Americans were buying them in large numbers by the 1820s. The Phinneys never reached the top echelon of Bible publishers in America, but they certainly were major players in the industry. To keep their presses supplied, they built (or bought) a large papermill, first as partners with someone else and later apparently as sole owners.⁴⁹ Taking advantage of the latest in technology, they established their own stereotype foundry. Their four-story brick shop, with compositors, presses, and bindery above, and the bookstore on the ground floor, was located around the corner from their father's original building.⁵⁰ Their first quarto Bible was published in 1822, each signature being painstakingly typeset, proofed, and then cast into stereotype plates. It was an edition of five hundred. Between that first edition and their last from Cooperstown in 1848, the Phinneys would publish their quarto Bible each year, for a total of 138 editions and more than 150 thousand copies.⁵¹

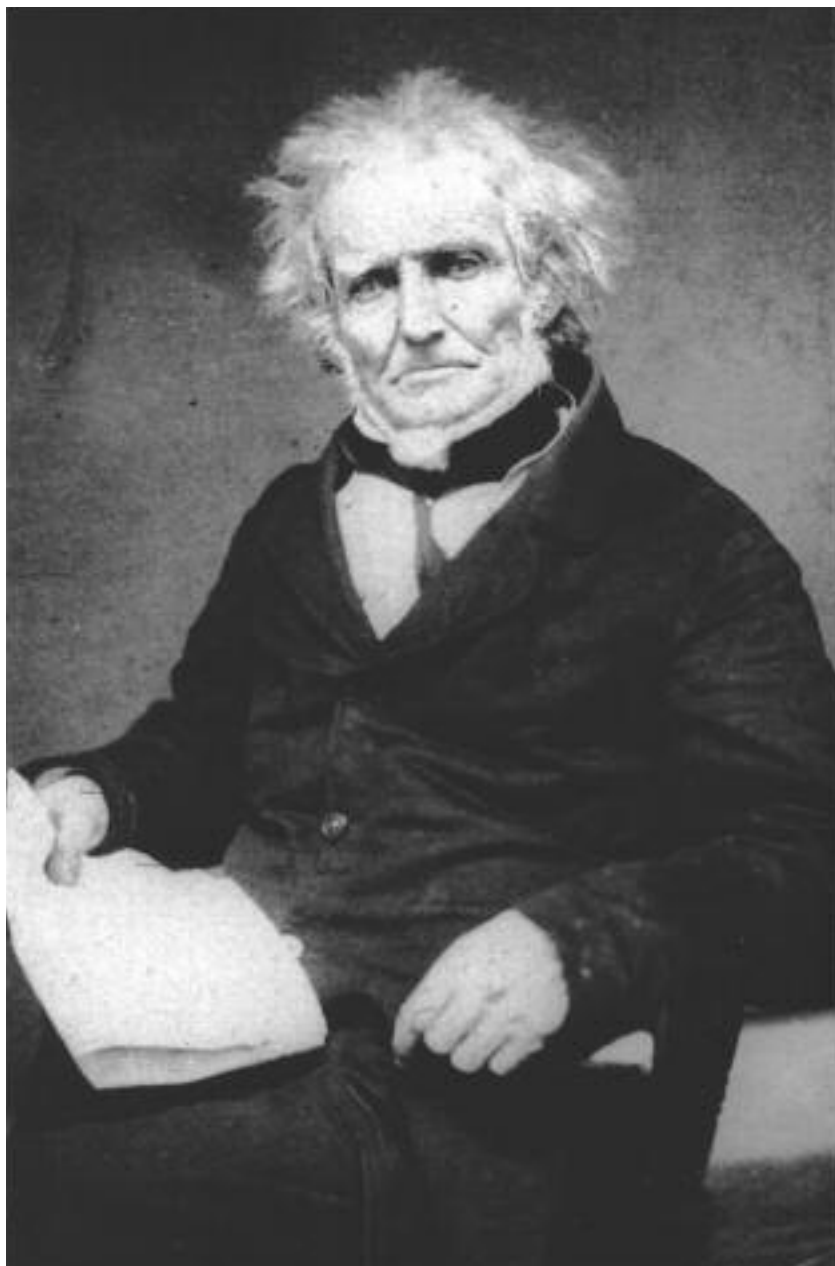


FIG. 1. Elihu Phinney Jr., ca. 1860. Courtesy New York State Historical Association.

In the early morning of February 2, 1849, a fire broke out in the Phinney building that soon destroyed it along with its most important content (fig. 2). The inventory of the ground-floor bookstore was saved, but the type cases, presses, stereotype plates, paper, bindery, and unfinished books were lost, with everything else from their printing establishment. A local newspaper published a somber report of the fire and of the Phinneys' enormous losses. Following the news article was a note from Henry and Elihu Phinney thanking the firefighters and other citizens for their valiant efforts and expressing gratitude that their neighbors' buildings were not similarly destroyed.⁵² In a short time, however, the town's sorrow over the misfortune of two of its leading citizens and a major Cooperstown business was replaced by other emotions. On February 22, the village trustees issued a notice entitled "Five Hundred Dollars Reward." In the announcement it was revealed that the fire was the work of an arsonist. The Phinneys had received anonymous threats for some time, including a recent one in which the writer claimed responsibility for the fire.⁵³

The destruction of their shop put the Phinneys temporarily out of business. But within a year they published another quarto Bible, this time out of Buffalo, to which the company had relocated after the fire. The firm was now called "Phinney & Co.," and its guiding hands were those of a new generation, sons of Elihu Jr. and their associates. The Phinney stereotype plates were destroyed in the fire, so to produce the new edition, the Phinneys bought plates from another company—a company that apparently had bought its plates from the Phinneys some years earlier. Phinney and Company continued to publish quarto Bibles until 1859.

The fire represented the effective retirement of Henry and Elihu Phinney. Henry died in 1850 and was remembered as "leaving an instructive example of talents and integrity with industry and frugality, resulting in respectability and wealth."⁵⁴ Elihu, one of the most "highly respected citizens" of Cooperstown,⁵⁵ died in 1863 and was praised as being "prominently identified with almost every good enterprise which was carried forward during his active career," including support of religion, education, and business.⁵⁶

The 1828 Phinney Bible

H. and E. Phinney's 1822 Bible set the course that all their quartos would follow thereafter, including the 1828 edition owned by Joseph Smith. Because the plates were stereotyped, changes would be made only sparingly over the years, and thus the last Cooperstown edition of 1848 is virtually identical to the first of 1822. Typographical errors could be corrected, but at least one made in 1822 was not changed until 1832, perhaps showing the company's reticence to tamper with the stereotype plates once they



FIG. 2. Intersection of Main and Pioneer Streets, Cooperstown, New York, looking southeast. The H. and E. Phinney print shop and bookstore was located to the right (south) of the corner building, on Pioneer Street. The current building, “Phinney Block,” was built in 1850 to replace the Phinney building destroyed in the fire of 1849. Elihu Phinney Sr.’s original bookstore and print shop was located on Main Street immediately to the left (east) of the corner building. Photograph by author.

were cast.⁵⁷ Over the course of repeated printings, stereotype plates developed signs of wear such as a loss of sharpness or breaks in letters.⁵⁸ In 1840 the Phinneys set new type for worn page numbers on several of the plates, and they completely retypeset the introductory essay, “To the Readers.”

Joseph Smith’s Phinney Bible includes an impressive collection of lists, references, and tables that were printed before, after, and between the Testaments (descriptions are found in the appendix, below). These were identical in all H. and E. Phinney editions, but none were original to the Phinney Bible. Most of them had been printed for years by other publishers, though rarely is there attribution to an earlier source.

In addition to the standard add-ons printed in all Phinney quartos, the potential buyer did have some options. As with the Bibles of other publishers, options were available in the kind of cover the Bible had and in the quality of paper. The popular “Brown’s Concordance” was occasionally added at the back of Phinney Bibles, printed on its own signatures and paginated separately from the rest of the book. The Apocrypha, the collection of ancient books that are part of the Roman Catholic canon but are not accepted as scriptural by Protestants, was included in most Bibles in the

early United States. About two-thirds of the Phinney quartos contained it.⁵⁹ In Phinney Bibles, the Apocrypha was printed on its own signatures in a smaller font with separate pagination, totaling ninety-nine pages. It could be inserted or not, depending on the needs of the particular model. Joseph Smith's Phinney Bible included the Apocrypha.

Like the Apocrypha, the illustrations were not printed on the signatures with the Bible text but were inserted into the book at the bindery. They were generally printed on paper that was stiffer than that on which the Testaments were impressed. The precise number, selection, and placement of illustrations in any given Bible may have been to some degree at the whim of employees in the bindery because few were exactly alike. In the 1828 Bibles, Phinney's deluxe picture package included fifteen in the Old Testament and five in the New Testament, including frontispieces at the beginning of each. Joseph Smith's 1828 Phinney contains seven illustrations in the Old Testament and two in the New. None of the ten 1828 copies I have examined have exactly the same selection and placement.⁶⁰

Illustrations in the earliest American Bibles seem to modern tastes to be overwrought—overly stylized and monumental as in the case of Isaiah Thomas's 1791 folio or overly dramatic and carnal as in the case of Mathew Carey's 1801 quarto. Through 1824, Phinney used illustrations very similar to those in Thomas's Bible. But by then, Americans were more comfortable with simpler and more realistic scenes. The woodcuts included in Phinney Bibles from 1825 on were standard fare for their time, providing modest and reasonable depictions of biblical events as they were envisioned to have happened (fig. 3). None of them include the name of the artist, but some of the same pictures can be found in other publishers' Bibles with the artists identified. That the Phinneys printed the illustrations for their own Bibles is clear in the fact that the scripture references and page numbers to the Phinney Bible are printed beneath each picture.

With all the borrowing that took place from one publisher's Bible to another, it is difficult to determine the immediate source of the features in any given Bible. Resembling the H. and E. Phinney quarto are Mathew Carey's standing-type editions from 1804 to 1816 and the Collins stereotype edition of 1816.⁶¹ But the Bibles closest to Phinney appear to be D. D. Smith's 1820 quarto from New York and the 1823 (date uncertain) quarto of Kimber and Sharpless, Philadelphia. Both of these were stereotyped by the firm of Elihu White of New York. They have much in common with Phinney Bibles, including the same add-on features. Though clearly printed from different plates, the Phinney and the Elihu White Bibles are page-by-page equivalents, proving some kind of direct connection between the two firms.

In terms of design and physical appearance, most Bibles produced in early nineteenth-century America had a common look. Phinney's title page (fig. 4) is strikingly similar to that of Collins, but in its layout and



FIG. 3. “Hagar in the Wilderness,” from an 1824 H. and E. Phinney Bible. This woodcut was the frontispiece in Joseph Smith’s Bible, but when it was used in other Bibles, it faced the corresponding text on page 21. Notice the elements of the story in the art: Hagar, Ishmael with an empty water bottle, the angel, and the spring of water.

typography, the Phinney Bible leans more toward Carey. And the Elihu White Bibles bear an even closer resemblance to Phinney’s. All these have the following in common (see fig. 6): two columns of type with a dividing line between them; Canne’s references in the left and right margins with a date at the top of each; italicized running heads flush left and flush right summarizing content; centered running heads giving the capitalized book name on even-numbered pages and the chapter numbers in Roman numerals on odd-numbered pages; and two-line drop-caps at the beginning of each chapter. But none of these features were unique to any of these Bibles; many American quartos in the first three decades of the nineteenth century could be described in similar terms. The Phinney brothers may have used a number of contemporary Bibles as models for the layout of their stereotype edition of 1822–48.

H. & E. PHINNEY'S STEREOTYPE EDITION.

THE

HOLY BIBLE,

CONTAINING THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS:

TOGETHER WITH

THE APOCRYPHA:

TRANSLATED OUT OF THE ORIGINAL TONGUES,

AND WITH

THE FORMER TRANSLATIONS DILIGENTLY COMPARED AND REVISED.

WITH

Cannan's Marginal Notes and References,

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

AN INDEX:

AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

OF ALL THE NAMES IN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, WITH THEIR SIGNIFICATIONS;

TABLES OF SCRIPTURE WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND COINS, &c.

COOPERSTOWN, (N. Y.)

STEREOTYPED, PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY H. & E. PHINNEY,

AND SOLD BY THEM AT THEIR BOOK-STORE, AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS GENERALLY

IN THE UNITED STATES.

1828.

FIG. 4. Title page, Joseph Smith's 1828 H. and E. Phinney Bible. Courtesy Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Independence, Missouri.

The Text of the 1828 Phinney Bible

Regardless of what can be said about the origin of the tables, lists, and layout of the Phinney Bible, the evidence suggests that the text itself derives ultimately from contemporary Bibles of the Cambridge University Press, probably by way of the 1816 Collins quarto and Elihu White's 1820 quarto published by D. D. Smith. In a comparison of over three hundred verses between the 1828 Phinney and the 1816 Collins, I found only rare and inconsequential differences in punctuation, and all are likely attributable to typographical errors.⁶² In contrast, comparisons with Carey and some other contemporary Bibles showed many more punctuation differences. Collins noted that he took his text from an Oxford edition of 1784,⁶³ but comparisons of punctuation and orthography between Collins and contemporary British Bibles show Collins to be virtually identical to a Cambridge edition but significantly different from an Oxford edition. The Elihu White Bibles are closest to Phinney in spelling also, again suggesting a common genesis. Whatever the origin of all these Bibles may have been, it is safe to say that the texts of American Bible makers such as Collins, Elihu White, and Phinney descended from a respectable and mainstream King James tradition.

In spelling, Collins and related Bibles like Phinney differ from the archaic system of Oxford Bibles of their generation and follow the more modern spelling used then by Cambridge.⁶⁴ Examples include certain words of Classical derivation, such as *Cæsarea* > *Cesarea* (Acts 10:1), *Cæsar* > *Cesar* (Acts 11:28), and *Judæa* > *Judea* (Acts 11:29).⁶⁵ The archaic *-ick* endings are changed to the more modern *-ic*, as in *publick* > *public* (Matt. 1:19), *musick* > *music* (Luke 15:25), and *heretick* > *heretic* (Titus 3:10). Other spellings are also in more contemporary forms, such as *enquire* > *inquire* (2 Kgs. 1:2–3) and *intreat* > *entreat* (Ruth 1:16). Bibles by Collins and Phinney have all these changes.

But the Elihu White and Phinney Bibles went even farther in their modernizing. Other obsolete words that were changed in them (but not in Oxford, Cambridge, or Collins) include *astonied* > *astonished* (Jer. 14:9), *stablish* > *establish* (2 Thes. 3:3), *amongst* > *among* (Gen. 23:9), and *alway* > *always* (2 Sam. 9:10).⁶⁶ Not all of these changes were made consistently, however, showing that while the process of modernizing these words was apparently intended to be systematic, it did not always succeed.⁶⁷ The single most common difference between the Phinney Bible and other editions, including the Collins, is in the form of possessive pronouns and indefinite articles before words that start with the letter *h*. The King James translators used the word *an* before words that begin with *h*, even when that letter is pronounced (though they did so inconsistently and there are several exceptions).⁶⁸ Thus we have *an hundred* (Gen. 5:28), *an holy* (Ex. 19:6), and

an heritage (Ps. 127:3). In the Phinney Bible, these are changed to forms consistent with the speech of modern readers: *a hundred*, *a holy*, and *a heritage*. Similarly, possessive pronouns before the same words are changed to the modern forms: *mine house* > *my house* (Jer. 12:7) and *thine heritage* > *thy heritage* (Joel 2:17). There are hundreds of these changes in the Phinney Bible, as well as in the contemporary Elihu White Bibles.⁶⁹

In short, though the Phinney Bible and related editions used the same words in the same places as other Bibles—carefully preserving the exact text of the King James translation—they used contemporary forms of King James words in many instances, in harmony with the appropriate usage of their own generation. This is precisely what other reputable publishers of the King James Version had been doing since its second edition of 1613. Thus without being a “new translation” or even a “revision,” Joseph Smith’s Phinney’s Bible contains a more modern form of the King James Version than was used generally in the 1820s. And, significantly, it is a more modern form than the edition used by English-speaking Latter-day Saints today. But most important is the fact that the Phinney edition, with its more contemporary spelling and usage, is the King James text that underlies the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible.⁷⁰

Joseph Smith’s Acquisition of His Cooperstown Bible

Henry and Elihu Phinney faced the same challenges as other publishers of their time regarding how to market their books once they came off the press. A generation earlier, Mathew Carey had become prosperous by selling books through an agent who traveled beyond the eastern seaboard into America’s interior.⁷¹ As for the Phinneys, they built large traveling stores on wagons, “ingeniously constructed to serve as locomotive bookstores.” They had “moveable tops and counters, and their shelves were stocked with hundreds of varieties of books.”⁷² These could be on the road whenever weather permitted, and they would keep Phinney products flowing into the expanding settlements. But the Phinneys’ most innovative outlet was their floating canalboat bookstore. The Erie Canal, which began opening in 1819 and was completed in 1825, was successful in its mission to connect the east coast of the United States with many of its distant towns. Linking Albany with Buffalo, it facilitated the fast and convenient transport of passengers and goods that allowed western towns to grow and to share in the unique culture that was developing in the new republic. The Phinney brothers recognized the canal’s potential for the dissemination of their products, so they constructed a canalboat to move their publications from east to west. The floating bookstore served as an outlet for local customers along the way, and it supplied retailers with volumes from the Phinney

presses. In the winter, the boat would remain stationary in one of the larger settlements. When the ice cleared in the spring, travel up and down the canal could resume.⁷³

One of the villages along the Erie Canal was Palmyra, New York. There Egbert B. Grandin was publisher of a weekly newspaper called the *Wayne Sentinel*. Grandin had owned a print shop and bookstore since 1826. In his store, he sold stationary, business forms, and books of many sorts. In fall 1828, he moved his business into a new three-story facility on Palmyra's Main Street near the center of the village. The typesetting and the presses were located on the third floor, the bindery was on the second floor, and the bookstore was on the ground floor. In his print shop, he took on various small jobs until the spring of 1829, when he changed his advertisement from "Job Printing" to "Book and Job Printer."⁷⁴ His book-printing business was a short-lived enterprise, but it produced a most significant volume—the five-thousand-copy Book of Mormon. Through most of 1829, Grandin advertised his bindery and his "circulating library," both of which he sold that fall to a partner, Luther Howard.⁷⁵ Grandin advertised his books in almost every issue of the *Sentinel*. For five months, he ran a long notice which he identified as a "Catalogue, in part, of his present stock of *Miscellaneous Books*." Among the advertised books were Bibles—"large & small."⁷⁶

By late summer 1829, Joseph Smith had contracted with Grandin for the printing and binding of the Book of Mormon. The typesetting began in August and continued into the following spring. During that time, Oliver Cowdery copied pages of the original manuscript as needed and took the copies to Grandin's shop for the compositor. He and others went there frequently to deliver new manuscript sections and to proof the typeset sheets as they were prepared. On October 8, 1829, possibly during one of these visits, Oliver Cowdery bought at Grandin's store the 1828 H. and E. Phinney quarto Bible. Joseph Smith was in Harmony, Pennsylvania, when the Bible was purchased.⁷⁷

It is not difficult to speculate how E. B. Grandin obtained the Bible he sold to Oliver Cowdery. Phinney book wagons were active in New York State, but most likely Grandin purchased the Bible from the Phinney book boat. The Erie Canal ran about two hundred yards from Grandin's establishment, and the boat must have passed through Palmyra several times while Grandin was in business there. It seems only reasonable that he occasionally purchased items from that Phinney outlet to be sold in his Palmyra shop, including quarto-size Bibles. In the Bible that Oliver Cowdery purchased from Grandin's store, he wrote in large letters on the first blank page inside the front cover, "The Book of the Jews And the Property of Joseph

Smith Junior and Oliver Cowdery” (fig. 5). Because the inscription notes Joseph Smith first as owner, the Bible probably was bought at his direction. We do not know precisely why the Prophet and his scribe obtained it. Its service in the new translation of the Bible was still months away, and there is no indication that Joseph Smith knew of that project as early as October 1829. But certainly a good Bible would be indispensable for the ongoing work of the Restoration—for the understanding of future revelations, for teaching the gospel, for preparing public sermons, and for other uses in the soon-to-be-established Church of Christ.

The New Translation

Not long after the Church was organized in the spring of 1830, Joseph Smith began a careful reading of the Bible to revise and make corrections in accordance with the inspiration he would receive. From that labor came the revelation of much truth and the restoration of many of the “precious things” that Nephi had foretold would be taken from the Bible (1 Ne. 13:23–29). In June 1830, the first revealed addition to the Bible was set to writing. Over the next three years, the Prophet made inspired changes, additions, and corrections while he filled his calling to provide a more correct translation for the Church. Collectively, these are called the “Joseph Smith Translation.”⁷⁸

The first revelation of the Joseph Smith Translation is what we now have as Moses 1 in the Pearl of Great Price—the preface to the book of Genesis. Beginning with Genesis 1:1, the Prophet apparently had the Bible before him and read aloud from it until he felt impressed to dictate a change in the wording. If no changes were required, he read the text as it stood. Thus dictating the text to his scribes, he progressed to Genesis 24, at which point he set aside the Old Testament as he was instructed in a revelation on March 7, 1831 (see D&C 45:60–62). The following day, he began revising the New Testament. When he completed John 5 in February 1832, he ceased dictating the text in full to his scribes and began using an abbreviated notation system. From that time on, it appears that he read the verses from the Bible, marked in it the words or passages that needed to be corrected, and dictated only the changes to his scribes, who recorded them on the manuscript.

Following the completion of the New Testament in February 1833, Joseph Smith returned to his work on the Old Testament.⁷⁹ He soon shifted to the abbreviated notation system for that manuscript also. At first he marked the passages in the Bible that needed to be changed and dictated the entire revised verse to his scribe. Eventually he dictated only the replacement words, as he had done earlier with the New Testament.⁸⁰ At

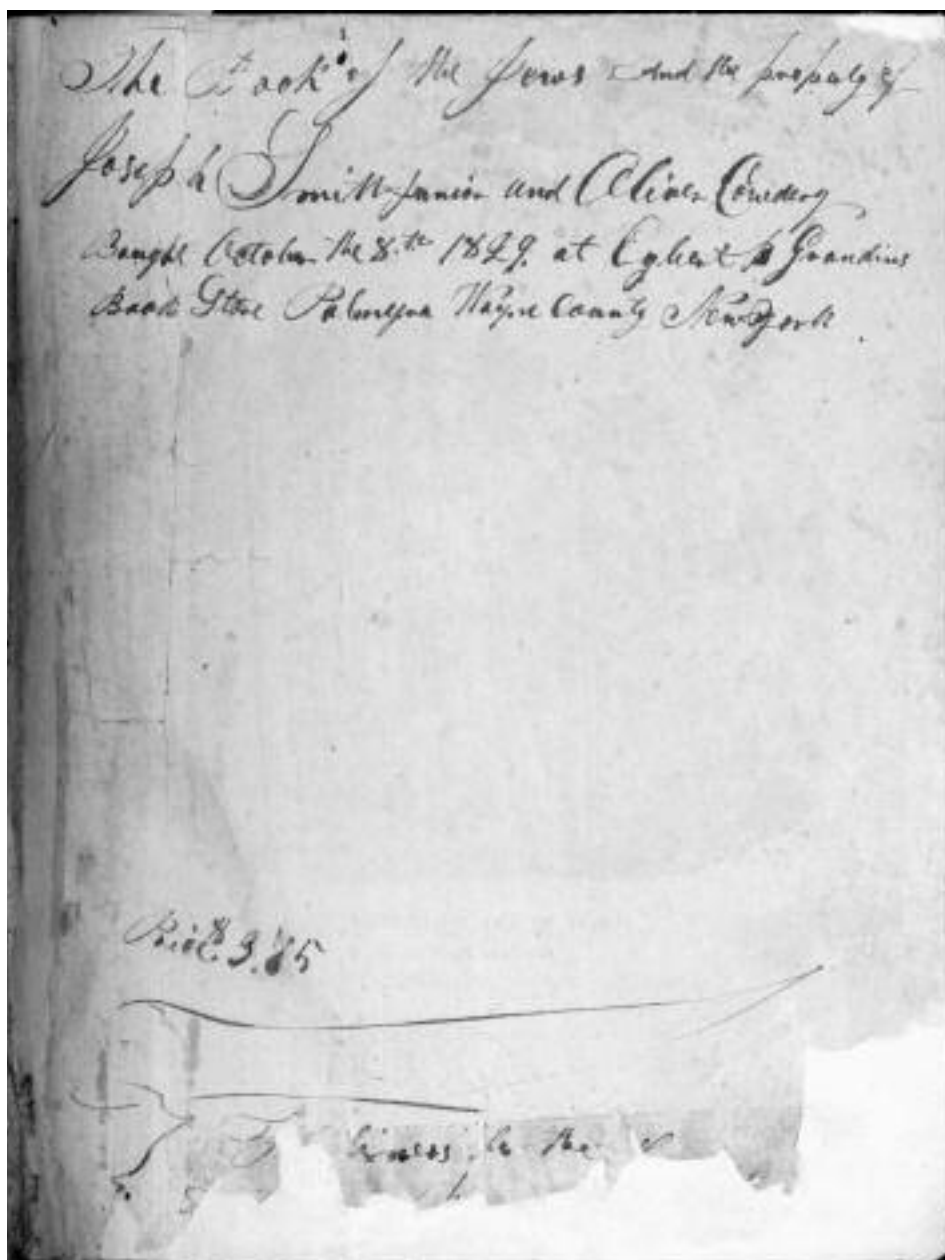


FIG. 5. Oliver Cowdery's inscription showing date and place of purchase of Joseph Smith's 1828 H. and E. Phinney Bible: "The Book of the Jews And the Property of Joseph Smith Junior and Oliver Cowdery Bought October the 8th 1829, at Egbert B Grandins Book Store Palmyra Wayne County New York. Price \$3.75 Holiness to the Lord." Courtesy Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

the end of the Old Testament manuscript, after the book of Malachi, his scribe wrote the following words: “Finished on the 2d day of July 1833.” That same day the Prophet and his counselors—Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, both of whom had served as scribes for the new translation—wrote to Church members in Missouri and told them, “We this day finished the translating of the Scriptures, for which we returned gratitude to our Heavenly Father.”⁸¹ The Bible Joseph had used was the H. and E. Phinney Bible purchased at Grandin’s bookstore.

Joseph Smith’s Phinney Bible was perhaps not purchased with a new translation in mind and only later was employed in that work. In all likelihood, it was the Bible used from the beginning, but even that is not certain because the marks in it do not start until the translation reached John 6 in February 1832. And the spelling and word usage in the manuscript prior to that point do not always agree with the Phinney Bible. As far as we can tell, however, for all parts of the new translation, the text of the Phinney Bible was the starting point for the revelation. In the sections where the short notation system was used, the Prophet’s Bible plays an indispensable role. The manuscripts cannot be read independently of the Bible, because the location of the changes, the words to be deleted, and the points of insertion are all marked in the Bible itself and not on the manuscripts.

The hundreds of marks in Joseph Smith’s Bible were written sometimes in pencil and sometimes in ink. Often there is a check (√) or an X-like mark at the beginning and end of a verse in which a correction is to be made, to alert the typesetter to the change. Although no system was used consistently, frequently two dots, vertically aligned like an oversized colon, represented an insertion point. Two dots on either side of a word often signaled the replacement of that word with whatever was recorded on the manuscript. But very often a word was just circled or lined out, either for deletion or for replacement (fig. 6). The new readings were written on the manuscript pages and not in the Bible itself.⁸²

It is difficult to say whether the modernized spelling and usage of the Phinney Bible had an influence on the language of the Joseph Smith Translation. In sections of the new translation that have no counterpart in the Bible, both indefinite articles, *a* and *an*, are used before words that begin with a pronounced letter *h*. In passages on the manuscripts that are found in the King James translation, again both articles are found, despite the near-consistent use of *a* in the underlying Phinney Bible. The inconsistency in the manuscripts suggests that this particular modernization was not a high priority for Joseph Smith. But many other changes he made definitely had the effect of making the Bible more understandable for modern readers. The frequent changes in word order and modernizations in language, such as *wot* to *know*,⁸³ *saith* to *said*, *that* and *which* to *who*, and *ye*

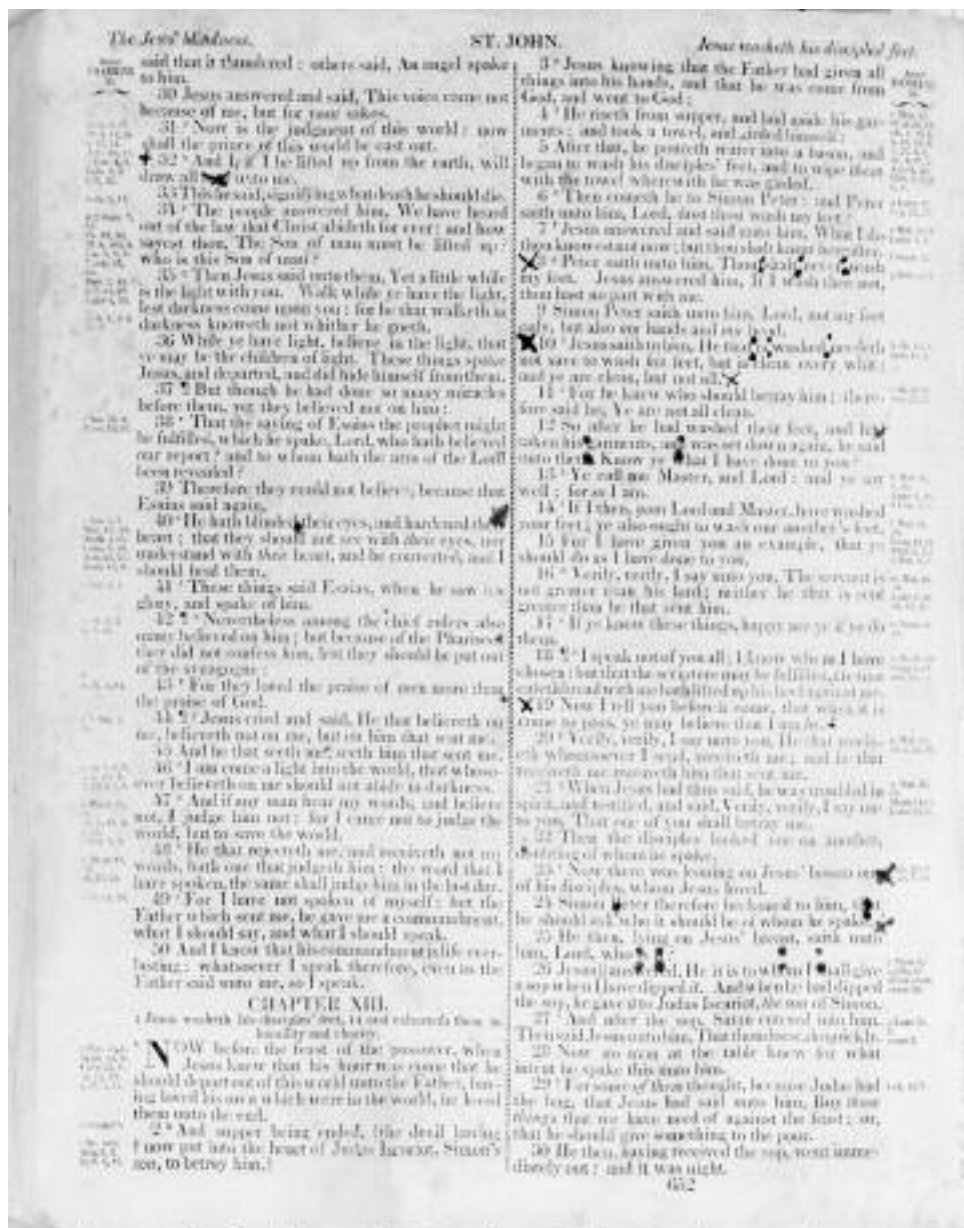


FIG. 6. A page from Joseph Smith's 1828 H. and E. Phinney Bible. The changes are at John 13:8, 10, and 19; other marks are ink that has bled through from the preceding page. Courtesy Library-Archives, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

and *thee* to *you*, show that the language of the Joseph Smith Translation was a more radical break with the tradition of the King James Version than were Phinney's limited efforts to update the spelling. Even so, those changes were applied inconsistently in the manuscripts, and the best suggestion is that even though the modernization of spelling and word usage was part of the new translation, other objectives were even more important.⁸⁴

We know generally how the Phinney Bible was used in the production of the Joseph Smith Translation, and the marks in the Bible and the corresponding words on the manuscripts detail its contributions. But we do not know to what extent or how the Prophet used the Phinney Bible through the rest of his life. When he was killed in 1844, it remained in the possession of his family and was inherited by his son Alexander Smith, who gave it to his daughter Vida. She later presented it to her cousin Israel A. Smith, president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (RLDS).⁸⁵

Since then, Joseph Smith's H. and E. Phinney Bible, published in Cooperstown in 1828, has been preserved carefully in the archives of the RLDS Church in Independence, Missouri, along with the accompanying manuscript pages of the Joseph Smith Translation.

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1. Quarto books are generally about 9½" x 12" in dimension; folios are approximately 12" x 9"; and octavos are approximately 6" x 9". There were significant variations within each category. Joseph Smith's Bible is about 9" x 11".

2. For the history of the English Bible in this period, see *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 141–68; and F. F. Bruce, *History of the Bible in English from the Earliest Versions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 12–112.

3. See E. B. O'Callaghan, *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures and Parts Thereof, Printed in America Pervious to 1860: With Introduction and Bibliographical Notes* (Albany: Munsell and Rowland, 1861), 1–22.

4. O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 22–23.

5. See *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America, 1777–1957*, ed. Margaret T. Hills (New York: American Bible Society and the New York Public Library, 1962), xv–xvii, 1–2.

6. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 2; O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, xxiii; Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999), 20–23.

7. See Hills, *English Bible in America*, 7; and references to Collins's later Bibles in the index; Gutjahr, *American Bible*, 90. A biography of Collins is Richard F. Hixson, *Isaac Collins: A Quaker Printer in Eighteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1968). Collins's 1791 Bible is discussed at 137–53.

8. See Clifford K. Shipton, *Isaiah Thomas: Printer, Patriot and Philanthropist, 1749–1831* (Rochester, N.Y.: Leo Hart, 1948).

9. See Gutjahr, *American Bible*, 23–29; and Mathew Carey's autobiography published monthly in the *New-England Magazine* from November 1833 to May 1834 and from July 1834 to December 1834.

10. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 15.

11. Gutjahr, *American Bible*, 27–28. As an example, see Carey's list of eighteen different varieties published in 1816 alone; O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 131–34. For Carey's various Bible editions, see Hills, *English Bible in America*, 447, and accompanying references.

12. Mathew Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey," *New-England Magazine* 6 (March 1834): 230.

13. See O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 131–34.

14. Counted on a randomly selected Old Testament page from a Carey quarto of about 1810 (Old Testament title page missing).

15. See Rollo G. Silver, *Typefounding in America, 1787–1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 112–14, 125–29.

16. See Hills, *English Bible in America*, 12, 19, 20, 36, and 447, with accompanying references, for Carey's quartos until his last in 1816.

17. See George A. Kubler, *A New History of Stereotyping* (New York: J. J. Little and Ives, 1941), 1–71.

18. Kubler, *New History of Stereotyping*, 148, 153; Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer, 1787–1825* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1967), 59–60.

19. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 49.

20. See the entries in Hills, *English Bible in America*. Mathew Carey stopped printing Bibles in 1816 and never published a stereotyped edition.

21. Hills, *English Bible in America*, xvii.

22. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 69.

23. See F. H. A. Scrivener, *The Authorized Edition of the English Bible (1611): Its Subsequent Reprints and Modern Representatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1884), 16–39.

24. See William J. Chamberlin, *Catalogue of English Bible Translations: A Classified Bibliography of Versions and Editions Including Books, Parts, and Old and New Testament Apocrypha and Apocryphal Books* (New York: Greenwood, 1991), 12.

25. A. S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible, 1525–1961* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society; New York: American Bible Society, 1968), 313.

26. See Bruce, *History of the Bible*, 108. All of the English Bibles from Tyndale to the Bishops' Bible have out.

27. "Advertisement to the Stereotype Edition," in Collins's 1816 stereotype quarto.

28. Publisher's note at the end of "To the Readers," Collins 1807, published in Collins's 1791 quarto and in subsequent editions.

29. Gutjahr, *American Bible*, 90.

30. O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 40.

31. Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey," 230–31. See also "Preface" in Carey's 1801 quarto.

32. Carey, "Preface," 1801 quarto; and as quoted in Carey, "Autobiography of Mathew Carey," 232.

33. See Herbert, *Historical Catalogue*, 282–83; and Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, 33–36, 101–5, 238–42.

34. See Hills, *English Bible in America*, 106. Founded in 1816, the American Bible Society was dedicated to spreading the Bible as inexpensively as possible throughout the United States.

35. The chapter divisions in modern Bibles date to the thirteenth century. The verse divisions were added in the sixteenth century.

36. For biographical material on the Phinneys, see S. T. Livermore, *A Condensed History of Cooperstown* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1862), 157–63; Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Vintage, 1995); and Madeleine B. Stern, *Books and Book People in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1978), 4–7, 23–24. Stern's primary sources are at 23 n. 5; Taylor's are throughout his notes. Livermore's book was published while Elihu Phinney Jr. was still alive and residing in Cooperstown, and Livermore appears to have known Phinney. See also Kathryn Klim Sturrock, "The Phinneys of Cooperstown, 1795–1850" (master's thesis, State University of New York, College at Oneonta, 1972); and Milton W. Hamilton, *The Country Printer: New York State, 1785–1830*, 2d ed. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1964).

37. *Otsego Herald*, November 5, 1808.

38. The shop stood on Second Street, immediately to the east of the building on the southeast corner of Second and West Streets (now Main and Pioneer Streets).

39. *Otsego Herald*, September 25, 1800.

40. *Otsego Herald*, February 28, 1799.

41. *Otsego Herald*, December 19, 1805.

42. *Otsego Herald*, February 13, 1806.

43. *Otsego Herald*, April 30, 1807.

44. See Sturrock, "The Phinneys of Cooperstown," 50–52.

45. See Sturrock, "The Phinneys of Cooperstown," 31–33, 37, 41; *Otsego Democrat*, September 21, 1850; *Otsego Republican*, February 5, 1863; and Livermore, *Condensed History of Cooperstown*, 159–61.

46. Stern, *Books and Book People*, 5.

47. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 41.

48. Hills, *English Bible in America*, 55.

49. See Sturrock, "The Phinneys of Cooperstown," 25–28.

50. The building stood on West Street, immediately to the south of the building on the southeast corner of Second and West Streets (now Main and Pioneer Streets). The building there now, Phinney Block, was built on the same site in 1850, after the earlier shop was destroyed by fire.

51. Elihu Phinney Jr. to E. B. O'Callaghan, quoted in O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 158.

52. *Freeman's Journal*, February 10, 1849.

53. *Freeman's Journal*, March 3, 1849.

54. Livermore, *Condensed History of Cooperstown*, 160–61; *Otsego Democrat*, September 21, 1850. Henry's house, begun in 1813, still stands at the corner of Main and Chestnut and is now the fashionable hotel Cooper Inn.

55. Livermore, *Condensed History of Cooperstown*, 159.

56. *Otsego Republican*, February 5, 1863. Elihu's house, begun about 1820, stood until 1957 on Pioneer Street where the New York Telephone Company is located now.

57. Or perhaps showing that the error was not discovered until a decade after it was made. See Jeremiah 17:5: "Cursed be them an that."

58. For example, on page 469 of the Phinney stereotype quarto, the diagonal slope of the numeral 4 in the page number is intact in the 1823 edition but is broken off in the 1824 edition. In verse 18 the letter *p* in *persecute* developed a small break during the printing of the 1824 edition, because it is not broken in all 1824 impressions. In verse 19 the top of the letter *h* in the word *Judah* first appears broken in the 1826 edition. These broken letters continued in all subsequent editions. There are undoubtedly hundreds of similar examples.

59. Elihu Phinney Jr. to O'Callaghan, as quoted in O'Callaghan, *List of Editions*, 158.

60. The ten copies of the 1828 Phinney Bible that I have examined have the following illustrations: (Bible A) fifteen in the Old Testament and five in the New Testament; (Bible B) same number and same pictures as Bible A but not always facing the same pages; (Bible C, Joseph Smith's Bible) seven in the Old and two in the New; (Bible D) same number as Bible C but not always the same pictures; (Bible E) eight in the Old and two in the New; (Bible F) seven in the Old and three in the New; (Bible G) six in the Old and three in the New; (Bible H) six or seven in the Old (first pages, including possible frontispiece, missing) and three in the New; (Bible I) six or seven in the Old (first pages also missing) and three in the New; and (Bible J) no illustrations. Aside from the absence of a frontispiece, Bible H has the same pictures in the same locations as Bible F.

61. All but one of the add-on features included in Carey are also in Phinney, and only two in Phinney are absent in Carey ("Contents of the Books" and "Account of the Dates"). All of the features in Collins are also in Phinney, and only one of the features in Phinney is not found in Collins ("Contents of the Books"). Phinney includes some of the same illustrations that are found in Collins, but in Collins the artists are identified.

62. Of the ten punctuation differences (out of well over a thousand punctuation marks), three were colons in place of semicolons, two were semicolons in place of colons, and one was the absence of a comma. These are all probably typesetting errors on the part of Phinney's compositors. The other four differences appear to be efforts on the part of Phinney's compositors to correct obvious typesetting errors in Collins. Given the large number of punctuation marks in that many verses, this is an extremely small number of very minor differences.

63. Isaac Collins, publisher's note in "To the Reader." See also note 28.

64. For example, Cambridge's 1823 stereotype octavo.

65. The *æ* ligature is in place of the Greek diphthong *αι*. It was not used in a King James Version until late in the eighteenth century.

66. KJV editors in the eighteenth century modernized *amongst* to *among*, but they overlooked it in two places (Gen. 3:8; Gen. 23:9). The Phinneys changed the second one but missed the first. For orthographic varieties in general, see Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, 93–101.

67. Where there are inconsistencies in Phinney, the archaic spellings tend to be found early in the Bible. It should be noted that even the English Bible used by Latter-day Saints today is inconsistent in its rendering of some of these words, as in *astonied/astonished*, *amongst/among*, and *alway/always*. These variants still appear in the current King James Version, in part the result of earlier inconsistent efforts to modernize the spelling. See Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, 103–4.

68. See Scrivener, *Authorized Edition*, 105–9.

69. Of the almost six hundred occurrences of the word *an* before *h*, it appears that the Phinneys (or their source) inadvertently missed only two: "an haven" at Genesis 49:13, and "an heritage" at Exodus 6:8.

70. In a comparison of over eleven hundred verses between the Phinney Bible and the Bible used today by English-speaking Latter-day Saints, I found differences in about 40 percent of Old Testament verses and 30 percent of New Testament verses. The vast majority are punctuation or hyphenation differences. Differences in spelling and word usage make up a much smaller percentage. The use of italicized words is virtually identical. In the thousands of words compared, in only four places are there italics in Phinney and not in the modern KJV. Given the normal King James Version usage for italics, all four appear to be errors in today's Bible and correct in Phinney. In one place, a word is italicized today but not in Phinney, apparently an error in Phinney.

71. See Gutjahr, *American Bible*, 27–28.
72. Livermore, *Condensed History of Cooperstown*, 161–62.
73. Livermore, *Condensed History of Cooperstown*, 162.
74. Grandin's last "Job Printing" advertisement was published in *Wayne Sentinel*, March 13, 1829, 1; his first "Book and Job Printer" advertisement appeared April 17, 1829, 1.
75. "Book Bindery and Library," *Wayne Sentinel*, September 11, 1829, 3. But Howard's bindery and library remained in Grandin's building.
76. See Grandin's advertisements in every issue of the *Wayne Sentinel* from December 19, 1828, to May 15, 1829. After this time, Grandin ran shorter advertisements for individual books, including common prayer books; Nicholson's *Encyclopedia*, 3d American edition; a map of New York, by Williams; the *Memoirs of Simon Bolivar*, by General Holstein; a book on the Pestalozzian system of arithmetic, by James Ryan; a biography of De Witt Clinton; and Isaac Watts's *Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs*. See, for example, the untitled advertisements in the *Wayne Sentinel* for August 14 and 21, 1829.
77. On October 22, 1829, Joseph Smith wrote to Cowdery to tell him that he (Joseph) had arrived safely at his Pennsylvania home on the fourth. Joseph Smith to Oliver Cowdery, October 22, 1829, in *The Personal Writings of Joseph Smith*, ed. Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 227–28.
78. The comprehensive treatment of the Joseph Smith Translation is Robert J. Matthews, "A Plainer Translation": *Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible—a History and Commentary* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1975).
79. The Prophet's history records: "I completed the translation and review of the New Testament, on the 2nd of February, 1833." Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1957), 1:324 (hereafter cited *History of the Church*).
80. The sections of the Bible for which the Prophet dictated the text in full are Genesis 1–24 and Matthew 1–John 5. Some form of the abbreviated notation system was used in Genesis 25–Malachi plus John 6–Revelation.
81. *History of the Church*, 1:368.
82. The very rare exceptions are noted in Matthews, "A Plainer Translation," 57. Matthews has a detailed discussion of the types of marks in the Bible at pages 57–59.
83. The manuscript at Exodus 32:1 revises *wot to know* with a note that *know* "should be in the place of 'wot' in all places."
84. In their publication of the new translation in 1867, the publication committee of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints generally used the spellings of the Phinney Bible and not those of a more standard King James Version. This was not accomplished consistently, however, and exceptions have not been corrected in subsequent editions.
85. The following inscription is found on the inside front cover of the Bible: "This book was a gift from my father Alexander Hale Smith[.] I am giving it to Israel Alexander Smith because he bears the beloved name of Alexander with honor, and because of my trust in him, I wish it to pass into his care and personal possession. Vida E. Smith Yates. July 9, 1942."

Appendix

Add-On Features in Joseph Smith's 1828 H. and E. Phinney Quarto Bible

(Page numbers in the Phinney Bible in parentheses)

Chapter Summaries. The 1611 King James Version contained outline headings at the beginning of each chapter, providing summaries of key verses. These were perpetuated in later Bibles but often in abbreviated form. The summaries in Phinney Bibles are abbreviated, but they still retain much of the flavor of the originals.¹

“Canne’s Marginal Notes and References.” John Canne was a seventeenth-century English Independent living in Amsterdam. He published his cross-references in a Bible in 1662. They were used by many publishers thereafter, printed in the margins on either side of the Bible text, with a proposed date at the top of the column. They first appeared in an American Bible in 1807. Hills notes that over the course of repeated printings by various publishers, they acquired many typographical errors, and some publishers added to the references.²

“The Names and Order of all the Books of the Old and New Testaments, with the Number of Their Chapters” (2). This is simply a list of Bible books in order with the number of chapters each book contains. It first appeared in America in Aitken’s Bible of 1782, but it was already in Geneva Bibles in the late sixteenth century and in King James Bibles by the 1620s.

“To the Reader” (3). This informative document, which fills a quarto page in 9-point type, was first written for Isaac Collins’s 1791 Bible to take the place of the dedicatory epistle to King James I.³ It was reused many times by later publishers. It is a brief history of the English Bible written by Dr. John Witherspoon (1723–94), president of New Jersey College. Witherspoon immigrated from Scotland in 1768 to take the position as college president, which he held until his death. He was a well-known intellectual and patriot and the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence. A prolific scholar, his list of publications fills thirty pages in a modern biography.⁴ In “To the Reader,” Witherspoon states that in an American Bible it is unnecessary or inappropriate to include the dedication to King James. At the end of Witherspoon’s article is a paragraph written by its original publisher, Isaac Collins, explaining where he obtained the text for his King James Bible. When later publishers reprinted “To the Reader”

in their own editions, they included the publisher's note as a part of Witherspoon's document, even if their own Bible text came from a different source than Collins's. Some later publishers acknowledged Collins's Bible as the source of "To the Reader" and Witherspoon as its author. Phinney Bibles carried the byline "From Collins' Bible" until the 1828 edition.

"Contents of the Books of the Old and New Testaments" (4–8). This table provides a one-line synopsis of each chapter in the Bible. Many of the summaries appear to have derived from those found at the beginning of the chapters in most King James Bibles. This section began appearing in American Bibles around 1820.⁵

"A Table of the Several Passages in the Old Testament, Quoted by Christ and His Apostles in the New Testament" (575). This list is arranged in Old Testament order with the scripture reference, the quotation, and the New Testament passage in which it is found. Mathew Carey first added this list to his edition of 1802.

"A Chronological Index of the Years and Times from Adam unto Christ, Proved by the Scriptures, from the Collation of Divers Authors" (576). This small table gives lengths of time for various periods, such as "Israel was in Egypt 220 years," and "Jerusalem was re-edified, and built again, after the captivity of Babylon, 70 years." The list arrived in American Bibles at least by Mathew Carey's 1802 edition, but it existed in English Bibles as early as the 1560 Geneva Bible.

"A Table of Time" (576). This small table gives the names of biblical months and their Gregorian-calendar equivalents and provides other modern equivalents of biblical timekeeping. This table first appeared in America in the 1791 Bibles of Isaac Collins and Isaiah Thomas, but it was already found in British Bibles early in the eighteenth century.⁶

"A Table of Offices and Conditions of Men" (576). Providing brief definitions for technical vocabulary in the Bible, such as *Judges*, *Presidents*, *Publicans*, and *Nazarites*, this table also first appeared in America in the 1791 Collins and Thomas Bibles, but it was found earlier in English Bibles.⁷

"Family Record" (following 576 but unpaginated). Phinney Bibles usually included two sheets, each with two columns for writing family names and dates. The first page was labeled for marriages, the second and third for births, and the fourth for deaths.⁸

“Account of the Dates or Time of Writing the Books of the New Testament” (578). This table is on the reverse of the New Testament title page, opposite Matthew 1. It lists the books of the New Testament and the years of each from the death and birth of Jesus. Like “To the Reader,” it was written by John Witherspoon for Collins’s 1791 quarto and was first published there.⁹

“An Index to the Holy Bible; or, an Account of the Most Remarkable Passages in the Books of the Old and New Testaments: Pointing to the Time Wherein They Happened, and to the Places of Scripture Wherein They Are Recorded” (755–62). This imposing eight-page table is printed in tiny six-point type. It is a chronological summary of the whole Bible in three columns, giving the date, the Bible reference, and the event. It was first used in American Bibles in 1791 by both Collins and Thomas, and Mathew Carey included it in his first King James Bible in 1801. But it had already been used as early as a 1755 Oxford edition.

“Tables of Scripture Measures, Weights, and Coins: With an Appendix, Containing the Method of Calculating Its Measures of Surface, Hitherto Wanting in Treatises on This Subject” (763–64). The author was “the Right Reverend Richard Lord Bishop of Peterborough.” The tables provide equivalents between biblical and modern weights and measures, with considerable commentary. This item first appeared in the United States in the 1791 Collins and Thomas Bibles. It also was used as early as a 1755 Oxford edition.

“Analysis of the Old and New Testaments” (764). This odd list of data provides such information as the number of letters in the Old Testament (2,728,100) and in the New Testament (838,380), and the middle verse in the Bible (2 Chron. 20:17). In the list, we are informed that “the 21st verse chapter vii. of Ezra has all the letters of the alphabet.” The list first appeared in America in Carey’s 1802 edition.

“A Table of Kindred and Affinity: Wherein Whosoever Are Related, Are Forbidden in Scripture, and Our Laws, to Marry Together” (764). This list of potential incestuous relationships first appeared in America in the 1791 Collins and Thomas Bibles, but it was already printed in an Oxford edition of 1755. As was the case with several of these tables, it was included in many Bibles published in the United States.

“Judea, Palestine, or the Holy Land” (764–65). This description of geography and topography was in Mathew Carey’s 1802 edition and was published in many other Bibles.

“An Alphabetical Table of the Proper Names in the Old and New Testaments; Together with the Meaning or Signification of the Words in Their Original Languages” (765–68). This is a list of presumably all the names of persons and places in the Bible. There are no references but only translations. This table was first published in the United States in Thomas’s 1791 quarto, then in Mathew Carey’s of 1801. But similar lists had been included in European Bibles for two centuries.

1. For example, Exodus 16: “1 The Israelites murmur for want of bread. . . . 4 God promiseth them bread from heaven. . . . 11 Quails are sent, 14 and manna” (ellipses in original).

2. Hills, *English Bible in America*, xxii, 25.

3. See Varnum Lansing Collins, *President Witherspoon: A Biography*, 2 vols. (1925; reprint, New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), 2:162–63.

4. Collins, *President Witherspoon*, 2:237–66.

5. The earliest appearance I have found is in an 1820 quarto by D. D. Smith, New York. It is also in the 1823 (date uncertain) quarto of Kimber and Sharpless, Philadelphia.

6. For example, in the 1718 London edition of John Baskett.

7. At least by the Oxford edition of 1755.

8. In Joseph Smith’s Bible, the first sheet is cut down the middle, leaving it only one column wide on each side. The second sheet has been removed.

9. Isaac Collins, “Advertisement to the Second Edition,” in Collins, 1807. See a similar list in the edition of William Young, 1790, Philadelphia, listed in Hills, *English Bible in America*, 5, and in the edition of Hugh Gaine, New York, 1792.

A Riddle for Didymus

They chiseled rock to rounded squares,
& lay the stiffened corpses there—
wrapped in linen, smoothed with myrrh,
drying in the desert air—
stone on stone, stone on stone,
until Christ rose again.

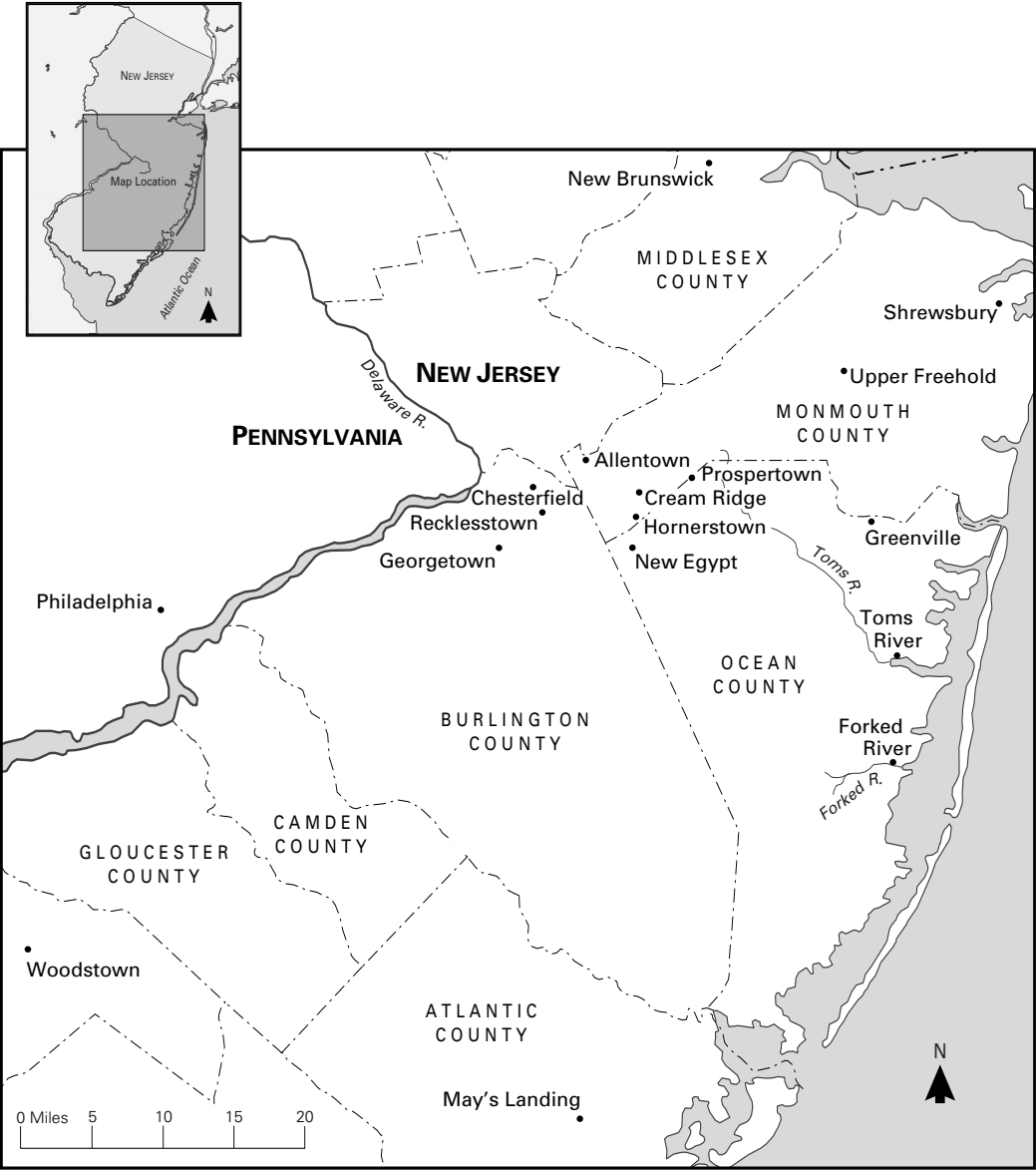
What feeds inside, what ruptures skin,
what smothers organs, burns again
& again when dreams can't route the pain
that wears the body's breathing thin?
Stone on stone, stone on stone
until Christ rose again.

Could Adam see the terror ranging?
Children's bloodied throats not singing,
morbid "wood" not meant for burning
stacked in pits too deep for standing:
stone on stone, stone on stone . . .

and yet Christ rose again.

—Ellen Gregory

This poem won first place in the *BYU Studies*
poetry contest for 2000.



Towns of Early Church Activity in New Jersey

“Sweeping Everything before It”

Early Mormonism in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey

Stephen J. Fleming

In the summer of 1838, Elder Benjamin Winchester (fig. 1) ventured into Monmouth County, New Jersey, to preach to gospel.¹ Winchester was the first Mormon missionary to make it into the Pine Barrens, an area so named because of its sandy, unproductive land. Soon “the news went abroad, that a Mormon preacher had made his appearance in the land.” Winchester wrote, “As to [Mormon] principles, and rules of faith, the people knew nothing, except by reports. . . [and] the people flocked out, in crowds to hear, yet at this time, more out of curiosity than any thing else.” Once Winchester began preaching to the people, the people found his message “so different from what they had expected, that it caused a spirit of inquiry, so much so, that I had calls in every direction.” The more Winchester preached, “the greater the excitement, so that in every town, and neighborhood, where I had preached, what the world calls Mormonism, was the grand topic of conversation.”²

After Winchester’s initial contact with the Pine Barrens, he continued to preach throughout the summer of 1838, particularly in Hornerstown and New Egypt. In October 1838, Winchester organized the converts at Hornerstown, numbering twenty-eight, into a branch. In January 1839, Winchester went east to Toms River, a coastal town. There he preached and baptized eleven people. Winchester finishes his account of his labors by saying, “I feel myself authorized to say, that the work of the Lord is gaining ground, in the region of country where I have been laboring.”³

The work continued to progress in the years that followed. Erastus Snow worked as a missionary in the East from 1839 to 1842. During that time, he reported a high rate of conversion throughout Burlington and Monmouth Counties and particularly in a village called Cream Ridge.⁴ Joseph Smith visited the branches in the Pine Barrens while on his 1839–40 journey to Washington, D.C., and is said to have “sealed a large number.”⁵ In 1840, Alfred Wilson, a local member, informed the Church that there were about one hundred members in Cream Ridge.⁶ An 1842 article about William Smith reported that “the work of the Lord is progressing rapidly in the east,

Courtesy Eunice V. Eddy



FIG. 1. Benjamin Winchester (1817–1901), the first missionary in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey.

especially in New Jersey. He has baptized 25 since he left home, and witnessed the baptisms of a large number more by the hands of Elder E. Snow and others.”⁷ In the early 1840s, many Church members from the area moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, in order to be with the main body of the Church.⁸ Despite the movement west, large numbers of members remained in the area throughout the 1840s; in 1842, local convert William Appleby reported “something near two hundred members here [probably Recklesstown] and in Cream Ridge, and Toms River exclusive of those who have gone west.”⁹ This “Mormon invasion,” as one local historian called it,¹⁰ resulted in twenty-one branches in New Jersey by 1848—the majority being in Monmouth and Burlington Counties.¹¹

Church members at Hornerstown built a meetinghouse, and it was reported that “the pervading influence [in Hornerstown] is in favor of the Mormons.”¹²

One Toms River historian lists Joseph Smith’s visit there as one of eight principal events in the town’s history.¹³ Another says, “For a while [Mormonism] was the principal religion in Toms River.”¹⁴ In 1850, although some converts had already left New Jersey for the West, “the [Mormon] church at Toms River was in a flourishing condition.”¹⁵ Another local history said that in 1850 “this strange sect was at the zenith of its popularity in this region.”¹⁶ That year the Mormons built a meetinghouse in Toms River.¹⁷ In the words of one historian, “For awhile the religion seemed to be sweeping everything before it.”¹⁸

The events in this period mark an important chapter in the history of early Mormonism as well as the history of the Pine Barrens. Perhaps because historians tend to focus on Mormonism’s main body, this story of a group of Mormons on the periphery has been largely left untold.¹⁹ But this story has much to offer to an understanding of early Mormonism because the number of converts the Church gathered in the area allowed for the formation of branches that stood for some time. This case provides an opportunity to look at the interaction of Church members with their local community and to study the effect that major events in Mormon history, specifically the succession crisis and the westward migration, had on these Saints. Such study enhances and broadens the story of early Mormonism.

Nature of the Pine Barrens

The Pine Barrens, an area covered with pine trees and sandy soil, encompasses a large part of southeastern New Jersey. In 1840, the principal enterprises in the sparsely populated area were the iron, charcoal, timber, and glass industries, although shipping was developing in Toms River.²⁰ Farming, fishing, clamming, and hunting were also prevalent. Despite these means of employment, the Pine Barrens never had “enough economic activity to enrich all its residents.”²¹ A contemporary observed that people were impoverished because “the wood is generally gone, &, if it were not, that from Virginia has precedence in market. So the people are generally poorer than they were a few years back & likely to remain poor. Towns & populous neighbourhoods can never be on such barren sand” (fig. 2). Accompanying the general poverty of the “Pineys” (as the inhabitants were called) was the locals’ nomadism. As one observer put it, “To stay two years in a place is a long time for some of them.” Another said, “Although they frequently move from place to place in the Pines, still they generally prefer their present condition to any in which there would be a better opportunity.”²²

During the early nineteenth century, several accounts were written about the Pine Barrens. These include accounts by outside preachers working in



FIG. 2. The Pine Barrens of New Jersey. This drawing gives an idea of the infertile terrain of the region. From Rita Zorn Moonsammy, David Steven Cohen, and Lorraine E. Williams, eds., *Pinelands Folklife* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 132.

the area, such as William Potts, a Presbyterian who proselytized in the Pines in 1826.²³ The most detailed descriptions of the area come from colporteurs (peddlers of religious books for the American Tract Society).²⁴ These colporteurs had few kind words to say about the cultural state of the Pines. According to one, there existed “a kind of indifference to culture of almost every kind, except agri-culture—a distaste for reading in order to secure mental or religious improvement.” Another found that “it was no unusual thing to meet with whole families, not a single member of which could read,” and that “most of the people are very ignorant.” The colporteurs went so far as to describe the Pines as a place where “all that nobles [*sic*] man finds scarce a single friend; while their opposing vices reign triumphant.”²⁵ Statements by those not of the clergy could be harsher still. One author, W. F. Mayer, wrote that the Pineys (or, as he called them, Pine Rats) were “completely besotted and brutish in their ignorance, they are incapable of obtaining an honest living.” Mayer went on to say that Pine Rats should not be allowed to continue to exist in the United States.²⁶ Recent historians have pointed out the absurdity of such extreme statements but do admit to the area’s backwardness. Even a native and Mormon convert from the area, Theodore McKean, said that his birthplace, Allentown, consisted of “inhabitants seemingly averse to modern innovation.”²⁷ This backwardness drew the colporteurs to the area: “It is for the condition of such as these ignorant & depraved as they mostly are, that the Christian heart should deeply feel, & indeed yearn over them.”²⁸

The Religious Society of Friends (the Quakers) had been the major denomination in the region through the early eighteenth century, but by the 1840s, the Methodist Church had surpassed it.²⁹ Despite the strong Methodist influence in the area, the various preachers were mostly in agreement that religion in the area was “dreadfully paralyzed.”³⁰ Local industries required work on Sunday, leading “many to form the habit of neglecting all proper Sabbath exercises.” Further, “the supply of Methodist ministers does not meet the wants of the people in public preaching, much less in private instruction. An educated and permanent ministry is greatly needed.” Few preachers attended to the Pine Barrens because “the Missionary must travel far to find few souls, & often feel that his best energies have been spent in contending with the sand. He must study the doubtful road through the wilderness instead of his sermon.”³¹

Pine Barrens Conversions

While it may seem that the residents of the Pine Barrens were poor and disenfranchised, the colporteurs and others conceded that not all inhabitants fit the stereotype. William Potts mentioned that he enjoyed the company of some cultivated people while he was in the Pines.³² One col-

porteur said, "The owners managers & clerks [of the local industries] are generally well informed & some quite refined. Others of some intelligence may be found here and there through the Pines."³³ Another described a Mormon at Toms River as being a "man of considerable wealth."³⁴

Likewise, Mormon converts in the Pines were not from the lowest strata of society.³⁵ Statements showing that many of the converts were held in high esteem by the community were applied to Toms River and Hornerstown. One local historian went as far as to say that "this strange religion took hold of some of the very best people in the community."³⁶ A look at some of the Mormon converts in the region and their experiences as a result of joining the Church will help shed light on who some of these people were.

Conversions in Toms River. In this coastal town, the Church not only appeared to be the principal religion at one point but also included prominent citizens: a local history claims "a number of respectable families" joined the Church.³⁷ The "man of considerable wealth" mentioned earlier was probably Anthony Ivins Jr., whose family owned "the most pretentious house in Toms River" (fig. 3).³⁸ Although the patriarch of the family, Anthony Ivins Sr., never joined the Church, his wife, Sarah, and two children, Margaret and Israel,

joined along with Anthony Jr. The other three living children (Thomas, Emmeline, and Edward) did not join the Church. Anthony Jr. and Thomas were "extensively engaged in shipping and merchandising."³⁹ Anthony Jr. also headed a crew of three hundred from Toms River to expand an inlet in the county.⁴⁰

Anthony Sr.'s daughter Margaret was married to Washington McKean, perhaps the most prominent citizen of Toms River at the time. Washington owned a store, some limekilns, and boat docks and was responsible for getting the railroad

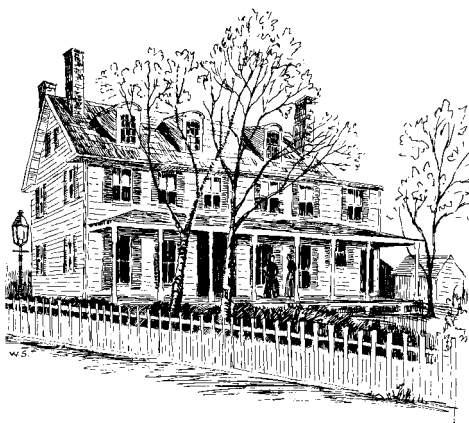


FIG. 3. Ivins-McKean House. This house, "the most pretentious house in Toms River," was owned by Anthony Ivins Sr. and then by Washington McKean. A local history states, "The house was a large two-story structure with dormered windows and double fireplaces in each end of the house." From Pauline S. Miller, *Early History of Toms River and Dover Township* (n.p., 1967), 12, 13.

to Toms River.⁴¹ Evidence suggests that Margaret McKean was involved in the Presbyterian Church before becoming a Mormon. She was listed as a potential teacher in a Presbyterian Sabbath school in 1826.⁴² Washington remained affiliated with the Presbyterian Church.⁴³ Their only son, Theodore (fig. 4), who converted to Mormonism some twelve years after his mother did, benefited from an excellent education.⁴⁴ He was immersed in his family's capitalist enterprises, working as a bookkeeper for his father as well as for his uncles Anthony and Thomas. This exposure led Theodore to later have "several inducements to engage in business of a lucrative character."⁴⁵ His training in surveying, civil engineering, and business provided skills that were useful throughout his life, both in New Jersey and later in Utah.⁴⁶



FIG. 4. Theodore McKean, 1829–97. Descended from two prominent families, Theodore joined the Church and served as branch president in Toms River before settling permanently in the West. From Frank Elwood Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 361.

Conversions in the Hornerstown Area. As at Toms River, the inland community of Hornerstown had "a good many respectable people [who] adhered to the [Mormon] faith."⁴⁷ In fact, other members of the Ivins family living in Hornerstown joined the Church. Anthony Ivins Sr.'s brothers Charles and James converted, as well as Rachel and Anna Ivins, daughters of Anthony Sr.'s cousin Caleb Ivins. In her later years, Rachel described her conversion. She was a member of the Baptist Church when she first heard the Mormon preachers. At first, she thought the Mormons were "the false prophets the Bible speaks of" and paid them little attention. Her sister Anna, however, had joined the Church and was able to convince Rachel to attend Church meetings with her. Rachel said, "I attended some more meetings and commenced reading the Book of Mormon, Voice of Warning and other works, and was soon convinced that they were true." Rachel said the result was that "a new light seemed to break in upon me, the scriptures were plainer to my mind, and the light of the everlasting Gospel began to illumine my soul." Rachel was further convinced when she heard the

doctrine that a child who died without baptism would go to the celestial kingdom and contrasted it to her minister's teaching that the child would go to hell: "The contrast was very great showing one to be false and the other true. And I was steadily being drawn into the Gospel net." When her minister heard of Rachel's attendance at Mormon meetings, he told her that if she continued to do so she would be disfellowshipped from the Baptist congregation. That was the deciding factor; she was baptized soon after. Then "what joy filled my being. I could sing all the day long and rejoice in the glorious promises in the Gospel."⁴⁸

Other converts from the Hornerstown area include the Horners, Robbins, and Wikoff families.⁴⁹ The branch president at Hornerstown was James L. Curtis, who had been on the board of the Methodist Church in New Egypt.⁵⁰ Alfred Wilson, another former Methodist, and Andrew Hunter Scott were also active Church members.⁵¹

A member who became a leader in the Church in the Hornerstown area and, later, throughout the northeastern United States was William Appleby. He served as branch president in Recklesstown and twice as president of the Eastern States Mission. Although Appleby received only a limited education, he studied on his own, "endeavoring to gain what knowledge I could," until he was quite accomplished in academics.⁵² He held several positions in education including head of the Recklesstown Academy (1838–41) and school committee clerk for the town of Chesterfield, New Jersey (1840–45).⁵³

An eloquent writer, Appleby provided a detailed account of his conversion. He listened to the gospel in October 1839 when Benjamin Winchester first toured the Pine Barrens. Appleby recalled being very impressed with the logical manner in which Winchester explained Mormon doctrine. Appleby was not sure what to make of Joseph Smith's visions as recounted by Orson Pratt, who was also there, but Appleby was nevertheless impressed.⁵⁴

One of Appleby's most convincing experiences was hearing the testimony of convert Alfred Wilson. Wilson was a former Methodist and husband of one of Appleby's nieces. Appleby said that Wilson was a man "in whom I placed implicit confidence." Appleby recorded Wilson's testimony:

"I enjoyed myself somewhat and received a certain portion of the Spirit of the Lord, while in the Methodist Church." But said he, "I never knew what true religion or the spirit of the Lord was, until I became a member of the Church to which I belong." "I enjoy more peace, knowledge &c. in one day now than I ever experienced or knew before." And said he ["if you will only humble yourself, in true repentance and be Baptised for the remission of your sins, receive the imposition of hands &c. Believing in the fullness of the Gospel (as been revealed to Joseph Smith) you too shall know of a surety these things are true, and rejoice in the same."⁵⁵

However, Appleby was hesitant to join the Mormons because of worries that his academic peers would think him a fool if he became a Mormon. He wrote, "I began to contemplate my situation, the scorn of the world &c, when the tempter taking the advantage says, 'There is no need of your being baptised, only live a moral life &c, that is all that is required, you have been converted, that is sufficient, but if you go to be Baptised, the people will laugh at you.'" These concerns caused Appleby to forego baptism at that time. Appleby continued to agonize over his decision until he visited his mother, who counseled, "If you feel it to be your duty to be baptized, go and do it never mind the school." William Appleby was baptized into the Church on September 21, 1840. Appleby believed he made the right decision. "We returned home with rejoicings," he wrote, "and have continued to rejoice from that day until the present in the truth I have embraced, and trust I ever may."⁵⁶ After his conversion, Appleby became an ardent supporter of Mormonism, writing pamphlets including *A Few Important Questions, Mormonism Consistent!* and *A Dissertation on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*.⁵⁷

Appleby's fears of losing respect due to his choice to join the Mormons were not unfounded. He said, "I continued teaching school, but I soon perceived a difference. It [the school] decreased in numbers, persons who had been familiar with me heretofore, now appeared reserved and cold." Appleby was undeterred and continued faithfully in his new religion. "The Lord Stood by me," he said, and helped Appleby as he set out in proselytizing in the region. "By baptising twenty six (I believe) into the Church, in the Neighbourhood surrounding, This increased the ire of many, towards me, especially some of the professing 'Christians' but I heeded them not." Despite the support Appleby received from some prominent members of the community,⁵⁸ eventually the membership of the school where he taught dwindled to the point that Appleby had to close its doors.⁵⁹ Thus, William Appleby felt some negative effects of his decision.

Appleby was concerned about his poor health, motivating him towards introspection. Not long after Appleby became a Mormon, he quit taking his medicine and decided to "trust in the Lord." Appleby said his health improved after that.⁶⁰ Although Appleby struggled with lifelong illness that caused him much financial difficulty, he held the positions of justice of the peace, a judge on the Court of General Quarter Sessions, and township clerk.⁶¹

While little information is known about the majority of Church converts in the region, the impression left on the community was that the converts did not generally fit the stereotype of an uneducated, poverty-stricken people. A colporteur who disparaged a Mormon at Prospertown by saying the convert "had no money" acknowledged that the man was a "great reader."⁶²

The Effect of Miracles on Conversion

Mormons were known for their many cases of healings and other miracles in the area. One local history said, "Among [Mormon] rites at that time was the anointing the sick and the laying on of hands of the elders to heal diseases."⁶³ One local described a Mormon town hall as

quite a noted place when the Mormons held meetings there, and great crowds were attracted by the miracles performed by them. My mother was present when a very estimable lady, modest and retiring in disposition, arose by the power of unseen influence and discoursed in tongues, as it is called in scripture. No one present understood the language.⁶⁴

Several sources record the healing of people in the Pines. Erastus Snow told a story of Stacy Horner's daughter who was very sick. Snow blessed her, but she continued to get worse. The doctor said there was nothing he could do for her. "But the Lord heard our prayers and healed her, and she resolved on immediate obedience, for I told her by the Spirit of God that any time she said she would be baptized she should be able to do it and be well." The girl was baptized and afterward enjoyed good health.⁶⁵ William Appleby recounted an incident involving two women, sick of consumption, both of whom decided to be baptized. The first, Achsah Bowker, was baptized and then blessed to be healed. Appleby said, "I heard from her some time afterwards, she was rejoicing in the truth, and the health she enjoyed." The second, Mary Garan, was so sick that she had to be "supported to prevent her from [falling]" in order to be baptized. "A few weeks after [her baptism,] she died, rejoicing in the truth."⁶⁶

Therefore, not all the sick were healed, nor did all who were healed become Mormons. William Sharp told of a boy crippled by "Hydrarthus," or "white swelling." The boy was healed by Joseph Smith and able to walk again. "The boy claimed that he was restored to health by the power of the Almighty through the administrations of the Prophet. He, however, never joined the church."⁶⁷

Relationships between Mormons and Others in the Pines

From Benjamin Winchester's first efforts in the Pine Barrens, the Mormons faced opposition. At the beginning of Winchester's mission, when Mormonism was a curiosity, Winchester said, "The honest in heart [exclaimed] that it was truth, while another class of the community, who loves darkness more than light, lifted their voices and influence against it." Winchester defended Mormonism vigorously and said that, while the preachers were hoping he "would be put to shame, and forced to abandon the country with disgrace," the actual result was that "they put themselves to shame; and instead of exposing Mormonism, they exposed their own

wickedness.”⁶⁸ When Winchester first went to Toms River, “some members of a certain sect, in this place, locked up the school house” where Winchester was going to preach. This act, however, attracted a crowd and “the door was opened, and I preached to an attentive congregation.”⁶⁹

Benjamin Winchester said that because what he preached was different from what the people expected, much of the initial reaction was positive.⁷⁰ Similarly, a local history said that a speech given by John Taylor in 1851 at Forked River “seemed to differ but little from an old-fashioned Methodist sermon on the necessity of salvation.” And Taylor “made but little allusion to the peculiar tenets of Mormonism.”⁷¹ After Winchester’s initial success in the Pines, he said that local clergymen responded by “fumbling over their old newspaper titles, and hunting up all the old stories that was told a number of years ago . . . probably thinking that by so doing, it would render the society, and its principles, odious in the minds of the people, so that they would stop their ears.”⁷² The negative perception of Mormonism in the area was apparently the result of imported prejudices rather than of any malice or misbehavior on the part of the local Church members themselves.

Some slanderous stories circulated about Mormons in the Pines. One of these was reported in a local history:

Of Joseph Smith’s visit to New Egypt, [New Jersey,] some amusing stories, probably exaggerated, are told at the expense of converts, such as of a wealthy man being told by Smith to repair to a particular tree at a certain hour of the night and pray for direction from Heaven, and the Lord would reply. Accordingly the man sought the place and prayed as directed; he was answered by a voice from above, which, among other things, directed him to give a good share of his worldly good to the prophet Smith; but the man seemed to doubt it being the voice of an angel—it sounded more like Smith himself concealed in the branches.⁷³

“It is generally believed,” William Appleby noted, “that the denomination of people I belong to, are without . . . virtue, morals, or religion; and denominated ‘enthusiasts,’ ‘False Teachers,’ ‘Impostors,’ ‘Fanatics’ &c.”⁷⁴ This attitude is most clearly demonstrated by the labels the colporteurs attached to Mormons. One colporteur described New Egypt as a community of “many Universalists, Infidels and Mormons—a wicked place.” He believed the Mormons practiced “much ireligion.” The most complimentary thing a colporteur had to say was that the Mormons had “several ignorant but zealous Priests.”⁷⁵

Andrew Hunter Scott described teaching in Mays Landing in 1844, where he “Preached 6 times in the Woods & Baptised Cathern Ireland & many more Believed But would not Be Baptised at Present.” When Scott preached again at Mays Landing in 1845, “many Believed the Word that

Was spoken But would not obey it Being afraid of Persecution.”⁷⁶ Apparently the negativity attached to Mormonism in the region had had some effect.

Henry Perkins. The most vigorous opposition to the Mormons apparently came from Reverend Henry Perkins in 1840. Perkins (fig. 5) was a Presbyterian preacher at Allentown, New Jersey. Perkins “aroused much interest here [Allentown] and elsewhere by his attacks on the doctrine of the new faith.”⁷⁷ Perkins felt compelled to respond to the Mormon missionaries because they “were much disturbing the peace and minds of the people. Some two or three had been drawn away from [his] communion, and the excitement was rising when Mr. Perkins felt constrained to put himself in the breach.” Of his efforts a local history said, “His fearless, unflinching conduct is remembered, and the result was a powerful blow against the spread of Smith’s obnoxious doctrine.”⁷⁸ Benjamin Winchester was quick to respond to Perkins, publishing *An Examination of the Lecture Delivered by the Rev. H. Perkins*.⁷⁹



FIG. 5. Henry Perkins. This Presbyterian preacher of Allentown, New Jersey, spoke out against the Mormons. From Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck, 1885), 642.

Disrupted Meetings. Opponents sometimes physically interfered with the preaching of the gospel. Erastus Snow described a meeting in the woods for which he “had near 1000 to preach to; but though the majority listened with attention, about 100 young men behaved very bad, . . . yelling and singing and racing horses about the meeting ground with the intention of breaking up the meeting.”⁸⁰ William Appleby recorded a meeting where opponents “behaved very bad, cursing, swearing, groaning &c.”⁸¹ At another meeting, Appleby recorded, several students from Princeton and local preachers were “laughing, talking, walking about, making remarks, &c, were going on profusely.” Appleby responded to the disturbance by saying, “I must give you the preference of being the most unmannerly, ill-behaved, and disrespectful congregation, in your manners towards us, of any people I have ever been among. It is highly unbecoming, and reflects disgrace upon the neighborhood.” Appleby continued, “I hold the office . . . of Justice of the Peace, when I am in my own County, but I am in the State. And I will give you to understand, that I do not loose the authority of suppressing vice and immorality, when I am here.” Appleby went on to say that it was ridiculous for the sects to send missionaries to the Indians to

teach them manners when the Indians were so much better behaved. Appleby suggested that Indians should be sent to teach the preachers some manners. At this point, the crowd quieted down, and Appleby reported, "The spirit of the Lord rested upon me, and I bore a faithful testimony. The congregation was attentive, and fairly quailed beneath the power of truth."⁸²

Easing of Tensions. Benjamin Winchester said that the reaction to his debates with the local clergy was that the people "were astonished at the conduct of the priests, and returned home with amazement . . . others knowing that slander, was no argument, and that there had no argument been adduced, to overthrow the doctrine that I had proclaimed, acknowledged that there was no scriptural argument that could be produced to overthrow it." Winchester said that as he "continued preaching, the prejudices of the people wore away, and there was a general spirit of inquiry."⁸³

Despite some opposition, prominent Mormons were able to gain and retain public positions after their conversions. After William Appleby converted to Mormonism, he took several months to visit Nauvoo, Illinois, the headquarters of the Church. A year after his return to Recklesstown, where he was serving as the president of the branch and doing missionary work, Appleby was reappointed as justice of the peace and associate judge for Burlington County for a five-year term.⁸⁴ The Ivinses of Toms River also maintained their prominent positions. Anthony continued his business and headed the crew to expand the waterway, as mentioned above. After Theodore McKean returned from Utah to Toms River, from 1855 to 1857 he simultaneously acted as both branch president of the Church there and as the deputy sheriff of Ocean County.⁸⁵

As Mormonism grew in the Pines, the opposition seemed, for the most part, to be less blatant. One local historian said, "It is generally conceded that the Mormon converts were noted for sincerity, industry, and frugality."⁸⁶ During Erastus Snow's labors in the regions from 1839 to 1842, he described little opposition. Despite rowdy behavior at meetings in the woods, Snow seemed to have had general community support. When Snow was at New Egypt, he was "warmly attacked by a young Methodist preacher, but the audience hissed at [Snow's opponent] until he became so much excited that he left the house before I got through answering his objections."⁸⁷

William Appleby also had an experience where the public came to his aid. In 1848, Appleby was intending to preach at Cream Ridge. However, a Mr. Stewart, who was the schoolmaster of the school where Appleby intended to hold his meeting, "went around the neighborhoods," Appleby was informed, "endeavouring to excite the people to prevent us from holding meeting, calling Mormons thieves, and Robbers." But "the trustees decided, as the House was free, for all; it was our privilege to



FIG. 6. Schoolhouse at Cream Ridge, New Jersey. Here Benjamin Winchester and other elders held crowded meetings. From Edward H. Anderson, "A Fragment of Church History," *Improvement Era* 11 (1908): 356.

occupy it, as well as others." Nevertheless, "it was feared by some (I believe) on the night of the meeting that the Master would lock up the House, and carry off the key, to prevent us from holding meeting in the House." As a preventive measure, "W. Peter H. Wikoff one of the Trustees . . . brought an axe along with him to open the door, if the preceding should be the case, but the key had been left," and Appleby was able to preach "to an overflowing House, All not being able to get in"⁸⁸ (fig. 6).

Andrew Hunter Scott, a local convert, described little opposition during his mission in the Pines from 1843 to 1845. Scott claimed that preachers continued to circulate slander, but of his own treatment, Scott said, "We Was treated verry Well. With one exception A man. Big By the name of Samuel Price at Bakers Vill said We ought to Be tared & fethered & drove out of the country this man Was a methodist."⁸⁹ Despite this one hostile engagement, Scott said his overall impression was that "the People Was verry Hospitable & in that Regeon of contry & may the lord Bless them for their kindness towards the Elders of Israel."⁹⁰

Nevertheless, the belief that Mormonism was less than rational persisted in the community. The feelings toward Mormons were perhaps typified in the dealings of William Appleby with a Mr. Van Doran, a Presbyterian minister. Appleby said that Van Doran allowed him to preach in the area and was "much of a gentleman." After much debate on religious matters, Van Doran's conclusion was that Appleby was "honest but deluded."⁹¹

Although in the Pines Mormonism may have been considered respectable, notorious, or something in-between, one thing is clear: Mormons in the Pines were treated better than their brethren in the Church's main body. There were no cases in the Pines of Mormons being mobbed, tarred and feathered, displaced, or abused in the ways that were typical of the treatment of the main body of the Church from New York to Nauvoo. While people in the Pines may have objected to Mormonism, few were hostile to their neighbors.

Missionary Rhetoric. One important interpretation of early Mormonism makes the point that tension between Mormons and the larger society was a result of Mormon rhetoric that tended to antagonize, particularly the assertions of Mormonism's superiority and other religions' faults.⁹² Such rhetoric occurred in the Pine Barrens in Benjamin Winchester's *Gospel Reflector* (a periodical out of Philadelphia), which, however, made the usual assertions in a relatively mild manner.⁹³

William Appleby, on the other hand, could condemn other churches with fervor. The best example of this zeal is a tract called *A Few Important Questions*—questions that were directed at local clergy. Appleby felt that if his questions were answered “in a Scriptural and reasonable manner, not in some dark mysterious spiritualized sense,” the answers would “show what a system of Priestcraft, in all its ungodly and hideous debauchery, has been for ages promulgated [*sic*], by false teachers, and is now extending far and wide over the plaine [*sic*] of Babel.” On the theme of sectarianism's conflicting doctrines, Appleby asked, “Is God the author of all this confusion, this heterogeneous mass of conflicting opinions, and compound of nonsense and absurdity?” On the clergy's claim that they had received the Apostles' commission, he said, “You have the same right and it is no more presumption, to say you must build an Ark, because God commanded Noah to build one: but your power is all assumed, and therefore, there is no power in it.” Appleby questioned sectarian authority further by asking:

Why do the sects hurl anathemas against the Church of Rome, when her authority is as good as theirs, for if they have got any, did they not get it from her, as nearly all the most notable sects sprung from her, and is she not denominated the “Mother of Harlots.” . . . Who are the Harlots if she is the Mother.

Appleby continued in a like manner and closed by saying that when the clergy finished answering his questions he would “have a few more” for them.⁹⁴ Apparently Appleby did not overconcern himself with muting his rhetoric.

Toleration of Other Religions. At the same time, some of the rhetoric and actions of the Mormons in the Pine Barrens demonstrate a degree of

tolerance for their neighbors. In the midst of his accusation that all sects were harlots, William Appleby conceded, "Yet I believe in all of them there are a great many honest hearted souls, living up to the best light and knowledge they have."⁹⁵ After criticizing of sects in his *Dissertation on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, Appleby qualified his statements: "But do not understand me, that I wish or have desire to undervalue the good that has arisen from the effects of the reformation." He then praised John Wesley. Finally, Appleby says that the sects "have a part of the Gospel, but not the fullness of it. But as I said before they have been the means of doing much good, and they will be rewarded for it. It has paved the way for the establishing of the Kingdom."⁹⁶ The tolerance that Appleby demonstrates seems to have been prevalent among the members throughout the Pine Barrens.

Another interesting indication of the Mormons' tolerance comes from the colporteurs of the American Tract Society. Although the colporteurs indicated that they viewed Mormons as heretics who needed to be reformed, they were pleased to report that "as a general thing however [the Mormons] purchased our Books as freely as any other members of the Community." Another said that "with very few exceptions we succeeded in producing a favorable state of mind in reference to ourselves & the objects of our mission, & seldom one refused to receive some book." Other instances included a "Mr. Irons a Mormon preacher who rec'd it kindly & promised to read it," and another Mormon, Mr. Bowne, who also received a tract thankfully.⁹⁷ The colporteurs found upon returning to the area that none of those Mormons seemed to be converted by their tracts. The peddlers' "efforts to benefit the Mormons who are quite numerous at Toms River seem to have proved fruitless. Their superstition appears to be so deeply rooted, and their self confidence so great, as effectually to shield them against the arrows of conviction."⁹⁸

Despite such concessions, Mormons in the Pines spoke out with less restraint when they felt attacked. William Appleby said he responded strongly because of the "glaring and controvertable falsehoods that are hurled upon us, from the clergy of the present day."⁹⁹ As Benjamin Winchester put it, "As for myself, my determination has ever been, not to partake of the spirit of slander, and of strife of this kind; but when the truth is attacked I always feel bound to boldly defend it." An example of Winchester's bold defense is his *Examination of the Lecture Delivered by the Rev. H. Perkins*. Of Perkins's speech, Winchester said, "Of all the absurdity, contradiction, and nonsense, that I ever heard drop from the lips of a man who professes literary talents, Mr. P's. crowned the climax." In response to Perkins's claim that Mormons needed to produce miracles in order to prove the validity of their doctrine, Winchester pointed out that both the Devil and the Pharisees had requested the same of Jesus: "Therefore, Mr. P., seeing that you have followed the example of your great prototype, (the Devil,) and your

predecessors, (the Pharisees,) in asking for a sign, I have no hesitation in believing that you are a child of the Devil." Winchester realized the contrast to his more moderate style but still felt justified in that "some may think strange of my sharpness, and say that I have not charity; but I can testify that I have the same kind of charity that Jesus had for the Pharisees."¹⁰⁰

Mormons viewed the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith as the ultimate act of persecution. After the Prophet's death in June 1844, Mormon rhetoric in the Pines became strident. Of the martyrdom, William Appleby said, "Innocent blood . . . has been shed in this boasted land of liberty, . . . shed by mobs composed of wicked men, aided, and abetted by Priest & People, winked at by Judges & Rulers, and no redress has been had, or atonement made." Because of this, Appleby agreed with Brigham Young that the Church should move west in order to "leave the Mobs and Gentiles, to perish in their own abominations."¹⁰¹ Appleby promoted the idea of migration by asking the Mormons in the East, "Will you be content . . . to sit down here at your ease among the Gentiles . . . when this nation has rejected the Gospel of peace offered to them, our Prophet and Patriarch slain by cruel mobs and the Church driven into the wilderness."¹⁰² Appleby went so far as to say, "I do not believe there was a crime existing, practiced, or committed before the flood in the days of Noah, or among the Sodomites before their destruction, that is not perpetrated, committed and practiced, by this generation." Appleby then goes on to accuse the Gentiles of almost all sins imaginable.¹⁰³

Yet even during these tirades, Appleby counseled the Saints (perhaps contradictorily) to "speak evil of no one, neither cast reflections upon the Government, for the persecutions we have received. Our wrongs are known in heaven, and they have been told on earth, and let that suffice—be wise!"¹⁰⁴ Thus attempting to label Mormon rhetoric in the Pines as either conciliatory or divisive is a difficult task. Benjamin Winchester summed up the Mormons' seemingly contradictory acts with two statements. First, in reference to the good of the Protestant Reformation, he wrote, "It is true they done good by moralizing the world, but the doctrines they taught were contrary to the Holy Scriptures." Second, Mormons "have charity for both Protestants, and Catholics; but we do not believe their doctrines to be altogether correct."¹⁰⁵

The Succession Crisis

The New Jersey Saints were faced with a challenge much greater than public scorn in June 1844, when Joseph Smith was martyred at Carthage, Illinois. Mormons were now faced with the question of who would be the Prophet's successor as Brigham Young, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, and

James Strang all put forth claims. Brigham Young was able to quickly gain support of a strong majority of the Church in Nauvoo, but the conflict went on much longer in the eastern branches.

Soon after Rigdon's split with Brigham Young in September 1844, Rigdon made a trip to branches in New Egypt and Woodstown, New Jersey, where he won support.¹⁰⁶ Early in 1845, Jedediah Grant and Andrew Hunter Scott were sent to Woodstown to rectify the situation. When they arrived, Scott said they "found the minds of the Saints in that Branch much troubled in consequence of the false teachings Sidney Rigdon and his Saitatites [?] they confessed that they had lost all of the good Spirit that they once had they had had none meetings for a long time." Grant and Scott proceeded to recommit the branch, convincing all but three people.¹⁰⁷

In late 1845, William Appleby heard that J. H. Newton, a Mormon missionary in the area, was preaching in favor of Rigdon at New Egypt. Appleby made an appointment to refute Newton's teachings the next evening, "but he stopped [Newton stopped] next morning and went to Mount Holly about 15 miles distant. However I replied to him in the evening, exposing the fallacy of his reasonings."¹⁰⁸

William Appleby played a major part in battling apostates in the region. In a circular to the eastern branches, Appleby counseled the Saints, "When you pray for yourself, pray also for them [the Twelve], and see if you do not have testimony to know where the authority of the Priesthood is, and who has a right to lead the Church, and be not deceived."¹⁰⁹ Appleby's testimony came from a vision he had in September of 1845. In it he saw Joseph Smith, who counseled him about the importance of the latter-day work and, "with tears rolling down his cheeks," told Appleby to "never find any fault, or lift [a] hand against the Servants of God."¹¹⁰

Appleby felt he understood the purpose of the vision when he heard of William Smith's excommunication. William Smith sent Appleby a pamphlet that promoted Smith's claim against the Twelve, "but his Pamphlet took no effect on me," Appleby said. Appleby conceded that "there was quite a time with some of the disaffected members of the Church after Joseph's death, in regard to who should stand as President of the Church &c."¹¹¹ Appleby was nevertheless optimistic about the effects of the succession crisis in the East:

Apostate spirits and aspiring men, the past year, have been prowling about, seeking whom they could deceive and lead astray, but their success has been but limited, and I think it has rather been a benefit to the Church than a detriment, for the disaffected spirits have followed them, and the few honest ones that were deceived by them for a time, are seeing their error, and returning to the true fold."¹¹²

In his journal, Appleby added that apostates "will gather the Chaff and tares for the burning."¹¹³

The succession crisis continued. In 1846, Jesse Little, as president of the Eastern States Mission, warned the Saints in the East:

It is not likely that the summer will pass without the eastern churches being infested with apostates and disaffected spirits, who will prowl about, and try to destroy the Church, but inasmuch as the Presiding Elders are good shepherds, they can preserve the good sheep. Give them no place nor quarters among you, and spend not one hour in hearing . . . self-righteous hypocrites retail slander, or tell foolish tales respecting our brethren, who have to suffer every reproach and danger.¹¹⁴

Although the “Presiding Elders” were able to retain the majority of the Church members in the Pines, schism, particularly that due to the followers of James Strang, continued to cause turmoil in New Jersey. Many branches in the area stopped meeting because of the confusion. When William Appleby visited Toms River in October 1848, he found that the Mormons there had not “had any meetings for some two or three years.” Appleby found that Ephraim Potter, a disaffected Mormon, had been “an instrument . . . in doing much injury to the cause.” Appleby rectified the situation. He called a meeting for the next day and reorganized the branch, and five more people were baptized. That evening he preached to a full house in the school. This revival of Mormonism in Toms River was apparently a disappointment to many in the city. Appleby said that outside during his meeting people were “cursing, swearing groaning &c. No doubt Satan was mad because we had baptised some; as a day or two before it was remarked, (before they knew we were in the place) ‘Mormonism was dead.’ But Lo! and behold, it had come to life there again, Enough to make him and his commissaries mad.”¹¹⁵ Appleby left Toms River at the end of the month in an optimistic mood. His hopes appear to have been warranted: the Mormons built a meetinghouse there two years later.

There continued to be difficulties further inland, however, for William Smith along with Aaron Hooks arrived at Cream Ridge and convinced seven or eight of Smith’s position. John Huggins was put in charge of making things ready for William Smith to preach there the next Sunday. Upon hearing this, William Appleby quickly made his way to Cream Ridge to rectify the situation and hopefully engage Smith that Sunday. Appleby said that when Smith found out that Appleby was waiting for him he decided not to go to Cream Ridge, but to send Aaron Hooks instead. Appleby made quick work of Hooks and rebaptized John Huggins and all the other deserters shortly after.¹¹⁶

The succession crisis gave Mormonism in the Pine Barrens every opportunity to fall apart. But through the diligence of Little, Appleby, Grant, Scott, and others, the Church units in the Pines survived. Appleby declared in 1847:

Though Apostates and wicked men, have tried and used their utmost endeavors, and resorted to every subterfuge, to try to overthrow the Church, and

drive the Priesthood from the earth, and prostrate the Kingdom of God, yet what do we behold? The Church and Kingdom rolls steadily on, every day gives it a new impetus and every moment accelerates its speed, and all her opposers are going to the shades of forgetfulness, and ere long will be buried in oblivion and remembered no more.¹¹⁷

The Call West

Simultaneous to the succession crisis, the diligent Church members of the Pines had their faith tried when Brigham Young made known his plan to move the Church west. This policy was promoted aggressively to the eastern Saints. In 1846, Jesse Little, then president of the Eastern States Mission, told the Saints they needed to move west in order to “enter into your secret chambers, as it were, for a little season, until the indignation be o’er past, for behold the Lord cometh out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their iniquity.”¹¹⁸

William Appleby also had promoted the move west in a circular a year later. Of the Brethren’s counsel to move west, Appleby asked, “Shall we not harken to their counsel, gather with and assist them in bearing off the Kingdom. . . ?” And like Little, Appleby felt that the Saints must “flee from the impending storm that is about to burst with fury upon all nations, for the Lord God of Israel has began to plead with the nations: with flood and fire, storms, tempests.” Appleby saw that

already the clouds of War are gathering thick and fast around in our *own once happy land*; consternation, fear and divisions are on every side, and the people cannot comprehend the meaning or result. But permit me to say, that the Destroying Angel has been commissioned to go forth in his anger . . . scattering death and destruction with unsparing hand.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless, in the same circular Appleby counseled the Saints in the East to “let all the organizations of the branches be kept up, and let every Presiding Officer do his duty.”¹²⁰

Many from New Jersey left on the *Brooklyn* with Sam Brannan and sailed around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1846. William Appleby was in charge of preparing for a similar voyage the year after, “but war being declared between Mexico and the United States, the voyage for the present was abandoned,” and in fact, never again attempted.¹²¹ Between 1846 and 1853, only a few moved west “owing to the unsettled condition of the church.”¹²² In 1853, a group including the Ivins family left for Utah from New Jersey. A local history said that 1853 was a difficult year for the Methodist Church in Toms River because “many families were split, due to the conversion of some family members to the Mormon faith” and their leaving New Jersey.¹²³

Andrew Hunter Scott. The difficulties of leaving home were probably best illustrated by the experience of Andrew Scott (fig. 7). In 1845, Scott went to Nauvoo to see the Church's headquarters and to attend the temple there. While he was there, Brigham Young told Scott his intentions to move west. Of this decision, Scott said, "All this caused me to Reflect much upon my own future welfare my family in a far distant Contray, Separated By lofty Mountains & other great natural Barriers almost insurmountable at this season of the year Some 2000 miles distant after Some days meditation the Best course for me to pursue I Concluded to obey the Council of Brigham Young."¹²⁴ Scott's first item of business was to convince his wife that moving west was the best course: "This was a heavy Shock for her, for She was a member of the methodist Church & did not Believe in the doctrine of the Saint." Scott worked on his wife until "her mind was somewhat Convinced of the truth & She agreed to go with me the next Spring."¹²⁵



FIG. 7. Andrew Hunter Scott, 1815–74. Scott, a native of Pennsylvania, was active in missionary work in the New Jersey Pine Barrens. From Frank Elwood Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 275.

Scott then began settling his business. Two or three weeks before he was to leave in 1846, he "was Seised with a violent Inflammation on my Lungs which Brought me verry Low nigh unto deth. I Recovered A Little in 4 weeks But Continud verry misarable for Some time I than gave up all hopes of gethering that Spring." By this time, all the money that Scott had intended to use for moving west had gone to support his family while he was sick. "So I Prayed much unto the Lord to direct me in what I Should do," he wrote, "& Soon embarked in a Business of Keeping an eating House wherein I made in 2 years Sufficent to gether up to Sion." As Scott again began to plan to move west, his wife "began to oppose me again By Saying She would not go with me & that I Should not take the Children."¹²⁶

Scott continued with his preparations. He sold his dining establishment and prepared to sell the rest of his property. In 1850, he took a trip to meet with Church members in Philadelphia, and when he returned four days later, he discovered his wife had decamped:

[I] found my House Striped of nearley everything valuable By my wife & 2 of my Children, She had taken & Left of hid herself untill I was gone. I acknowledge the Hand of the Lord in this thing for She had Been a torment to me for years But I will Say this mutch in her favour She was a good woman in all things except She Could not Believe the Religion of the Saints.¹²⁷

He sold what his wife had not taken, took his two remaining children, and started west in company with Church members from Philadelphia. Andrew Hunter Scott eventually settled in Provo, Utah, where he later served as mayor.

William Appleby. When William Appleby headed west in 1849, his mother would not see him off because it would “only add to [her] already severe trials and augment [her] sorrow.” Appleby explained to his mother that, although he regretted causing her such grief,

I go because I solemnly feel and believe it to be my duty before my God imperative and binding for my salvation and exaltation in Eternity. I go in the name and strength of Jesus, under the care of my Heavenly Parent, to meet my brethren whom I love, and mingle with those holding the Keys of the Priesthood of the Son of God. I bid you all an affectionate farewell. May Heaven’s choicest blessings rest upon you, my dear—my kind aged and tender Mother. Nothing on earth would caused me to leave you, but for the cause of my Saviour, And those who will not leave all for his sake, he says are not worthy of him.

I hope to see you again in the flesh, as it is quite probable I may be this way again before many years, if my life should be preserved. But if it is the will of Heaven we should not meet again in time, I hope and trust we may in a Celestial world. Therefore let Heaven be your hope, and the spirit of the Lord your consolation, and neither fret, mourn, or sorrow for me. I am in the hands of my God and under his protection, and make the sacrifice to his names, honored and glory. These are the sentiments of my soul.¹²⁸

Appleby successfully completed the trek and did indeed return to the East on a mission from 1856 to 1859, but he never saw his mother again, as she passed away in fall 1851.¹²⁹

Ivins and McKean Families. In 1853, two years after Anthony Ivins Sr. died, his family split up when his widow, Sarah, and two sons, Anthony Jr. and Israel, moved to Utah. They left behind three siblings who had not converted and also Margaret, who remained in New Jersey to be with her husband, Washington McKean. The Ivinses took with them Theodore McKean (Margaret and Washington’s son), who had joined the Church just two years earlier.

Even though these people had a great deal at stake financially, they were willing to go west.¹³⁰ Theodore wrote:

Several inducements to engage in business of a lucrative character were offered by my friends but my Heavenly Father through dreams and the agency of His Spirit led me to decline them as the whisperings of the spirit

was to “beware of intanglements in business lest your way be hedged up that you can not gather with the Saints.” Many obstacles were thrown in the way of gathering, but my Heavenly Father overruled them.¹³¹

Theodore made several trips from Utah back to the East and finally brought his wife and children to Utah in 1857.¹³² He served a mission to the East in 1869, and when he returned to Utah in 1870, he brought his mother to Utah for a short time. In Salt Lake City, Margaret McKean had her temple ordinances performed in the Endowment House.¹³³ She returned to New Jersey but moved to Utah permanently in 1883 (her husband having died in 1877). Even before Margaret left New Jersey, the Church in Toms River had dwindled to the point that “no Mormon services [were] held in Ocean County” after 1878.¹³⁴

A Time of Decline

In 1856, the *New Brunswick (New Jersey) Daily News* reported that “the fact may not be generally known, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that we have a flourishing Mormon Church in full blast in New Jersey at Toms River. . . . Their number is quite large and is increasing.”¹³⁵ Also in 1856, the *Zion’s Advocate* in Portland, Maine, reported that “there is a large Mormon Church in Ocean County, New Jersey, which is said to be proselyting young men and women very fast. . . . They maintain all the tenets of the Mormon church stoutly,” and “although prevented by law from practicing polygamy, they warmly defend and advocate it, and that by a course and style of argument not at all calculated to elevate the morals of the place.” The story continued, “They have preachers residing there and priests of a higher grade frequently visiting them from Salt Lake City and New York.”¹³⁶

One of the “higher grade” priests who visited from Salt Lake was Theodore McKean. Theodore had returned to Toms River in December 1855 on business for his uncle Anthony. From then until 1857, Theodore presided over the branch at Toms River, “having been appointed to that position by Elder John Taylor who was presiding in the east.” (Taylor was the president of the Eastern States Mission at that time and most likely the “higher grade” priest out of New York.) Theodore said that during his stay in Toms River “the power of God was made manifest in a remarkable degree and [I] was blessed in my labors.”¹³⁷ McKean also noted that he was blessed to be “appointed deputy Sheriff of Ocean Co. N. J. and did considerable surveying, clerking etc. to provide for my family.”¹³⁸ Appleby was also back in the East from 1857 to 1859, serving as a missionary and, for part of that time, as president of the Eastern States Mission. The 1860s seem to mark the point of the Church’s decline in the Pines. Despite this decline, many Saints in the area remained faithful, including John Irons, who was baptized in 1860 and migrated to Utah in 1863.¹³⁹

The details of what happened to the Mormons who remained in New Jersey are sketchy. The Mormons in Utah seem to have lost track of members in the East generally as there was no Eastern States Mission from 1869 until 1893. When the mission reopened, Church leaders were able to account for only fifty-five members in all of New Jersey.¹⁴⁰ Local histories describe some events. In 1878 a Reverend William Small went to New Egypt and founded a Mormon sect.¹⁴¹ This sect was apparently one of the splinter groups, as they did not “believe in polygamy, and claim[ed] to be the original followers of Joseph Smith.”¹⁴² The members sold the meeting-house at Hornerstown to the Catholics, who tore it down, and although the Church organization was gone from Hornerstown, “a few people remained favorably impressed with the principles.”¹⁴³ In 1878 the members in Toms River finally sold their church building “due to lack of membership,”¹⁴⁴ and no more meetings were held after that year. By 1899, a local historian said that “the Mormons who were making such inroads in the early ‘50s, are now a thing of the past,” although an 1890 census listed twenty Mormons in Toms River.¹⁴⁵ Apparently, many of these Mormons still desired to move west. Of these stranded Mormons a local history stated:

Although the local church as an organization had ceased to exist some time previously, there were still many members of that faith in the town. A singular condition of affairs in several homes there was that some of the furniture and household goods which had been made ready for packing, years previously, in anticipation of removing to Salt Lake, still remained in the same condition, hoping they would yet be called to join their brethren in that western city of the Saints. But for some of them that time never came, and their eyes finally closed without having had a view of the long wished-for and far way land of promise in Utah.¹⁴⁶

Conclusion

For a time, Mormonism was an important force in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey. A significant number of people joined the Church, and some converts were among the most respected citizens in their communities. These factors, along with many prejudices in the community about Mormonism, caused the “Mormon invasion”¹⁴⁷ into the Pines to receive a good deal of attention—often in the form of animosity. Nevertheless, relations between Church members in the area and their neighbors were in many respects better than those between the Church’s main body and its neighbors. This relatively peaceful coexistence suggests that converts in the Pine Barrens enjoyed a different community dynamic than was experienced by the main body of the Church. This difference, however, did not involve any lack of faithfulness, for these Saints demonstrated their loyalty through times of trial and sacrifice.

Further study of early Mormonism in the Pine Barrens might show that it resembles the view of modern-day Mormonism more than the typical

view of early Mormonism: many historians claim that Mormonism has changed, as it is held in much higher regard by American society than previously, and that the Church today seeks a cooperative relationship with its neighbors.¹⁴⁸ But the Pine Barrens case shows that adjustments may need to be made to such claims. Study of the Church in the Pine Barrens and other peripheral communities can enrich our understanding of lesser-known experiences of early Mormonism and, hence, improve our comprehension of the broad sweep of “everything before it.”

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1. Winchester had been proselytizing in the Philadelphia area since 1837, but apparently made his first foray into the Pine Barrens in 1838. “Minutes of a Conference of Elders and Members of the Church of the Latter Day Saints Held in West Township, Columbiana Co. O. Oct 6, 1837,” *The Elder’s Journal of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* 1 (October 1837): 15. See also David J. Whittaker, “East of Nauvoo: Benjamin Winchester and the Early Mormon Church,” *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (fall 1995): 35; and Benjamin Winchester, “Letter of Benjamin Winchester June 18, 1839,” *Times and Seasons* 1, no. 1 (November 1839): 10.

2. Winchester, “Letter of Benjamin Winchester June 18, 1839,” 10.

3. Winchester, “Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18, 1839,” 11.

4. Erastus Snow, Journal, 23–24, Erastus Snow Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections). Cream Ridge was a small city in New Jersey, appearing on few maps. Mormon missionaries often refer to being “on” Cream Ridge as though they are referring to it as a geographical location rather than an organized town.

5. Edwin Salter, *A History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, N.J.: E. Gardner and Sons, 1890), 253, microfiche, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Lee Library).

6. “Minutes of a Conference of Elders and Members, of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Held in the City of Philadelphia, Saturday, October 17th, 1840,” *Times and Seasons* 2, no. 1 (November 1840): 216. *Times and Seasons* lists him as A. Wilson, but since Alfred Wilson was the only A. Wilson (in fact the only Wilson) recorded as a member in the Pines, I have listed his full name.

7. Report of William Smith, *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 2 (November 1841): 599.

8. William Appleby, who visited Nauvoo in 1841, reports that a group including Charles Ivins moved to Nauvoo that same year. William I. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 1848–56, microfilm of holograph, 54, Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives). John Horner, the first in his family to be baptized, went to Nauvoo in 1843. John M. Horner, “Adventures of a Pioneer: Embracing the Struggles and Triumphs of a Long and Busy Life,” *Improvement Era* 7 (1903): 513.

Church history records indicate that William Smith arrived in Nauvoo on April 22, 1844, "from New Jersey with some forty or fifty Saints." Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 6:342.

9. William I. Appleby, "Letter from W. J. Appleby, Esq.," *Times and Seasons* 3, no. 13 (May 1842): 778. *Times and Seasons* apparently misread Appleby's middle initial to be a J instead of an I. It is quite clear that "W. J. Appleby" here was William Ivins Appleby, as this passage appears in William Ivins Appleby's journal.

10. Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck, 1885), 628, microfiche, Lee Library.

11. New York New York City Mission, "History of the Church in New York City," 1986, typescript, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives).

12. American Tract Society, *Transcriptions of Early Church Records of New Jersey: Colporteur Reports to the American Tract Society, 1841–1846* (Newark, N.J.: Historical Records Survey, 1940), 34.

13. *Biographical Cyclopedia of Ocean County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: A. D. Smith, 1899), 71, microfiche, Lee Library.

14. Ocean County Principal's Council, *Tides of Time in Ocean County* (Philadelphia: C. E. Howe, 1940), 143, microfiche, Lee Library.

15. *The Messenger* (Allentown, New Jersey), August 24, 1905, quoted in Edward H. Anderson, "A Fragment of Church History," *Improvement Era* 11 (1908): 356.

16. *Biographical Cyclopedia*, 71.

17. While the first Latter-day Saint church meetinghouse was built in 1850, the Methodists did not build a church until 1852, and the Presbyterians not until 1857. Ocean County Principal's Council, *Tides of Time in Ocean County*, 143; Fred Graham Bunnell, ed., *A Brief History of the First Presbyterian Church of Toms River, N.J.* (n.p., 1935), 5, microfiche, Lee Library.

18. *Biographical Cyclopedia of Ocean County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: A. D. Smith, 1899), 71, microfiche, Lee Library.

19. Publications that deal with Mormons in the Pines include Ronald W. Walker, "Rachel R. Grant: The Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15, no. 3 (1982): 105–21; and Whittaker, "East of Nauvoo," 30–83. Both of these deal with events of early Mormonism in New Jersey but focus on the lives of individuals rather than the story as a whole. Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 353–58, deals with early Church in New Jersey as a whole but not in much depth, as the title and length suggest.

20. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 81. Toms River is located on the coast and is technically not located in the Pines but is on the border. Growing cranberries is now the principle industry.

21. John W. Sinton, "Creating the Landscape," in *Pinelands Folklife*, ed. Rita Zorn Moonsammy, David Steven Cohen, and Lorraine C. Williams (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 45. "Pinelands" is the preferred way of referring to the Pine Barrens today. The Pinelands were set aside as a National Reserve by President Carter in 1978.

22. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 63, 81.

23. Joseph G. Smoot, ed., "Journal of William S. Potts: A Mission in the Pines of New Jersey in 1826," *New Jersey History* 106 (spring/summer 1988): 61–86.

24. The American Tract Society was a multid denominational Protestant group that sent representatives throughout antebellum America selling traditional Calvinistic works at cost. From 1841 to 1846, students attending Princeton decided to spend their

summers proselytizing for the American Tract Society throughout New Jersey. David Paul Nord, "Religious Reading and Readers in Antebellum America," *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 2 (1995): 242. *Colporteur* is a French word for peddler. The colporteurs were peddling religious tracts.

25. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 108, 49, 81, 63, 10, respectively.

26. F. W. Mayer, "In the Pines," *Atlantic Monthly* 3 (1859): 566–68, quoted in David Steven Cohen, *Folk Legacies Revisited* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 50.

27. Theodore McKean, "Family Record of Theodore McKean: Ancestors and Descendants, Formerly of Toms River Ocean County, New Jersey, now of Salt Lake City Utah," [112], Perry Special Collections.

28. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 63.

29. The colporteurs apparently did not consider Quakerism to be an acceptable form of religion as they considered it one of their chief duties to battle "Quaker influence." See American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 107–13.

30. Smoot, "Journal of William S. Potts," 64.

31. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 78, 81.

32. Smoot, "Journal of William S. Potts," 62–63.

33. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 81.

34. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 16.

35. For studies claiming that Mormonism appealed to the lowest strata of society, see Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989), 115–20; Marvin Hill, *Quest for Refuge: The Mormon Flight from American Pluralism* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989), 1–17; and Mario S. De Pillis, "The Social Sources of Mormonism," *Church History* 37, no. 1 (1968): 50–79. These authors use such terms as "socially disinherited," "characteristically poor, uprooted, unschooled, and unsophisticated" when describing Mormon converts. De Pillis specifies Monmouth County, New Jersey, in "Social Sources," 79.

36. *Biographical Cyclopeda*, 71.

37. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 253.

38. Pauline S. Miller, *Early History of Toms River and Dover Township* (n.p., 1967), 25, microfiche, Lee Library.

39. McKean, "Family Record," [115]. When the proposal for the county to build their own courthouse was put forward, Thomas and Anthony Ivins offered to donate land for the courthouse to be built on (the offer was not accepted). Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 25. Instead, the courthouse was built on land donated by a Mr. Cloward.

Anthony Ivins Sr.'s son Edward was a principal on the Ocean County Bank, sheriff of Ocean County, and builder of a yacht named after himself. Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 26.

40. Edwin Salter and G. C. Beckman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth* (n.p., n.d.), 144, microfiche, Lee Library.

41. Washington McKean was a board member of the Raritan and Delaware Bay Rail Road Company. Washington Street in Toms River was named for him. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 621; Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 12, 21; Salter and Beckman, *Old Times in Old Monmouth*, 144.

42. Smoot, "Journal of William S. Potts," 73. A Margaret Ivins and a Mrs. Washington McKean are both listed. I understand them to be the same person.

43. Bunnell, *First Presbyterian Church of Toms River*, 5. Washington's father, David, was also active in the Presbyterian Church at Allentown, acting as a ruling elder. Washington and Margaret's daughter also did not join the Church. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 627.

44. McKean, "Family Record," [115]. Theodore says that before his conversion he was "not religiously inclined." In his early years, Theodore McKean's education included attending "the village school at Toms River," being sent to boarding school, "according to the ancient usages," at New Egypt, and receiving tutoring at home. When Theodore was not studying, he "was employed principally in my father's store, where, some of the intricacies of merchandising became a study." McKean was thus engaged until he was sixteen, when "Professor William Mann of Mount Holly, Burlington County, N.J., a friend of my parents, took charge of my education at his Academy at that place. There all the higher branches of learning were taught including languages; the Professor being a linguist of no common order." At Mann's academy, Theodore was also taught "theoretical and practical surveying and civil engineering, . . . and a thorough course of study in that branch was given me, besides other branches of learning common to a high school of that character." McKean, "Family Record," [112–14]. See E. M. Woodward and John F. Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties, New Jersey, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Their Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1883), 187–88, for information about Mann's academy.

45. McKean, "Family Record," [116].

46. Theodore McKean used these skills in Utah. A synopsis of McKean's life, found in the front matter of McKean, "Family Record," says that he was

prominently and actively identified with every important movement in the community. He was a leading figure in military affairs, attaining the rank of colonel; he held the position of territorial marshal, territorial road commissioner, sheriff and surveyor of Salt Lake county, collector of internal revenue, county assessor, and for 16 years a member of the Salt Lake City council. He was one of the explorers of the Weber valley for coal, and discovered the Grass Creek vein. He was a director, later vice president, and for a time superintendent of Z.C.M.I.; and was also interested in railroads, politics and fine horse breeding. . . . In all the walks of life he was steadfast and faithful, and had a genial personality.

Superintendent of the Salt Lake Asylum and Hospital could have been added to this list. McKean, "Family Record," [131].

47. Salter, *Monmouth and Oceanside Counties*, 252.

48. Rachel Ivins Grant, "How I Became a Mormon," 1, typescript, Church Archives. Rachel Ivins married Jedediah Grant and was the mother of Heber J. Grant.

49. For information on the Horners, who lived in Hornerstown, and the Robbinses, who lived in Recklesstown, see frequent mentions in Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*. For information on the Wikoffs, who lived at Cream Ridge, see Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 353–58.

50. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18, 1839," 11.

51. Salter, *Monmouth and Oceanside Counties*, 253; Andrew Hunter Scott, "Journal, 1844–1869," under "A. H. Scotts Boock," Papers of Andrew Hunter Scott, Perry Special Collections.

52. Appleby's parents were able to provide only the "means of a limited education." Appleby says that he "was possessed with quite an ambitious—and persevering spirit" and therefore made an effort to "shun low company," and endeavored "to get into company of those whom I considered as good or a little better than myself" but "never to disperse the virtuous poor." Despite his lack of formal training, "on rainy days, or of leisure I would be at my desk, reading, writing, studying Arithmetic &c, endeavouring to gain what knowledge I could, and add to what little I had already acquired, . . .

and while at school, always endeavoured to excel and retain the head of my Class." Appleby therefore acquired an education "by personal application to the studying of Books—and by practice. . . . I took great delight, after I had learned to read, in studying and perusing Books of different kinds, History, Biographies, &c." Appleby summed up his interests by saying, "Any thing sublime either of nature, eloquence, or art, I had strong attachment for it." Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 3, 7, 10.

In addition, his journal was filled with his poetry, and he apparently delighted in elaborate calligraphy. Ronald G. Watt, "Calligraphy in Brigham Young's Office," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (1977): 265–69.

53. Woodward and Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*, 284.

54. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 28–34. It should be noted that Winchester's writings are well written and logical. In addition, Appleby complains of finding in his youth that the Methodists were illogical. Pratt apparently gave a very detailed account of the spiritual foundations of Mormonism, which Appleby recorded. The account adds some details to the common understanding of the events.

55. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 35–36. Alfred Wilson died in the Pines without being able to move west. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 253.

56. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 37–40.

57. William I. Appleby, *A Few Important Questions* (1843; reprint, Independence, Mo.: Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Rare Reprints, 1990).

Appleby demonstrated an excellent knowledge of Western and Christian history in *A Dissertation on Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: Showing That the Kingdom Spoken of by Daniel the Prophet Was Not Set Up in the Days of the Apostles; and the Order of the Kingdom Explained* (Philadelphia: Brown, Bicking, and Guilbert, 1844), microfilm, Lee Library.

Appleby makes free use of Latin phrases in his tract *Mormonism Consistent!* (1843; reprint, Independence, Mo.: Joseph Smith, Jr.'s Rare Reprints, 1990).

58. Influential men signed a statement declaring Appleby to be a man of "morality, veracity, integrity, and truth." Sixteen people signed the note, only two of whom were Mormons. The non-Mormon signers included William Price Sr., J. W. Brown, and James Pearce, who were, indeed, influential in Recklesstown, where Appleby was residing. William Price Sr. was the first keeper of the town tavern as well as a manager of a drugstore. J. W. Brown was listed as one of Recklesstown's freeholders. James Pearce was one of the first merchants in the town, the keeper of the tavern after William Price, and the first postmaster in the town. Woodward and Hageman, *History of Burlington and Mercer Counties*, 167, 287, 288. I was not able to locate information on the other signatories, but the above three were prominent in the town. Running the tavern was apparently a prominent position in the town. It should be noted that William Price was William Appleby's father-in-law. Appleby wrote that among these men "my religious opinions made but little difference." Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 55.

59. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 51–54. Appleby, however, was able to be involved in education in Utah, acting as librarian and a regent for the University of Deseret.

60. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 53. Appleby continued to have health problems after this time, and at one point, his lungs began to hemorrhage.

61. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 56. In Utah, Appleby served as a personal secretary to Brigham Young, a clerk for a Utah court, a treasurer for the Territory of Utah, and a regent and librarian for the University of Deseret.

62. Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 19.

63. *The Messenger* (Allentown, New Jersey), August 24, 1905, quoted in Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 356.

64. James L. Wikoff, letter to the editor, *The Messenger* (Allentown, New Jersey), August 24, 1905, quoted in Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 355.

65. Snow, Journal, 30.

66. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 122, 123.

67. William Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," 1897, typescript, 2, Church Archives.

68. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839," 10.

69. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839," 11.

70. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839," 10.

71. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 253.

72. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839," 10.

73. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 253–54.

74. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 55.

75. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 33, 34, 16.

76. Scott, "Journal," under "A. H. Scotts Boock" and "Chapter 2nd 1844."

77. *The Messenger* (Allentown, New Jersey), August 24, 1905, quoted in Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 353–54.

78. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 628. Reverend Henry Perkins (1796–1880) graduated from the theological seminary at Princeton in 1820 and began his ministry at Allentown at that time. His Presbyterian congregation at Allentown grew significantly under his ministry, and Perkins is remembered as "faithful and affectionate as a pastor, ever seeking the highest good of his people." Ironically, Washington McKean's father, David McKean, was an elder in Perkins's congregation. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 628–29, 640–41.

79. Benjamin Winchester, *An Examination of a Lecture Delivered by the Rev. H. Perkins*, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Library).

80. Snow, Journal, 31, 32.

81. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 243.

82. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 130–31.

83. Winchester, "Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839," 10.

84. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 106–7.

85. McKean, "Family Record," [120–21]. Theodore left New Jersey for Utah with several family members in 1853. He stayed in Utah less than a month and then headed back to New Jersey "to the astonishment and surprise of my family and friends." While there, he purchased merchandise for his uncle Anthony Jr., then returned to Utah in April 1854. In 1855, Theodore again headed to the East to do business for Anthony. He stayed in Toms River until 1857, at which time he left with his wife and children and settled more permanently in Utah. McKean, "Family Record," [118–20]. Theodore's uncle, Edward Ivins, was the county sheriff. Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 26.

86. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 253.

87. Snow, Journal, 29–30.

88. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 243. Peter Wikoff may have been a member of the Church, as many Wikoffs from the area joined.

89. Scott, "Journal," under "A. H. Scotts Boock."

90. Scott, "Journal," under "Chapter 2nd 1844."

91. Appleby, Autobiography and Journal, 132.

92. R. Laurence Moore, *Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 25–47. Moore asserts that "Mormons were different

because they said they were different and because their claims, frequently advanced in the most obnoxious way possible, prompted others to agree and to treat them as such.” Moore claims that it was this rhetoric that “brought down upon them the brutal persecution that they suffered.” Moore, *Religious Outsiders*, 31, 32.

93. See especially “The Present Condition of Both Jews and Gentiles with Regard to Religion,” *Gospel Reflector* 1, no. 1 (1841): 4–14; “The Present Condition of the Religious World Represented by the Similitude of a Dream,” *Gospel Reflector* 1, no. 1 (1841): 14–18; and “Dear Sir,” *Gospel Reflector* 1, no. 2 (1841): 44–48.

94. William I. Appleby, *A Few Important Questions* (1843; reprint, Independence, Mo.: Joseph Smith, Jr.’s Rare Reprints, 1990), 3, 7, 9, 12. See also Appleby, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*, for similar assertions.

95. Appleby, *A Few Important Questions*, 9.

96. Appleby, *Nebuchadnezzar’s Dream*, 20.

97. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 16, 100, 18, 19.

98. American Tract Society, *Early Church Records of New Jersey*, 11.

99. Appleby, *A Few Important Questions*, 1.

100. Winchester, “Letter of Benjamin Winchester, June 18th, 1839,” 10; Winchester, *Examination of a Lecture*, 1–2, 6, 12. William Appleby had a similar run-in with A. H. Wickersham in Delaware. See Appleby, *Mormonism Consistent!*

101. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 217, 152.

102. William I. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ of Latter-day Saints in the East* (Philadelphia: Bicking and Guilbert Printers, 1847), 4.

103. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 244. Appleby was seemingly obsessed with the notion of the nation’s wickedness leading to the Apocalypse. Two of the items he wrote on this subject are a tract called *Signs of the Times*, which I have not been able to locate, and a poem in his journal, pages 231–32.

104. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 5.

105. “Present Condition of Both Jews and Gentiles,” 12; “Dear Sir,” 45.

106. Thomas J. Gregory, “Sidney Rigdon: Post Nauvoo,” *BYU Studies* 21, no. 1 (1981): 51–52.

107. Scott, “Journal,” under “Chapter 2nd 1844.”

108. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 134.

109. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 7.

110. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 149.

111. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 149. Williams Smith’s pamphlet has not been located.

112. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 5.

113. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 164.

114. Jesse C. Little, *Circular. To the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Scattered Abroad through the Eastern and Middle States: Greeting* (Peterborough, N.H.: n.p., 1846), 4.

115. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 243.

116. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 246.

117. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 3.

118. Little, *Circular*, 3.

119. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 5, 7.

120. Appleby, *Circular to the Church of Christ*, 4.

121. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 163.

122. Sharp, “‘Mormons’ in New Jersey,” 2.

123. Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 21.

124. Scott, "Journal," under "Nov 10th 1845."

125. Scott, "Journal," under "Nov 10th 1845."

126. Scott, "Journal," under "Nov 10th 1845."

127. Scott, "Journal," under "Nov 10th 1845."

128. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 250–51.

129. Appleby, *Autobiography and Journal*, 286. Appleby was called to the East again in 1856 to 1859. He served as Eastern States Mission president for part of that time. Appleby died in Utah in 1870.

130. McKean, "Family Record," [119]. Anthony Jr. apparently intended to continue his capitalist enterprises in Utah. Theodore McKean said that right after they arrived in Utah he "assisted my Uncle Anthony Ivins in arranging and disposing of his merchandise." McKean, "Family Record," [118–20]. Israel Ivins's son Anthony W. (born at Toms River in 1852) became an Apostle in the Church and served as a counselor to George Albert Smith. See Ronald W. Walker, "Young 'Tony' Ivins: Dixie Frontiersman," in this issue of *BYU Studies*.

131. McKean, "Family Record," [116]. While Theodore achieved prominence in Salt Lake, he also suffered many of the privations of the early Utah settlers, such as those experienced during and after the evacuation of Salt Lake City for Johnston's Army, when "we were without furniture, not having a table, we were reduced in circumstances, and without the necessities and comforts of life; notwithstanding our Heavenly Father blessed and sustained us, during the time." McKean, "Family Record," [124].

132. McKean, "Family Record," [121, 132]. It appears that Theodore McKean's wife, Mary Gullick, never joined the Church. She did move to Utah and died there; Theodore married two more times (plural marriages).

133. McKean, "Family Record," [132].

134. *Biographical Cyclopedia*, 84.

135. As quoted in "Early Mormons in New Jersey," typescript, 3, Church Library.

136. "Mormons," *Zion's Advocate (Portland, Maine)*, September 5, 1856, 3. Local historians' positive statements about Mormonism in the area were made despite Mormonism's promotion of plural marriage. See Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 633; Ocean County Principal's Council, *Tides of Time in Ocean County*, 143; and Miller, *Early History of Toms River*, 21.

137. McKean, "Family Record," [119–20].

138. McKean, "Family Record," [119–20].

139. *History of Sanpete and Emery Counties Utah, with Sketches of Cities, Towns, and Villages, Chronology of Important Events, Records of Indian Wars, Portraits of Prominent Persons, and Biographies of Representative Citizens* (Ogden: W. H. Lever, 1898), 416. Irons served as bishop of Sanpete from 1877 to 1898. William Sharp says that around 1865, the members began to meet less regularly in Toms River. Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," 3.

140. "History of the Church in New York City."

141. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 254.

142. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 633.

143. Salter, *Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 252.

144. Ocean County Principal's Council, *Tides of Time in Ocean County*, 144.

145. *Biographical Cyclopedia*, 84.

146. *The Messenger (Allentown, New Jersey)*, August 24, 1905, quoted in Anderson, "Fragment of Church History," 357–58.

147. Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 628.

148. An idea common among historians and sociologists is that Mormonism started as a reactionary sect which attracted those on the fringe of society and which was therefore seen as disreputable and that only after Utah achieved statehood did Mormonism begin a long process of becoming more mainline and respectable up until the present, at which time the Church has largely achieved this status. See especially Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Armand L. Mauss, *The Angel and the Beehive: The Mormon Struggle with Assimilation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); and Mario De Pillis, "Viewing Mormonism as Mainline," *Dialogue* 24 (winter 1991): 60–67; for various works on this theme.

Young “Tony” Ivins

Dixie Frontiersman

Ronald W. Walker

*My experiences on the frontier . . . may be of some historical value,
as well as romantic interest.*

—Anthony W. Ivins

Nine-year-old Tony Ivins was playing at a friend's house in Salt Lake City when John M. Moody, the friend's father, returned from attending a session of the Church's general conference. He had startling news. The Moody family had been called to settle in southern Utah. For Tony, this was exciting information. Not taking the time to go around the block, he “cut cross lots,” climbed a fence, and ran through the family garden. Entering his house, he saw his mother and sister talking quietly. “Brother Moody is called to go to Dixie to raise cotton,” Tony blurted. It was then that the boy noticed his mother's tears. “So are we,” she replied.¹ Ivins later wrote, “Present plans, future hopes and aspirations, ties of kindred, the association of life long friends and neighbors were all to be shattered and swept aside as we started on this new adventure, the outcome of which no one could even surmise.”²

What makes a man or a woman? What are the forces that shape a personality, determine a life, or, in the biblical language of Ivins's generation, brings at death “a shock of corn . . . in his season” (Job 5:26)? For Anthony “Tony” W. Ivins (1852–1934), a prominent Dixie pioneer, an Apostle in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and a member of his church's First Presidency, there were several answers to these questions, which included family and friends, religious values, and the place of his boyhood. Each mingled in Tony Ivins's early life.

Family Background

One molding influence was Tony Ivins's heritage, which included a long history of civic prominence and merchandising. His family came from New Jersey. His earliest New Jersey progenitor, Isaac Ivins, settled at Georgetown in the 1690s, where he prospered by trading with Indian trappers and white hunters. Later members of the family used the bonds of marriage and the flow of commerce to achieve financial success in their own right. The Ivinses counted among their marriage relations at least half



FIG. 1. Israel Ivins (1815–97), father of Anthony “Tony” Ivins.

a dozen families from New Jersey gentry.³ Generations of Ivins men thrived as merchants at Upper Freehold, Monmouth County, thirty miles south of New York City, and at Toms River, twenty miles southeast of Upper Freehold on the Atlantic seaboard. (See map on p. 72.) Related to each other as first, second, or third cousins, the New Jersey Ivinses were “considered wealthy, and stood high in the community.”⁴

Tony’s father, Israel Ivins (1815–97; fig. 1), was something of a sportsman. Expert with a hunting gun and a fishing rod, he also had a serious side. His avid reading gave him a reputation of being a great student. As a young man, Israel worked in the family businesses and learned the skills of a surveyor on the side; in his later

years, he turned to medicine and the healing arts.⁵ Some of these interests were passed on to Tony.

Israel was also fond of travel, being remembered as a “sea fairing man,” who was “as much at home on the water as on the land.”⁶ His wanderlust seems to have carried over into religion. During the late 1830s and early 1840s, wave after wave of religious excitement rolled across the central New Jersey countryside, with Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians vying in their ministries. But none of these denominations attracted Israel as much as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mormon elders had come to Monmouth County as early as 1837,⁷ and in March of the following year, Israel was one of the first baptized.⁸ A cadre of some of the Church’s most able missionaries—including Joseph Smith the Prophet—preached in the area with considerable success.⁹ By the late 1830s, the Church had several hundred converts spread across congregations at Cream Ridge, Greenville, Hornerstown, New Egypt, Recklesstown, and Shrewsbury.¹⁰

Tony’s father was not the only Ivins who was drawn to Mormonism. This family had a history of running against the popular religious grain, and many other family members soon followed Israel in baptism. Tony’s mother, Anna Lourie Ivins (1816–96; fig. 2), and her sister Rachel Ridgway Ivins were among the early converts.¹¹ Anna and Rachel were soulmates and confidantes and would remain so to the end. Cheerful and uncomplaining in the face of adversity, deeply religious, and self-disciplined, both women also had the Ivinses’ quiet, but firm, belief in what they viewed as the family’s proper social position.

Israel and Anna continued the tradition of marrying within the family. They were distant (perhaps second) cousins, both surnamed Ivins at birth. In their late twenties, they were married on March 19, 1844, about six years after they had embraced Mormonism. Elder Jedediah M. Grant, one of the early missionaries in New Jersey, performed the service.¹²

After baptism, some Ivins family members migrated to Nauvoo,¹³ but Israel and Anna remained in central New Jersey as loyal Mormons. Israel presided over the Toms River Branch and at times entertained visiting Church leaders.¹⁴

There Israel and Anna were blessed with two children: Caroline Augusta ("Cad-die"), born in 1845, and Anthony "Tony" Woodward, born on September 16, 1852, and named for Israel's father. Georgiana (1846), who failed to survive the winter of 1846–47, was born in New York.

By the early 1850s, Israel and Anna had obtained a comfortable life, several years of which included living in cosmopolitan New York City. Yet, for these ascetic believers in the word, New Jersey Mormonism in the 1850s was a pale copy of the fervor that had once burned through the area. Besides, Mormon missionaries told Israel and Anna that they must gather to the newly built Zion in Utah. Seeking to comply with the religious demands of their faith and to secure the grace coming from full fellowship, Israel and Anna decided to immigrate.

Immigration to Utah

Leaving Toms River on April 5, 1853, were a party of Mormons comprising "a large number of persons from Toms River and other places in the state."¹⁵ The fifteen years of gospel winnowing had taken its toll, and only a small number of the original group of Mormon converts were willing to go west. These included the last and most staunch of the Ivinses: Israel and Anna; Anna's sister Rachel, who after migrating to Nauvoo had returned to New Jersey; Israel's brother Anthony; Israel's mother, Sarah; and Israel's nephew Theodore McKean. The party made its way to Philadelphia, boarded a train to Pittsburgh, and then floated on steamers via St. Louis to Kansas City. After visiting sites of interest in Jackson County—the old



FIG. 2. Anna Ivins (1816–96), cousin and wife of Israel Ivins and Tony's mother.

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Mormon headquarters in Missouri—they purchased mule-and-wagon outfits and began the trek west.¹⁶

The Ivinses' train was remembered as "one of the best equipments that ever came to Utah in the early fifties."¹⁷ Anna and Israel traveled with a milch cow and two heavily provisioned wagons. One of these was furnished as a portable bedroom, complete with chairs, a folding bed, and stairs descending from its tailgate. When the group paused during the day or stopped in the evening, Anna and Israel mounted the stairs and entered the wagon to rest. Despite these unusual and perhaps unnecessary provisions for comfort, the company made good time. On August 10, 1853, after about a 130-day journey, the New Jersey pioneers arrived in Salt Lake City. The party traveled up Main Street where the Ivinses found short-term housing with their old preacher-friend, Jedediah Grant, now mayor of the city.¹⁸ During their next few years in Zion, old New Jersey friends like Brother Jedediah helped find a place for the family in Utah's frontier and uncertain society.

Years in Salt Lake City

Israel found it difficult to prosper in Utah. He was by experience a merchant. But Brigham Young's Zion was bone and sinew—it placed more value on the agrarian labor of pioneering than on the urban exchange table or business counter. To President Young, merchants brought profit margins and social distinctions and threatened to be potentially hostile to the Mormon theocracy. He therefore lashed out at merchants: "Taking that class of men as a whole, I think they are of extremely small calibre."¹⁹ Because of such fulminations, proper churchmen like Israel tried other kinds of work, often beyond their taste, their training, and their ability to succeed. Israel became a Salt Lake City policeman and on the side farmed a small plot on the outskirts of the city.²⁰

However, Israel's failure to make money was not just a matter of his choice of occupations. Pioneering made most people poor, particularly Utah pioneering, which was based on small-village landholding. For the first thirty years of Utah's settlement, the territory's citizens distantly trailed their fellow American citizens—even those living in the Inter-mountain West—in the wealth owned by each household. In 1850 the worth of Utahns was only a fifth of the national average (\$201 to \$1,001), and by 1870 the ratio had closed only to a third (\$644 to \$1,782).²¹

For some Utahns, there was a silver lining. If a family arrived early in Utah and remained in one place for several decades ("persisting," to use the demographer's word), their situation usually improved. The maturing Utah economy increased the value of their holdings as well as their social standing.²² But the family of Tony Ivins did not realize even this benefit. By

accepting the Church's call to settle Dixie, Israel and Anna were required to sell their Salt Lake City property to free resources for their new home and to provision themselves. In his autobiography, Tony recorded the family's sacrifice in accepting the 1861 call to Dixie: Some years after Israel and Anna sold their home on South Temple Street between Third West and Fourth West Streets, the property became "worth a fortune." It sat on the location where a railroad company built its freight department.²³

Starting once more would mean not only losing their stake in Salt Lake City, but it also would require the Ivinses to submit to an exacting future. Life in Dixie would mean the Ivinses would have to feed and clothe themselves in a setting that lacked grocery stores, currency, merchants, investment capital, and wages for labor performed. Such a situation, historian Charles S. Peterson has observed, "requir[ed] voluntary 'subsidies' of human effort and a willingness to accept austere economic standards."²⁴ In fact, settling a new land on the Mormon frontier might require a full generation to get beyond the survival stage of living.

Journey to Dixie

An inventory of the Ivinses' travel outfit, which may have included much of the family's assets, showed how poorly the family fortunes had fared since they had arrived in Utah eight years before. In contrast to their splendid Great Plains equipage of 1853, the best the family now could do was to secure an old and worn "heavy" wagon (for hauling goods), a "light wagon with shafts" (for transportation), a bay horse, two yoke of oxen, and a single harness—and apparently they incurred some debts to make the trip possible.²⁵

The journey from Salt Lake City to southern Utah set a pattern for the toil that was to follow. Leaving Utah's capital city, the pioneers of St. George found the trail mired, and several horses were lost. Later the wagons faced wind, rain, and snow since they were traveling in November. The Dixie pioneers did not go as a group; wagons were spread along the southern road, united only by their destination. At nightfall, smaller parties probably coalesced, permitting socials, especially the reels and square dancing that the Mormons were so fond of. For most of the Dixie settlers, the three-hundred-mile trip took a month.²⁶ One woman remembered, "There were meals to prepare, tents to pitch, beds to make down and take up, washing to do, bread to bake in a bake skillet. All this made our progress slow."

At first the Ivinses traveled alone with their drivers, Alex Mead and John Lloyd (known as Sailor Jack). Israel needed help with the two wagons and apparently recruited these two Dixie-bound settlers to lend a hand. The first night out, the family stopped at Porter Rockwell's house at the

Point of the Mountain (the divide between Salt Lake and Utah Valleys), and the legendary Mormon scout sold them supplies that were “of great benefit to us after we reached our destination.”²⁷ As the family traveled farther, they visited two families they had known in New Jersey who had already settled in southern Utah and who extended hospitality. The climax of their trip came as the wagons drove up the grade from present-day Washington and passed over a “rough volcanic ridge” that at first concealed their view.

Then they saw.

“It was a barren uninviting landscape,” Tony said.²⁸

These same words were used by another 1861 pioneer, Elizabeth Snow. When her party entered the St. George site, she saw Anna and Caddie Ivins standing and looking over the land. Perhaps there was something in their manner that appeared forlorn. “I have often wondered since what these two women must have been thinking as they looked over the barren, uninviting country that was to be their home,” she later wrote.²⁹

St. George as a “Mormon Village”

Although the family of Tony Ivins had fallen on difficult times—and things grew worse in coming years—the boy would have the advantage of being raised as part of the St. George community—Dixie’s version of the Mormon village. Outwardly, the Mormon village put a peculiar stamp on the land. It had rectangular streets often laid off at the cardinal points of the compass. It fostered grouped living. At the center of the village was the schoolhouse, the Church meetinghouse (in early years often the same building), and later an assembly hall or tabernacle. There the people worshipped as a community, especially in good weather. Also at the center of the village were the homes of the villagers. These dwellings sat on large lots that might exceed an acre. This pattern allowed room for a setback from the street and beautifying flower gardens as well as practical and life-sustaining vegetable gardens. In Dixie the acreage near the house also permitted vineyards and fruit trees. Outside the village lay small agricultural fields of thirty to fifty acres and places where the boys might drive a few head of livestock to and fro each morning and evening. Giving further pattern to the land were unkempt outbuildings, irrigation ditches for home and garden use, and poplar, locust, or cottonwood trees lining the streets, providing shade and a sense of order³⁰ (fig. 3).

The Mormon village was not designed to promote wealth, nor did it. One author found that a typical villager had no more than five cows or hogs, owned no machinery, and earned no wages. Crops were so limited that some settlers were unable to get through a winter without help from the local Church storehouse. In economic terms, village life was

based on labor-intensive subsistence farming, which provided little margin for gain or abundance.³¹

Basically, religious and social ideals were more important than money, as early Utahns set aside the quest of wealth for the cultural values of small, compact, and largely agrarian settlements. On this level, the Mormon village worked well. According to one authority, it was "perhaps the most elaborate mechanism for socialization to be found in any small community of the country," offering opportunities for cradle-to-grave schooling, recreation, leadership training, and other social experience. It made pioneer life easier by conveying the Mormon ideals of unity, cooperation, and equality.³²

In one respect, St. George was cut from a different pattern than some Mormon settlements. After sampling pioneer diaries, one study found that "individual choice" and not Church direction "played an overwhelming role" in determining where and how Mormons settled; newcomers learned where friends or relatives had earlier settled and then traveled to that location on their own.³³ In contrast, St. George was one of more than a half dozen "hub" settlements founded by the Church in the nineteenth century.³⁴



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FIG. 3. St. George, Utah, looking southward, ca. 1880. This view shows the large lots by each house and the cultivated trees, two features of the Mormon village.

These hub communities were usually established in new or virgin territory or where Mormon influence was small. Once established, hub villages became the centers from which new villages could be built, radiating outward like the spokes of a wheel. They were, in short, Church outposts. To be chosen or “called” to participate in these communities was an act of faith comparable to a religious sacrament. By traveling south to St. George and becoming citizens of the new village, the Ivins family had embarked on the Lord’s errand.

What did such an arrangement mean to Tony Ivins? While denied the ease of inherited wealth, he had the advantage of being a child of the Mormon frontier, which was peculiar to the general experience of most American western settlers. Elsewhere in the West, Tony might have come of age living in a mining camp or, still more likely, working on a large but isolated farm, a circumstance of U.S. land policy. But instead of helping to homestead a quarter section of 160 acres, Tony Ivins was the son of a Mormon village—that institution which left its most lasting imprint, not on the landscape, but on individual lives. Thus, young Tony Ivins’s life mixed heredity, first-generation Mormon values, and the bequest of the red-clay soil of pioneer Dixie.

St. George Routines

“You may pass through all the settlements,” said Apostle George A. Smith, “and you will find the history of them to be just about the same.”³⁵ Elder Smith, who had a special responsibility for southern Utah and was honored by the new village being named after him, might well have been speaking of the first months and years of St. George. According to one scholar, the Mormon settlement process followed a pattern:

- The group left for the new settlement site after the fall harvest.
- Church officials selected or approved a president for the settlement, whom the settlers also voted to sustain.
- Settlers first worked on water systems, farmland preparation, community fortifications, and public buildings such as schools and meetinghouses.
- The next spring, settlers cultivated and planted crops and built fences to keep cattle out of the newly sown fields.
- That same year, surveyors laid out streets and lots for the townsite, usually following or adapting the Salt Lake City pattern.
- Presiding officers in the community assigned house lots and farm plots.
- In the late spring and summer, settlers farmed in earnest, built houses, planted gardens.
- Settlers participated in Mormon wards that provided religious, educational, and social activities for the community.³⁶

When Tony Ivins and his family arrived in Dixie, they along with the rest of the settlers camped on land southeast from where the new village was intended. Here the flow of East Spring meandered, but the settlers deepened it with the same plow that reportedly had turned the first furrow in the Salt Lake Valley. On both sides of this ditch, the settlers placed wagons and tents, with Asa Calkins's large Sibley tent serving as headquarters. For toilets, men walked to the right and ladies to the left, the usual Mormon wagon-train pattern.³⁷

By the third week of December 1861, more than seven hundred people were in camp, and the settlers were already becoming involved in the routines of Mormon village life. An open-air Christmas dance was arranged for children in the afternoon, with another to follow in the evening for adults. Perhaps no activity was more quintessential of Mormon village life—certainly no other recreation. Dancing united the people without distinction and was a passion.³⁸ Unfortunately, just as the festivities began that Christmas day, it started to rain. However, the people refused to adjust their plans. "It began to rain and [we] began to dance, and we did dance, and it did rain," recalled Robert Gardner, whose retelling of the event showed the settlers' ideals:

We danced until dark, and then we fixed up a long tent, and we danced [some more]. The rain continued for three weeks, but we did not dance that long. We were united in everything we did in those days, we had no rich and no poor. Our teams and wagons and what was in them was all we had. We had all things in common and very common too.³⁹

Israel Ivins's call to Dixie came partly because of his special skills as a surveyor. Shortly after arriving, he was appointed head of a six-man committee to remove water from the Virgin River for irrigation. In January 1862, under the direction of the head of the colony, Erastus Snow, Israel began to chart St. George's streets and village lots, and by the end of the year, he completed a map of the new community.⁴⁰ This was a job that young Tony could help with: "I was frequently with . . . [my father] while he was engaged in laying off the city and surveying the field lands," he later wrote (fig. 4). As Israel continued to survey the Dixie area beyond St. George, Tony likely remained at his side. We do know that when Brigham Young commissioned the building of the Washington cotton factory in the mid-1860s, Tony, then thirteen, manned one end of the surveyor's chain. It was necessary to survey the surrounding land in order to bring water to the factory's water wheel.⁴¹

Surveying was the kind of work the boy enjoyed—being outdoors, doing men's work, and helping to sustain the family. His enjoyment of the open air perhaps explains why Tony never confused schooling with education. His record as a pupil was short and spotty. During the winter of



FIG. 4. St. George, Utah, looking westward, ca. 1880, nearly two decades after Israel Ivins surveyed it, often accompanied by his son, Tony.

1861—when the rains were unremitting—Tony attended school in a tent on the old campground. While the girls were reportedly well mannered, some of the boys refused to be disciplined and left the tent at will. The next year, Tony (fig. 5) and about ten classmates met in a structure made of willows. Two large, square openings served as windows, but, inexplicably, there was no framed door—at least that was Tony’s memory. The teacher’s desk was a packing box, while seats for the children were slabs of elm “so high that their feet hardly reached the ground.” The students shared a single McGuffey’s reader, and two slates were passed around for writing.⁴²

Perhaps by the third or fourth year, Tony had the advantage of going to school in one of the community’s first well-built structures. The St. George pioneers had commissioned a stone building (21' x 40') a month after arriving for “educational (school) and social (dancing and other recreation) purposes.”⁴³ But, whatever their hope, it was several years before the community’s temporary shanties—dugouts, tents, willow lean-tos, and “made-do” wagon beds—began to give way to a more permanent landscape.

Schoolmarms and schoolmasters were by no means alike. Many students liked the slightly deaf Orpha Everett (she had “a profound regard for her students, and was proud of their success”). Using the established

pedagogy of her time, Everett refused to allow picture drawing on the children's slates and had the children learn by "reading around." When Everett's home was torn down years later, a book that had belonged to Tony was found among her keepsakes, perhaps a gift to her because of her influence.⁴⁴ Richard S. Horne's methods were more "scientific." "We were not known by our names in his school, but by numbers," Tony recalled. "My number was 12." Horne's regimen—and Tony's attraction to the outdoors—apparently ended the boy's formal schooling in early adolescence after several years at the primary level. He had, according to a family friend, been "going down and down until he left school"⁴⁵—probably a reference to Tony's grades, attendance, or both.

Perhaps, however, the boy left school to help out the family. "The first indispensable necessities of the pioneer," Tony later wrote, "are food to sustain his body [and] clothing with which to cover it."⁴⁶ Israel had entered into plural marriage before leaving Salt Lake City, and about the time that Tony left school, Israel brought Julia Hill and her child, Julia Ann, to St. George. The enlarged household meant even more chores to do, including driving to the canyons for kindling, chopping wood for the family stove, and milking the cows. Tony's chores also included driving the cows to pasture each morning and bringing them back in the evening. It was a task that the boy completed on foot only until he could go on horseback: "From the time that my legs were long enough to reach across the back of a horse I was in the saddle."⁴⁷

Herding was a job that left the boys unsupervised, and sometimes the result turned out badly. "Our herd boys are studying all kinds of vice, nearly without exception," one concerned bishop said in Salt Lake City. "If he herds three months, he is then a perfect rascal."⁴⁸ Tony used his freedom on the range to mix with the local Shivwit Indian boys, thus beginning a life-long fascination with Native Americans. From them, he learned how to make an Indian "bow of beautiful proportions," with arrows to match. According to Tony's son, in later years his father would sit before a slowly smoldering fire, "thrusting a crooked squaw bush branch in and out of the hot ashes" before it straightened. Then, using "the sinew from the loins of a venison and feathers from the wing of a hawk," he attached feathers to the arrow.⁴⁹ Tony's



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FIG. 5. Tony Ivins, ca. 1862, shortly after his family moved to St. George.

“Indian skills” involved more than manufacturing. It was said that he learned to outshoot many of his Shivwit tutors and that he used his bow to hunt rabbits and quail for the family’s table, sometimes with enough left over for neighbors.⁵⁰

Tony was equally adept with a gun. According to a memory he related late in life, he had done well while still a young man on his first “official” hunting trip—an excursion with his father and his uncle Anthony Ivins. After his father had flushed two deer from a ravine, Tony and Uncle Anthony fired at the same time, and the first deer went down. Believing he had killed the animal, Uncle Anthony allowed the boy to shoot the second. But Tony had no question about his marksmanship and insisted that he had killed both. The ensuing dispute was settled by a study of the animals. Since the two hunters’ shotguns used different gauges and different shot, young Tony was able to verify his success.⁵¹

We have another testament to Tony’s skill—from no less than the showman William “Buffalo Bill” Cody. Cody was escorting a party of English investors into the Arizona Strip, south of St. George, and hired Tony as one of his guides (fig. 6). After watching his skill with a bow and a rifle, the showman challenged Tony to shoot a silver dollar out of Cody’s hand at thirty feet. Tony did just that, and Cody, impressed with his aim and no doubt relieved because of it, offered him a job on the spot with the Wild West Show.⁵² While Cody’s invitation, which was declined, took place after Tony reached manhood, Tony’s skills originated in his youthful activities.

Tony and Cousin Heber J. Grant

A staple of Tony’s early days was visiting with his mother’s sister Rachel Grant, the widow of Jedediah M. Grant, and with her son Heber (fig. 7). The Grants made frequent visits to the Ivinses’ home, and the Ivins family reciprocated. Young Heber remembered especially the first time he and his mother went to St. George during the fall and winter of 1865–66. Tony, himself, drove them. For twelve-and-a-half days, the seasoned and self-assured thirteen-year-old navigated the “wonderfully bad roads.” The citified Heber, raised in Mormonism’s Salt Lake City, was in awe. “I looked upon him at that time as a man,” Heber recalled, “and he did a man’s work.” Not only could Tony manage a team and wagon, but upon reaching St. George, he and Heber went to the canyon to gather wood, which Tony then bundled and transported home.⁵³

More than a Dixie rural culture divided the two boys. Tony was four years older than Heber, and both of the boys, by personality, were “very positive characters.” As a result, the two often disagreed, and Anna and Rachel had to intervene to prevent the “flow of gore.”⁵⁴ Amid the conflicts, the two sisters retained their serenity. They agreed the boys were



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FIG. 6. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody (center) and his entourage during an 1891 hunting expedition to Kaibab, south of St. George. The group was guided by locally renowned hunter and outdoorsman Tony Ivins (the middle of three mounted men, left).

both “leading spirits” who naturally wanted to be “boss.”⁵⁵ They also assumed that their sons would outgrow their quarrels, which one incident may have helped along. When a man declared Heber a “sissy and no good” (city boys may not have been warmly received in St. George), Tony stood up for his cousin. “Take that back, or you’ll get a good licking,” Tony said, as he knocked the man down and offered him more. It was not the last time that Tony bloodied a nose, for, according to Heber, he “had no modesty about hitting back.”⁵⁶

By the age of eighteen, perhaps because of such events, Heber was taking another look at Tony and was impressed. In fact, he questioned if he measured up to Tony’s standard. “It was just as natural for me to play second fiddle, figuratively speaking, to the superior judgment of my dear cousin as it was to eat,” Heber said of this stage of their relationship.⁵⁷ But the admiration was not one-sided. As the men grew older, their respect became mutual and deepened, and in time they became confidants and best friends.

Tony the Outdoorsman

The 1860s were a time when boys in their middle teens were often at work. But the St. George economy offered few chances for a youth like Tony to find employment. One study found that less than ten percent of the Dixie boys between the ages of ten and fourteen had jobs. Even when the young men reached their late teens, almost half remained unemployed.⁵⁸ With jobs hard to find, the teenager worked in the Pine Valley lumber camps, about thirty miles to the north. Still more wide-ranging, he became



Church Archives

FIG. 7. Rachel Ridgeway Ivins Grant and her young son Heber, ca. 1867, shortly after a visit to St. George acquainted him with his cousin Tony.

a teamster, running freight from Salt Lake City and doing at least one circuit into Montana.⁵⁹ The profession had a way of toughening a driver, and Tony, at the very least, learned to be plainspoken and bold.

He remembered a run-in with a fellow driver, who carried a double-barrel shotgun to enforce his rule of the road. "He never was without it, and he was a terror wherever he went," said Tony, who explained the incident in some detail:

One day, when I was pulling up a grade, in the mud, after a rain storm, I saw the ears of his big mules flopping over the top of the hill, and when he came in sight about the first thing I noticed was the shotgun. . . . The etiquette of the road required him to turn out, [but] when our teams came close together [and] stopped[, h]e looked at me . . . and said, "Young man, are you going to get out and give me the road?" I said, "I can't very well get out." He said, "Do you know what I will do, if you don't?" "No sir," I said, "I don't know . . . [but] if you will just pull your mules' heads around a little, I will make my horses pull . . . out of the road if they can."

Tony's idea was a compromise, and each of the drivers gave up a part of the road in order for their wagons to pass. Later, the shotgun-toting teamster praised the steel-nerved, soft-spoken teenager, who had refused to be bullied and who had talked him into a draw.⁶⁰

The outdoor, athletic life—the life of the rugged sportsman of the frontier West—was later celebrated in U.S. culture, both in nonfiction such as Theodore Roosevelt's *Hunting Trips of a Ranchman* (1886) and in fiction such as Owen Wister's *The Virginian* (1902) and Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1912). Tony Ivins might well have been the prototype of these western heroes. His bow shooting, his rifle shooting, his herding, and his driving as a teamster were only the beginning. The young man boxed. He fished. He rode the range. As he grew older, he became a lawman and an expert stockman. Departing from his usual western ways, he was also the captain of his local baseball team. In Tony's time, baseball was a hardy game without softening body pads, masks, shin guards, and mitts and gloves.⁶¹

There seemed something primordial or latent deep within him that called him to an active life; it just required an event or person to call it forth. When only five or six years of age, he watched his father mold bullets for the Utah War and later return shoeless and ragged from his duty in the canyon. "How it inspired me with a desire to bear arms and learn their use," he said.⁶² He remembered walking with his father to the family field in Salt Lake City and hearing about the New Jersey Ivinses' "fine horses and hounds." Such times also allowed him to hear about his father's experiences as an expert shot, hunter, and fisherman. "I naturally, at a very early age formed a strong attachment for dogs and horses, and the out of doors," he said. After watching Elder Wilford Woodruff catch a basket of fish on

the Jordan River (Tony, casting beside him, got only an occasional bite), he was convinced that fishing was an art that needed to be learned.⁶³

When Tony traveled to St. George in 1861, there were similar epiphanies. He watched his father shoot a greenhead mallard as it flew overhead. This “wonderful” event left him with “an almost uncontrol[l]able desire to be able to do a similar thing.” While just outside of Fillmore, he watched James Andrus spur his mount into the herd of horses and cast a lariat over the head of one of the animals. “I marveled that it could be done, and my admiration for the man who could accomplish such a feat was boundless.” Although Tony later became “something of an expert” with the lariat himself, he believed he never equaled Andrus’s technique.⁶⁴

The boy performed frontier tasks and by most accounts he did them well. His St. George neighbor and future wife, Elizabeth Snow, probably little exaggerated when she said that Tony “always carried off the honors in everything he did. He won all the prizes.”⁶⁵ Another St. George citizen, Harold Bentley, called him “the top hunter and the top fisher. . . . He was good at everything.”⁶⁶ However, Tony did not simply master the routines of frontier life; frontier life and especially his cowboy friends helped to make him what he became. “They were men of few words, these silent riders of the hills and plains,” he recounted. They were

men of unsurpassed courage, but with hearts as tender as the hearts of women where acts of mercy and service were required, as often was the case. Profoundly religious, they held in reverential respect the religion of others. Not many audible prayers were said by them, but when the day’s work was finished and the blankets spread down for the night, many silent petitions went up to the Throne of Grace in gratitude for blessings received.

It was the example and teaching of such men . . . which left indelible impressions upon my mind. . . . These are some of the characteristics of this pioneer man which I so much admired. . . . He knew that other men found the Lord in temples built with hands just as he felt him near, here under the stars. . . . He was not a Pharisee, who magnified the faults of his fellowmen while blind to his own shortcomings, but one who, acknowledging his own imperfections, spread the mantle of charity over those of his neighbor.⁶⁷

Tony the Scholar

Other influences worked on the young man, too. Like his mother and especially his father, from whom he learned so much, he became “an avid reader of all books available,” notwithstanding his poor showing as a student in school.⁶⁸ Practicing frontier self-learning, Tony carried books in his saddlebags and read whenever he could, as he fished, rode his horse, or drove a team. He liked travel books, American history and law, and books dealing with Native Americans. He also mentioned reading William

Prescott's six volumes on the Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru. He later claimed that there was no mountain he had not climbed, no important river he had failed to cross, and no country he had not visited—all in books.⁶⁹ This proxy touring was aided by his exceptional memory.

Nor was his bent for reading and culture solitary. In 1873, when twenty years old, Tony became a member of St. George's Young Men's Historical Club. Like youth self-help culture clubs elsewhere in the United States and in Mormon country (Salt Lake City's more famous Wasatch Literary Society was not organized until 1874⁷⁰), the St. George group was started and run by the youth themselves and had a written constitution and bylaws.⁷¹ It met at the Fourth Ward social house on Friday evenings (later changed to Wednesday), devoted itself to debate and recitations, and issued a biweekly newspaper called the *Debater*. A "great blessing to all the members who attend," was how the *St. George Enterprise* described the club. "Their efforts are praiseworthy."⁷²

At its peak, the Historical Club had twenty-five members, and it could have had more if the serious-minded young men had not precluded women—ladies were invited only to socials. Two weeks after joining, Tony and his partner successfully debated the resolution "water has done more damage to Dixie than fire."⁷³ In later meetings, he delivered recitations (Catiline's "Defense" and William Pitt's reply to Sir Robert Walpole); readings (excerpts from Mark Twain's *Roughing It* and Joseph Smith's "History"); and lectures (topics included "the Pacific Slope," "Mormon History," "Scottish History," and "the life and travels of Parley P. Pratt"). This was ambitious fare for a rural St. George youth, but Tony must have found the activities compelling. In addition to the club's usual activities, he took time to edit the *Debater*. He also served several times as the club's president.⁷⁴

About the same time as he was a member in the Historical Club, Tony joined the St. George Dramatic Association (fig. 8). With the exception of dancing, no recreation was more a part of Mormon village life than drama, which in St. George began almost from the outset of settlement. Tony's sister, Caddie Ivins, was among the first troupe of players; she created a sensation by appearing in the title role of *The Eton Boy*—in trousers. When Tony joined the company almost a decade later as a young man, some said that his motives had less to do with theater than with the handsome daughters of Southern Utah Mission President Erastus Snow, also players. Moreover, it was claimed that the young man was usually at his best when playing opposite one of them. Whatever his original motives, Tony became stagestruck. In later years, he became one of St. George's leading actors and a manager of its dramatic society.⁷⁵

Tony and Testimony

Tony's participation in the Historical Club and the Dramatic Society suggest that as he began young manhood he had taken another path from that of some of his contemporaries. One of his closest friends—a neighbor and schoolmate—also had become a teamster. This young man found work in the mining town of Silver Reef, “learned to swear,” and followed the rough life of his teamster brothers—“two of the most profane men I ever knew,” said Tony. In effect, the three brothers exchanged Mormon St. George for the surrounding “wild and lawless” mining frontier, and because of this decision, the body of one of the three was later returned to the village for burial. He had been killed in a scrap with another man. Less dramatic was the life of another of Tony's friends. Tony and the boy grew up together, and for a time their interests were identical. “There was nothing wild nor rough in his character,” Tony recalled. “We traveled together, we rode the range together; we went out for days and sometimes weeks together, sleeping under the same blankets.” Yet, as Tony's religious faith began to mature, the other boy had no similar interest in the religion of his father and mother.⁷⁶

Tony gave few details about his stirring religious feeling. None of his recorded memories speak of “going to meeting” as a young boy. Presumably, he did. In 1868, his mother, Anna, was called as the first president of the Relief Society in St. George, and she served for almost two decades in various Relief Society leadership positions.⁷⁷ Because of these activities and because of her unusual personality, she became one of the leading ladies in St. George, and Tony, a dutiful son, would have been expected to attend his meetings.

However, when Tony recalled the early spiritual events in his life, he talked less about church routines and more about the nurture of his neighbors. “These [tillers of the soil and silent riders of the hills and plains] were my teachers, the guardians of my youth,” he recalled. “They taught me, both by precept and example, that I must defraud no man, though the thing may be small. They taught me the fundamentals of integrity, industry, and economy. . . . This is the heritage which the ‘Mormon’ Pioneers bequeathed to me, and all others who would receive their teaching.”⁷⁸ In still another passage, he spoke of the “Saints of Christ” as “just simple folk . . . who are clothed in frailties, . . . but who are striving to overcome and thank the Lord are doing it.” For Tony, to be a part of this community and to do his daily duty was a “grand calling.”⁷⁹

The elders of St. George must have known Tony well. The home of Anna and Israel was on the southwest corner of First West and Second North Streets, two blocks from the residence of community leader Erastus Snow and an equal distance from the center of the town. The center square

was where the Saints gathered for their dances and meetings and where they would build their tabernacle. Proximity seems to have worn well: Church leaders called the young man to a series of Church priesthood offices at an unusually early age. He was ordained an elder at thirteen years of age and a seventy shortly before he turned seventeen.⁸⁰

Three weeks after Tony's nineteenth birthday, Patriarch William G. Perkins gave the young man a patriarchal blessing.⁸¹ Being admitted to the Mormon lay priesthood and receiving a prophetic blessing about his future sobered Tony. In a "modest sense," these experiences made him feel a part of the Church, and he concluded that "he could not talk as he had talked before" and that he should now "submerge himself in the Church" and prepare for the future.⁸²

Accordingly, he began to pray and to read the scriptures and Church books. He even sought to convert a wayward chum. Full of religious feeling, he now understood that in the past he "had not been as careful to seek the Lord and honor him as I should have been."⁸³

As the boy came of age, his father was often away surveying. Israel laid out several locations in southeast Nevada and southern Idaho, and after the passage of the homestead and preemption laws, he also completed a new survey of land near Salt Lake City.⁸⁴ Then in the early 1870s, peripatetic Israel sought his bonanza in northern Utah's mines.⁸⁵ These activities lessened his profile in St. George and seemed also to reduce his role in Tony's life. In contrast, Anna's influence remained constant and perhaps increased. "She was a woman of remarkable character, kind, charitable, slow to anger and never speaking evil of anyone," Tony said. "She had lived in plurality of wives, under very trying circumstances, but I never heard a word of complaint, never heard her speak an unkind word to a man[,]

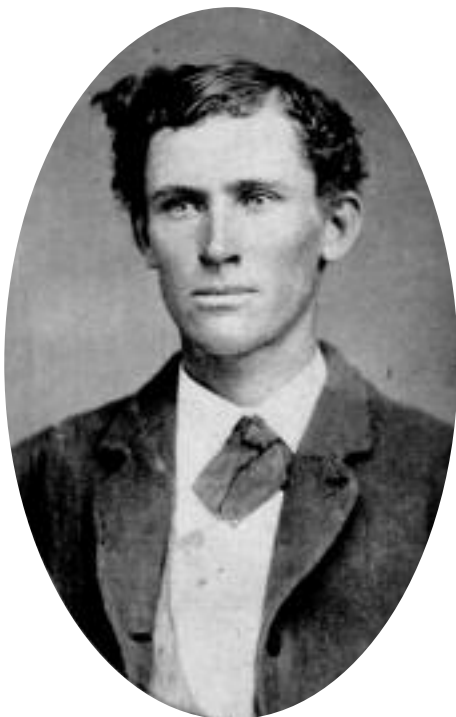


FIG. 8. Anthony W. Ivins, ca. 1872, about the time he sought refinement in the St. George Dramatic Association and Young Men's Historical Society. Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society, all rights reserved.

woman[,] or child . . . and all who were acquainted with her loved her.”⁸⁶ Tony’s mention of plurality broke a family taboo. While Israel’s two families lived in the same small St. George home, the physical arrangement did not translate into close family ties. For some reason, he and his mother seldom spoke or wrote of Julia or her children.

By the time Tony reached his early twenties, much of what he was to become was in place. He stood 5'10" and weighed a wiry 160 pounds.⁸⁷ His finely etched features suggested his northern Europe ancestors: thin eyebrows, a narrow nose, precise lips, blue eyes. He was a handsome man. However, beneath his genteel exterior, a toughness mixed with an easy-going manner. This combination of strength and grace made people like him. They recalled the “thrill” of watching him maneuver a horse at the roundups, the manner in which he carried a gun on a hunt, or his presence on the judges’ stand at the racetrack.⁸⁸ As one of his contemporaries recalled, “While yet a youth he had his horse races, his contests, his friendly rivalries,” yet he was known as “a square shooter, a real man. Most of the old-timers call[ed] him Tony.”⁸⁹

Conclusion

This, then, was the beginning of one of Dixie’s leading men. Through the influence of his parents and especially his mother, he inherited the Ivinses’ religious and social values, including the family’s sense of position: the Ivinses were used to being leaders. Moreover, Tony had talent. His future held many roles: missionary, lawman, Indian friend, actor, stage manager, husband and father, cattleman on the Kaibab Plateau, politician, attorney, prosecutor, assessor and collector, mayor, churchman, and delegate to Utah’s constitutional convention. Dixie’s son would promote roads, education, and water management. Finally, he would serve as the leader of his church’s Mexican colonies, a member of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles, and a counselor in the Church’s First Presidency (fig. 9).

In all these roles, the Mormon village and southern Utah frontier were never far away. The mature Anthony W. Ivins embodied such things as religion, community, and social conscience as well as such sturdy and time-tested values as courage, honesty, and independence. And despite his high-profile public roles, he remained an outdoorsman: the rifle, the fishing rod, and the fine horse continued to compel him. Looking back on his life and on all activities that had ensued, he understood the importance of the time and place of his youth. “My habits of life were, to a certain extent, forced upon me,” he said revealingly before his death. “From my childhood I have lived upon the frontier.”⁹⁰



Church Archives

FIG. 9. The First Presidency, ca. 1930. President Heber J. Grant (center) is here shown with his cousin and first counselor, Anthony W. Ivins (left), and second counselor, Charles W. Nibley (right).

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1. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography of Anthony Woodward Ivins [1923],” typescript, 16, Anthony W. Ivins Papers, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter cited as USHS). Ivins’s autobiography took several forms, each with slightly different content. For the best single volume dealing with St. George history, see Douglas D. Alder and Karl F. Brooks, *A History of Washington County: From Isolation to Destination*, Utah Centennial County History Series (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1996). Part of my narrative dealing with the Ivinses’ New Jersey experience is taken from my article “Rachel R. Grant: The Continuing Legacy of the Feminine Ideal,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 105–21.

2. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 17.

3. These families included the Allen, French, Lippincott, Ridgway, Shreve, Stacy, and Woodward families.

4. At Upper Freehold, Caleb Ivins, Tony’s great-grandfather, owned Horners-town’s distillery, country store, and grist and sawmills—and had farmlands and orchards as well. At Toms River, Anthony Ivins, Tony’s maternal grandfather and a

merchant, resided at "The Homestead." This large house had handsome paneling, stairways, and mantels and was recognized as one of the best examples of colonial architecture in the area. In turn, Tony's paternal grandfather owned large tracts of land that yielded wood and charcoal—commodities that were shipped to New York and elsewhere in Ivins-owned ships. Archibald F. Bennett, "Some Quaker Forefathers of President Ivins," *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine* 22 (October 1931): 145–64; Franklin Ellis, *History of Monmouth County, New Jersey* (Philadelphia: R. T. Peck, 1885), 633; *New Jersey Courier*, September 28, 1934, loose clipping in Heber J. Grant Collection, Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives); William H. Fischer to Heber J. Grant, November 9, 1934, Grant Collection; [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 5; John M. Horner to Heber J. Grant, November 7, 1906, Grant Collection.

5. [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 5; Heber J. Grant, Sermon, in *105th Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1934), 3 (hereafter cited as *Conference Reports*).

6. [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 5.

7. Benjamin Winchester and Joshua Grant were the first Mormon elders to arrive. Entering Caleb Ivins's house at Hornerstown, they announced they bore a special message of providence. Later they began preaching in a frame schoolhouse about one mile west of the hamlet. Caleb Ivins may have been the grandfather of Tony's mother, Anna Ivins, or more likely, her father, both of whom bore the same name of "Caleb." William Sharp, "The Latter-day Saints or 'Mormons' in New Jersey," typescript of memo prepared in 1897, 1, Church Archives. Sharp was preparing a history of New Jersey and drew upon local and now unavailable sources. His memo was sent by Elmer I. Hullsiny to Mr. Myers, March 5, 1936; also see [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 8; and David J. Whittaker, "East of Nauvoo: Benjamin Winchester and the Early Mormon Church," *Journal of Mormon History* 21 (fall 1995): 35–38.

Monmouth County residents knew little of Mormonism before the elders came. "As to our principles, and rules of faith, the people knew nothing, except by reports," Elder Benjamin Winchester recalled. Mormon preaching stressed Bible Christianity, and it had much appeal. "It was so different from what they had expected," Winchester reported, "that it caused a spirit of inquiry, so much so, that I had calls in every direction." The missionary struggled to fill as many as eleven weekly preaching appointments, with both "the rich and the poor" inviting him into their homes for personal instruction. The more he taught, the greater the excitement. In religiously charged rural New Jersey for a few years in the late 1830s, Mormonism became "the grand topic of conversation," the *cause célèbre*. Benjamin Winchester letter, in Andrew Jenson, *Journal History of the Church*, July 7, 1838, 2–5, Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

8. [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 8; Kimball S. Erdman, *Israel Ivins: A Biography* (n.p., 1969), 3, copy in Church History Library, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

9. These missionaries included Lorenzo Barnes, Jedediah Grant, Orson and Parley Pratt, Harrison Sagers, Erastus Snow, and Wilford Woodruff. Joseph Smith and others preached at the "Ridge" above Hornerstown and beyond in the 1830s.

10. Two or three of these congregations even had their own unpretentious chapels, among the first in the entire Church. Later in the 1840s, Mormon converts may have founded a small fishing village on the New Jersey coast which they named Nauvoo. The name, of course, came from the Church's headquarters city, located in southwest

Illinois. Sharp, "Mormons' in New Jersey," 3; Edwin Salter, *A History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties* (Bayonne, N.J.: E. Gardner and Son, 1890), 253; Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 633; Stanley B. Kimball, "'Nauvoo' Found in Seven States," *Ensign* 3 (April 1973): 23. For more information about the early Church in New Jersey, see Stephen J. Fleming, "Sweeping Everything before It': Early Mormonism in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey," in this issue of *BYU Studies*.

11. Many branches of the Ivins family tree were Quaker. At least one ancestor, Mahlon Stacy, was proselytized by George Fox himself. Other Quaker forefathers came to America to avoid the persecuting local episcopacy—and constabulary. However, by the time of Israel and Anna, the commitment to the Society of Friends had begun to wane. Anna's mother was a Baptist, while cousin James Ivins and uncle Richard Ridgway were Baptist trustees. Bennett, "Some Quaker Forefathers of President Ivins," 145–64; Ellis, *History of Monmouth County*, 636.

The converts from the Ivins family included Israel's cousins Charles and James Ivins. Elder Parley P. Pratt described the latter as a "very wealthy man" who might help him reissue the Book of Mormon. Parley P. Pratt to Joseph Smith Jr., November 22, 1839, Joseph Smith Collection, Church Archives.

12. Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 2 vols., Anthony W. Ivins Papers, 1:1, Utah State Historical Society; "Anna Lowrie Ivins," *Woman's Exponent* 24 (February 15, 1896): 116; [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography of Heber Grant Ivins Sr.," 7, Heber Grant Ivins Collection, USHS. See also Mary G. Judd, *Jedediah M. Grant* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1959), 62.

13. These included James and Charles Ivins, who constructed the building that would later house the Nauvoo newspaper *Times and Seasons*. After dissenting on the question of plural marriage and other policies, however, they joined the group of dissidents who published the *Nauvoo Expositor* and eventually contributed to Joseph Smith's death. Thirteenth Ward Relief Society Minutes, Book A: 1868–98, February 11, 1897, 611, Church Archives; Charles Ivins to Brigham Young, July 1845, Incoming Correspondence, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

14. For example, Elder Erastus Snow borrowed a light carriage to transport his wife and child to Toms River, where they sailed an inlet with "Brother Israel." Andrew Karl Larson, *Erastus Snow: The Life of a Missionary and Pioneer for the Early Mormon Church* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), 68. Elsewhere the Mormons bore the insults and persecution of neighbors. However, in central New Jersey, the Saints were recognized as "respectable people . . . noted for sincerity, industry and frugality" and who, if necessary, could influence the enforcement of the law. When an anti-Mormon preacher disrupted one of their meetings, a local peace officer placed him under arrest. Salter, *History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties*, 252; William R. Maps, Diary, March 27, 1842, transcript in author's possession.

15. Sharp, "Mormons' in New Jersey," 2–3.

16. Theodore McKean, "Autobiography," 2, Church Archives.

17. "President Heber J. Grant of Mormon Church Writes of A. W. Ivins," *New Jersey Courier*, November 9, 1934, clipping in Grant Collection.

18. Frances Bennett Jeppson, "With Joy Wend Your Way: The Life of Rachel Ivins Grant, My Great-Grandmother," 9–10, Church Archives.

19. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 9:189, February 2, 1862.

20. [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 13–14.

21. J. R. Kearl, Clayne L. Pope, and Larry T. Wimmer, "Household Wealth in a Settlement Economy: Utah, 1850–1870," *Journal of Economic History* 40 (September 1980):

483–85; Dean L. May, *Three Frontiers: Family, Land, and Society in the American West, 1850–1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 295.

22. Kearl, Pope, and Wimmer, “Household Wealth,” 491–94; Larry Wayne Draper, “A Demographic Examination of Household Heads in Salt Lake City, Utah, 1850–1870” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1988), 82–84.

23. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 17.

24. Charles S. Peterson, “*Touch of the Mountain Sod*”: *How Land United and Divided Utahns, 1847–1985*, (Dello G. Dayton Memorial Lecture) (Ogden: Weber State College Press, 1989), 9.

25. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 17.

26. [Elizabeth Snow Ivins], “Story Told by Elizabeth Ashby Snow Ivins,” type-script, 2, Anthony W. Ivins Papers; also see Caroline Ivins Pace, *Diary*, published in Erdman, *Israel Ivins*, 21–26.

27. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 18.

28. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 20.

29. [Elizabeth Snow Ivins], “Story Told by Elizabeth Ashby Snow Ivins,” 3.

30. The extensive scholarly literature dealing with the Mormon village includes Reed H. Bradford, “A Mormon Village: A Study in Rural Social Organization” (master’s thesis, Louisiana State University, 1939); Richard V. Francaviglia, *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West* (New York: AMS Press, 1978); Richard H. Jackson, “The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 2 (1977): 223–40; Richard H. Jackson and Robert L. Layton, “The Mormon Village: Analysis of a Settlement Type,” *Professional Geographer* 28 (May 1976): 136–41; May, *Three Frontiers*; Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952); and Ronald W. Walker, “Golden Memories: Remembering Life in a Mormon Village,” in *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah’s Mormon Pioneers*, ed. Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1999), 47–74.

31. May, *Three Frontiers*, 162–63, 185, 227–30, 259. While no study has been made of the economics of St. George, preliminary evidence suggests that the village fit this profile of marginal money making. See Larry M. Logue, *A Sermon in the Desert: Belief and Behavior in Early St. George, Utah* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 82–83, 143–44.

32. Nelson, *Mormon Village*, 284.

33. Wayne L. Wahlquist, “Settlement Processes in the Mormon Core Area, 1847–1890” (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 1974), 93–95, 100.

34. The idea of hub communities was introduced in William G. Hartley, “Colonizing a Great Basin Kingdom,” unpublished task paper, 18, 28, in possession of the author.

35. George A. Smith, Sermon, May 24, 1874, quoted in *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, May 26, 1979, 2.

36. This list is adapted from John W. Reps, *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 313.

37. From a contemporaneous account by Robert Garden, as cited in “The Cotton Mission,” ed. A. R. Mortensen, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (July 1961): 209.

38. Larry V. Shumway, “Dancing the Buckles off Their Shoes in Pioneer Utah,” in Walker and Dant, *Nearly Everything Imaginable*, 195–221; Walker, “Golden Memories,” 67–68.

39. Mortensen, “Cotton Mission,” 209. Another pioneer remembered that the dances were suspended, although a downsized version was later held in Asa Calkins’s

tent. See Ruth M. Pickett Washington, "First Christmas in St. George," in *Treasures of Pioneer History*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952–57), 1:116.

40. [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography of Heber Grant Ivins Sr.," 7; James G. Bleak, *Annals of the Southern Utah Mission*, Book A: 1870, 92, 122, Church Archives; [Anthony W. Ivins], "Autobiography," 21–22; Erdman, *Israel Ivins*, 27; Stanley S. Ivins, ed., "Journal of Anthony Woodward Ivins," typescript, 2, Church Archives.

41. Stanley S. Ivins, "Journal of Anthony Woodward Ivins," 2; Heber J. Grant, quoted in Joseph Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Deseret Book, 1973), 68.

42. Anthony W. Ivins, *Journal*, 1:8; Anthony W. and Elizabeth S. Ivins, "Reminiscence," September 16, 1934, typescript, 2, Anthony W. Ivins Papers; Charles W. Skidmore, "Dedicatory Address at the Monument Erected on Dixie College Commons, in Honor of Anthony W. Ivins and Edward H. Snow," typescript, 1, Church Archives.

43. Bleak, *Southern Utah Mission*, 85–87.

44. Josephine J. Mills, "Washington County," in *Heart Throbs of the West*, comp. Kate B. Carter, 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939–51), 12:39.

45. Anthony W. and Elizabeth S. Ivins, "Reminiscence," 2; "Anthony Woodward Ivins," *Salt Lake Telegram*, September 24, 1934, 7; [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography," 19; Harold W. Bentley, oral history [1978], 15, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

46. Anthony W. Ivins, "Design for Living," *Salt Lake Telegram*, September 24, 1934, 1.

47. *An Address Delivered by President Anthony W. Ivins upon Completion of the Union Pacific Lodge at Grand Canyon, Utah* [September 15, 1928] (Salt Lake City: Union Pacific System, 1935); Stanley Snow Ivins, "Anthony W. Ivins: Boyhood," *Instructor* 78 (November 1943): 568; compare Anthony W. Ivins, *Journal*, 1:8.

48. Edwin D. Woolley remarks, November 6, 1855, "Record of Bishops Meetings, Reports of Wards, Ordinations, Instructions, and General Proceedings of the Bishops and Lesser Priesthood, 1851 to 1862, [Salt Lake City]," 122, Church Archives.

49. [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography," 10.

50. Heber J. Grant, Address at the Utah Agricultural College Founder's Day Exercises, March 11, 1936, Logan, Utah, 5, text in Heber J. Grant Letterbooks, 83:14, Grant Collection, Church Archives; Heber J. Grant, Sketch Introducing Anthony W. Ivins, Grant Letterbooks, 67:32–34; Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known*, 67; [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography," 10; Anthony W. Ivins, *Journal*, 1:8; Joe Koller, "Tony Ivins—Son of Saintland," *Golden West: True Stories of the Old West* 6 (January 1970): 24.

51. The hunting incident had a sequel, which gave it special meaning. Another of Israel's brothers, Thomas Ivins, visiting from New Jersey, at the last minute had dropped out of the hunting party because he doubted its success. When told of Tony's exploit, he was incredulous. "If there is a deer in that wagon I will give the man that killed it \$50.00," he said. When Thomas saw the kill, he praised Tony but gave no money. However, after Thomas returned to New Jersey, he mailed the \$50, which, according to Tony, had an important impact on his life:

There were many things I needed. I wanted a new saddle, as much as anything else, but I finally gave it to a prospector for a part interest in a mine he had discovered in the Tintic [mining] district. That district was then just being prospected. Later, I traded my interest in the mine for a city block [in St. George]. I developed this block, planted a vineyard on it and some time later sold it for \$500. I bought another lot upon which my home stood in

- St. George and where [my family] lived continuously for 15 years after marriage. (Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:5–6, 12–15, and as quoted in the *Deseret News*, Special Section, September 1934. See also Stanley S. Ivins, “Boyhood,” 568–69)
52. Koller, “Son of Saintland,” 49. For Cody’s tour of the area, see Angus M. Woodbury, “A History of Southern Utah and Its National Parks,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (July–October 1944): 190–91.
53. Grant, Address at the Utah Agricultural College Founder’s Day Exercises, 1.
54. Heber J. Grant to Anthony W. Ivins, April 6, 1904, Grant Letterbooks, 38:522–24; Heber J. Grant to Junius F. Wells, April 14, 1921, Grant Letterbooks, 57:813.
55. [Lucy Grant Cannon], “A Few Memories of Grandma Grant,” 8, Church Archives.
56. Grant, Address at the Utah Agricultural College Founder’s Day Exercises, 4.
57. Grant to Wells, April 14, 1921.
58. Logue, *Sermon in the Desert*, 83.
59. Stanley S. Ivins, “Journal of Anthony Woodward Ivins,” 22.
60. Anthony W. Ivins, *Conference Reports* (October 8, 1916), 66–67.
61. [Elizabeth Snow Ivins], “Story Told by Elizabeth Ashby Snow Ivins,” 2; Heber J. Grant, in Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known*, 69.
62. Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:5–7.
63. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 14–15.
64. [Anthony W. Ivins], “Autobiography,” 18–19.
65. [Elizabeth Snow Ivins], “Story Told by Elizabeth Ashby Snow Ivins,” 2.
66. Bentley, oral history, 15.
67. Ivins, *Address Delivered upon Completion*, 7.
68. [Heber Grant Ivins], “Autobiography,” 19. Heber J. Grant considered Anna a “student,” apparently because of reading. See Heber J. Grant, *Conference Reports* (October 5, 1934), 3.
69. Anderson, *Prophets I Have Known*, 67; Charles Foster, quoted in *Salt Lake Telegram*, September 24, 1934, 7; Koller, “Son of Saintland,” 25; and Grant, Sketch Introducing Anthony W. Ivins, Grant Letterbooks, 67:32.
70. Ronald W. Walker, “Growing Up in Early Utah: The Wasatch Literary Association, 1874–1878,” *Sunstone* 6 (November/December 1981): 44–51.
71. “Record of the Young Men’s Historical Club, Organized June 13, 1873,” typescript, 1–3, USHS.
72. *St. George Enterprise*, March 8, 1874, 1.
73. “Record of the Young Men’s Historical Club,” August 14 and 28, 1873, 5.
74. “Record of the Young Men’s Historical Club,” entries throughout.
75. Lorraine T. Washburn, “Culture in Dixie,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 29 (July 1961): 263; Zaidee W. Miles, “Early Theatrical Activity in St. George,” paper presented to the Daughters of Utah Pioneers at St. George, 1923, typescript, USHS; “Character Sketch of A. W. Ivins,” typescript, 3, Anthony W. Ivins Papers; Alder and Brooks, *History of Washington County*, 165–66; John Taylor Woodbury, *Vermilion Cliffs: Reminiscences of Utah’s Dixie* (St. George: Woodbury Children, 1933), 49.
76. Anthony W. Ivins, *Conference Reports* (October 5, 1919), 175–78.
77. The details of Anna’s selection suggest the esteem with which she was held by her neighbors. She was chosen by the women themselves and not by a “calling” extended from local church leaders. Bleak, *Annals of the Dixie Mission*, 296, August 24, 1868. “Anna Lowrie Ivins,” *Woman’s Exponent* 24 (February 15, 1896): 116, states that Anna served as the stake president of the St. George Relief Society for twenty years. Another source suggests that for a period of time, Anna was a counselor in the

presidency; see Verna L. Dewsnup and Katharine M. Larson, comp., *Relief Society Memories: A History of Relief Society in St. George Stake, 1867–1956* (Springville, Utah: St. George Stake Relief Society, 1956), 1–3.

78. Anthony W. Ivins, "Pioneers," *Improvement Era* 34 (September 1931): 637–40, 672–73.

79. Anthony W. Ivins to W. H. Ivins, June 8, 1905, Grant Letterbooks, 39:960.

80. 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), 3:750; Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:198.

81. Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:17–19.

82. Anthony W. Ivins, Remarks, General Priesthood Meeting, April 7, 1934, in General Correspondence, Grant Collection; Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:17.

83. Anthony W. Ivins, *Conference Reports* (October 5, 1919), 177; Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:19.

84. [Heber Grant Ivins], "Autobiography," 8; Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:10.

85. Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:10–11.

86. Anthony W. Ivins, Journal, 1:243. Heber J. Grant shared the judgment: "I have said time and again that of all the women I ever knew, Brother Ivins' mother and my own seemed to be possessed of the most perfect and serene temperaments. If anything, I would give Aunt Anna Ivins the credit for having the more serene character of the two, and that is saying a whole lot." Heber J. Grant, "Birthday Celebration, 1926," typescript, Grant Collection.

87. David Dryden, *Biographical Essays on Three General Authorities of the Early Twentieth Century: Anthony W. Ivins, George F. Richards, and Stephen L Richards*, Task Papers in L.D.S. History, no. 11 (Salt Lake City: History Division, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1976), 3.

88. "Character Sketch of A. W. Ivins," 3–4.

89. "President Ivins," *The Daily Leader* [Brigham Young University], January 28, 1925, loose clipping in Anthony W. Ivins Papers.

90. Anthony W. Ivins, "Design for Living," 1.



Courtesy Edward L. Hart

Edward L. Hart, ca. 1990

Edward L. Hart

A Conversation about Poetry

Casualene Meyer

Dr. Edward L. Hart, a Mormon poet whose style is both classic and contemporary, lives in Utah. During the following interview, Dr. Hart, now in his 80s, apologized for not speaking as fast as he used to; but had he spoken any faster, I would have missed even more of the rich fluency of his thought. As I spoke with him, I wished I could just listen and not write down what he said, but I realized that would be selfish. I hope you will enjoy this interview and reprints of his poems in this and future issues.

CM: You write poems which are explicitly religious, one of which is sung all over the Church: “Our Savior’s Love.” Talk to me about the relationship between poetry and praise, poetry and witness, and about yourself as a “Mormon poet.”

EH: Well . . . that’s the most difficult question of all questions—I think the things one feels most deeply about become the things one writes about. So I suppose it’s inevitable that since I do feel deeply about my religion that I should write about it.

My view of religion and Mormonism is that it embraces all truth so that even if its subject isn’t explicitly religious, any great poem—in that broad sense—is a religious poem. And that’s my justification for writing what some people might call secular poems—like about nature. The religion embraces nature, embraces everything. The heavens do declare the glory of God so that if you write about the beauties and glories of nature in a sense you are praising God, who is the author of the beauty and the grandeur.

CM: Tell me more about the composition of “Our Savior’s Love.”

EH: The form represents the three members of the Godhead: the first stanza is to the Savior, the second stanza deals with the Holy Ghost, and the third stanza praises God the Father.

In writing the lines “Our Father, God / Of all creation, hear us pray / In rev’rence, awed / By thy Son’s sacrifice,” I wanted to create a rhyme worthy of the Father. I can’t have just *any* word rhyme with “God.” I suppose it was inspiration that the word “awed” finally occurred to me; it maintains the dignity of the audacity of rhyming anything with “God.” I don’t think there’s any other word in the language that would have sufficient power to be in that place. Rhymes call attention to themselves just by being rhymes, so it’s important that the rhyming words mean something.

I wanted to make the poem upbeat—not in any way depressing. It’s not a coincidence that the final word of the poem is “rejoice.”

CM: It shows there’s so much more to a poem than what people automatically see.

EH: I am in deep humility every time I hear “Our Savior’s Love” because I feel it is something beyond me.

CM: Here’s another question. You lived in Pakistan in 1973 and 1974. Like Utah, that country has awesome mountain landscapes. How would you compare the feeling of the Pakistani terrain to Utah’s?

EH: In Utah, I plowed land that had never been plowed before—truly virgin soil. But in Pakistan, you can’t go anywhere but you feel the presence of the past—hundreds of generations back to the beginning of history. The Indus Valley, for instance, was one of the places where civilization began. So it’s very old. I’ve collected artifacts that go back hundreds—if not thousands—of years.

You can go to high places in Utah and get the feeling they’re fresh from the hand of the Creator. I remember one time I’ve never forgotten from early days in Idaho: seeing a cirque with a lake at the bottom of it and mists blowing across—it looked like it had just been created.

The landscape has been very important to me, both as a person and as a poet. I have lived other places from time to time—and always when I’ve lived there, I’ve missed the mountains and have had a pull to come back.

CM: Your poems “Holiday,” “The Coward,” and “Processional” deal with men and arms—guns and hunts, guns and war. You are someone who lived through World War II and subsequent conflicts. You also live where the deer hunt is an annual event. Tell me more about your feelings about men and arms.

EH: To tell the truth, I've never been on a hunt for deer or anything else. I have always admired the grace and the beauty of wild animals like deer, and it's never entered my mind to kill them. I did see them fairly frequently when my brother and I spent a summer camping and plowing on a dry farm; it was a nightly occurrence to see wildlife like deer or coyotes silhouetted on the skyline. We felt like we were just part of the whole natural habitat. We had guns with us that we could use for protection if necessary, but we never tried to shoot a deer or coyote. I recognize that my view of hunters in "Processional"¹ might not be fair. I know so many hunters that I admire, but still their way is not my way, and I can't help feeling the way I do.

CM: What about war?

EH: Of course, the war affected me very closely. I was all set to go to Oxford in the fall of 1939, and then on September first, Hitler invaded Poland, and the war in Europe began. The Rhodes Scholarships were suspended, and it was seven years before I was able to go. So I hold a personal grudge against Hitler.

As far as the war poems are concerned, I'll have to confess I wasn't close to any actual fighting. So poems like "The Coward" are pure imagination because of the impact the war was having on me and on my imagination.

CM: Were you drafted? Or did you enlist?

EH: I didn't get drafted; I enlisted in the navy. I did Japanese language training. My main job throughout the war was working with Japanese naval codes. After they had been broken out by the cryptographers, the job I shared with other translators was that of translating the messages into English.

CM: Talk to me about your influences. You are obviously influenced by Wordsworth, say in your poem "Insulations (against Intimations of Mortality)." Additionally, we see another Romantic, Blake, in "A Lesson in History," where you turn his phrase "Heaven in a Wild Flower" to "heaven in a potato."

EH: I had read Wordsworth of course and thought more highly of him in my youth than later. I became an eighteenth-century scholar—and I believed that education should increase the area of one's appreciation and not decrease it—but as my appreciation for the English Classical period increased, I started to look more askance at the Romantics. . . .

I was a classmate of Clinton Larson at the University of Utah. The two of us were in many creative writing classes taught by Brewster Ghiselin. He is, in my opinion, a great poet. Later, I took an M.A. in creative writing at the University of Michigan.

I read some of Ghiselin's poetry that had just been published. The language, the diction, the rhythms opened a whole new world for me. Everything I'd written before then seemed childish, puerile. I went home and wrote what I thought was my first mature poem: "Morning." Without knowing it, I sort of invented a new stanzaic form. Ghiselin discovered that I repeated it exactly in the second stanza, but the third stanza was a little different. After my teacher pointed out the form to me, I rewrote that stanza to conform to the other two. I hadn't been aware consciously that there was any stanza form at all.

CM: Let's look at a specific poem: "On Listening to Jorge Luis Borges."² Tell me the history of that poem. Did you meet Borges? Wherein does Borges's power lie for you?

EH: Borges was at BYU, and he had an interpreter with him, but he really didn't need it. It amazed me that a person of foreign background could see so clearly into the heart of English poetry, of literature. What it revealed to me was that there's a truth about being human and that he had reached that and made it manifest to us. It didn't matter that he was from Argentina—he could have been from Timbuktu or anywhere else. The truths he revealed were the depths of the human heart. That's what impressed me about him.

He had sensitivity for language as well as for people—he made such an impression. It was forceful and magnetic.

CM: Language and form—the intrinsic power of the word and the delight in craft—are essential to creating good poetry. What does language mean to you? What are the tricks and limitations of language? Of form?

EH: The word *trick* is too mechanical; it goes deeper than that. You roll words around on your tongue and taste them and feel them—each one has a special life of its own. In great poetry, not a word can be changed, because each is exactly right. Science's truths have always been revised, from Newton to Einstein. But nobody finds a better way to say things than the way Shakespeare says them.

The feel for human truths goes hand in hand with the language and all that the words suggest, their history. The whole working together conveys a truth that was always known but comes with a shock of recognition, because we hadn't been aware that we knew it.

I can't imagine a poem existing without form—to me it isn't a poem unless it has form. I think form becomes part of the meaning. Form and content are inextricably connected.

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Edward L. Hart received a B.S. in economics from the University of Utah in 1939 and an M.A. in English at the University of Michigan in 1941. He went on to receive a D.Phil. from Oxford in 1951. A well-known Mormon poet, Dr. Hart wrote the text for the popular hymn "Our Savior's Love." He received a Presidential Citation from Brigham Young University in 1998. He can be reached by email through BYU Studies at byu_studies@byu.edu.

1. Edward L. Hart, "Processional," *BYU Studies* 34, no. 1 (1994): 30–31.
2. Edward L. Hart, "On Listening to Jorge Luis Borges," *BYU Studies* 13, no.2 (1973): 135.

Our Savior's Love

Our Savior's love
Shines like the sun with perfect light,
As from above
It breaks through clouds of strife.
Lighting our way,
It leads us back into his sight,
Where we may stay
To share eternal life.

The Spirit, voice
Of goodness, whispers to our hearts
A better choice
Than evil's anguished cries.
Loud may the sound
Of hope ring till all doubt departs,
And we are bound
To him by loving ties.

Our Father, God
Of all creation, hear us pray
In reverence, awed
By thy Son's sacrifice.
Praises we sing.
We love thy law; we will obey.
O heavenly king,
In thee our hearts rejoice.

—Edward L. Hart

Editor's note: In the 1985 hymnbook, "through" was changed to "thru," "reverence" to "rev'rence," and "O" to "Our."

The Uintahs

The Uintah Mountains master the man, pinching
His inch-high image to a freckle on the rock he climbs.
Sometimes pride leads him to believe he conquers them
When he reaches peaks and leaves his name in bottles on the tops.
He descends and sees through the teasing haze of his distance-
Blurring vision, how oblivious above him the mountain Hayden
Stays.

These people think they know. Some hurried
Tourists who have seen Boulder Dam and the Grand
Canyon talk in the lodge of scenery.

The oppression
Of the pressing weight: upheaved Hayden's crowding
Of the ground downward, the lower ridges' deceiving,
Lead young couples to achieve the steepness and surmount
The mountains' mass and match the fixedness with feet.
Eager to be mystic as the summit mists and lifted,
Optimistically lightened by youth's delusion, they let height
And time die and climb far farther than they need,
To see what is not to be taken. Hard
Hills hide their precious spots so only the knowing
Find them. Columbine and wild fern—
Dove-flower and unwinding frond—sprout and seed
In a spot, guarded in the rock like a spark spared.
Lower the climbers come, closer to the ground,
Their sounded blood pumped passionless. They are pale, and pain
Means nothing. The mountain height has taught by taking all.

—Edward L. Hart

Bear Lake

A fog follows the levee
Along the drain canal.
The lake is drawn from the valley
Leaving sand and shell.

Ice is hiding the river,
Snow covers the sand,
Thick-lipped winter bends
The willow wands till they totter.

Winter weakens to spring,
The fog scatters out to the benches,
Unbending willow prongs
Lean up from the snow by the fences.

The wind blows away the sound
Of straining pumps at Lifton,
Within me I hear them in vision
Turning the lake into sand.

Mountains rise out of the water
The bottomlands sag into swales,
Sloughs are festered with frogweed,
In the mud lie leeches and shells.

Bear Lake lies in the sand
From the pumps to the Wasatch wall.
In its evening levels swell
Black shadows of the land.

Planting the upland fields,
I heard a far sound of flails,
And the wind washed by in a wave
Like the sway of swinging wheat.

Now the thin fringe of leaves
Has darkened and heavied to brooding.
Wind from the mountains crowding
Scatters the petals and seeds.

Water is gone from the marshes,
Pumps in silence are lying,
Grain in the valley flourishes:
All but the land will be dying.

—Edward L. Hart

Mormons in the Press

Reactions to the 1901 Opening of the Japan Mission

Shinji Takagi

On Monday, August 12, 1901, Heber J. Grant, a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, arrived in Tokyo Bay aboard the *Empress of India*, a steamship operated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.¹ Accompanied by missionaries Horace S. Ensign, Louis A. Kelsch, and Alma O. Taylor, Grant intended to organize in Japan the first permanent mission of the Church in Asia.² After passing quarantine, this “quartet”³ took a steam launch for the Grand Hotel in the Yokohama Foreign Settlement.⁴ When the four missionaries checked in at the elegant hotel, which professed to be the “largest and most complete hotel in the Far East,” “second to none either in Europe or America,”⁵ they obviously had no conception of the extensive coverage they would receive in the Japanese press.

The amount of press coverage given the Mormon missionaries during the next month or so was unprecedented and has not been surpassed in the subsequent history of the Church in Japan. More than a dozen newspapers in the capital city of Tokyo, two nationally influential newspapers in the dominant commercial city of Osaka, and no less than twenty major regional newspapers throughout the country devoted considerable space—often on front pages—to articles and editorials reporting or otherwise commenting on the arrival of this new Christian sect with unusual doctrines (for a list of newspapers, see the appendix).⁶ From August 13, the day after the missionaries’ arrival, to September 10, not a day went by without something about Mormons being printed somewhere in Japan. During this time, no less than 160 articles, editorials, and letters appeared in the Japanese press. The scope of this massive newspaper coverage was reinforced and given greater permanency by articles about the missionaries’ arrival that were published in two of the most influential national magazines, the *Chuo Koron* (Central Review) and the *Taiyo* (Sun).⁷

This paper presents a review and analysis of the press coverage of the arrival of Mormon missionaries in Japan during the ensuing month. The intention is (1) to show that the press spread knowledge throughout Japanese

society of this important event in the history of the Church⁸ and (2) to provide the historical and social context within which Mormon missionary work began in Japan. Specifically, the unusual degree to which Mormonism was discussed in the Japanese press was related to the nature and role of the resident foreign press, the competitive nature of the newspaper industry with its propensity towards sensationalism, and, most importantly, Japan's own internal conflict regarding its social institutions.

Japan at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

After many years of political difficulties associated with the practice of plural marriage, the Saints in the United States had finally received some relief in part as a result of the Manifesto of 1890 and the granting of statehood in 1896. Perhaps for these and other reasons, Church leaders could afford to devote more attention and resources to missionary work outside the then established missions of the Church.⁹ The leaders must have noted the spectacular rise of Japan to the ranks of the more progressive nations of the world, propelled as it was by the promulgation of a written constitution in 1889 with guaranteed religious freedom and parliamentary representation, the defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, and the subsequent adoption of the gold standard in 1897.¹⁰ In fact, upon the announcement of his mission call at the April 1901 general conference, Heber J. Grant commented on his very positive impression: “The Japanese are a wonderfully progressive people. . . . Of the Oriental races they are without doubt the most enterprising and intelligent. . . . Some authorities say that when it comes to absorbing knowledge they eclipse any people in the world today.”¹¹

Perhaps little appreciated by the Church leadership at the time was a legal development of major significance to prospective Mormon missionary work in Japan. In 1894, the Japanese government agreed to revise the series of commercial treaties, collectively called the Ansei treaties, that the Tokugawa shogunate had signed with eleven Western nations in the late 1850s and the early 1860s.¹² The Ansei treaties not only allowed the signatory countries access to major ports and commercial cities¹³ for trading purposes, but also gave their nationals the right to be tried in a consular court according to their own laws. In exchange for these extraterritorial privileges, however, the Ansei treaties and the associated domestic statutes limited foreigners freedom of access in Japan. In principle, foreigners were not allowed to travel in Japan without explicit permission and were required to live in designated foreign settlements established in the treaty ports and cities, most notably Yokohama, Kobe, and Tokyo.¹⁴ The foreign settlements were restricted areas, in which the Japanese government strictly controlled entrance by Japanese and exit by foreigners.

Attempts to change the Ansei treaties began a few years after the imperial government took over the governance of Japan from the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868. The new government of Emperor Meiji commenced the seemingly fruitless effort of renegotiating with the foreign powers the terms of what it had started calling the Unequal Treaties because of the system of extraterritoriality enjoyed by the foreigners in Japan. The revision of the fifteen Ansei treaties¹⁵ remained the single most important objective of Japanese foreign policy during the subsequent quarter of a century. The end of extraterritoriality, even a modification of it, was opposed by the treaty port communities.¹⁶ They generally took a hostile and condescending attitude towards the natives and wanted to maintain their privileges and freedom from Japanese law. On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries were in favor of a modification. They were eager to proselyte in the interior without resorting to subterfuge or fearing harassment from the police.¹⁷

The system of extraterritoriality was beset with problems and was not a sustainable arrangement anyway.¹⁸ First, in some countries, such as the United States, the constitutionality of consular courts was questioned. Second, there was a lack of experienced officers to administer justice. Third, the appeals process was so costly that many (mostly Japanese) were effectively deprived of justice. For example, those tried in consular courts had to file an appeal with a higher court located in foreign countries, such as Shanghai (Britain) or Saigon (France). Some serious crimes such as murder could not be tried in Japan in the first place. Fourth, some countries did not maintain consuls in Japan. Fifth, problems occurred when jurisdictions overlapped (as would happen when a case involved a Frenchman and a Dutchman). For these and other reasons, extraterritoriality in Japan was becoming increasingly unworkable by the late 1880s.¹⁹ Thus, the treaty powers were prepared to make concessions in return for commercial advantages, such as access to the Japanese market. In part to ease the apprehension of the foreign powers, the Japanese government took a series of measures to reform its legal system along Western lines, including its criminal, commercial, and civil codes.

After several failed attempts, Japan finally secured an agreement in 1894 with the British government that would abolish extraterritoriality in exchange for allowing foreign merchants to have access to Japan outside the treaty ports and cities. With the decisive British agreement in hand, the Meiji government succeeded in convincing the other countries to sign similar agreements, beginning with the United States in 1895. The revised treaties came into force for all fifteen treaty powers in the summer of 1899 amid some domestic furor over the prospect of allowing foreigners, especially Christian missionaries, to move freely among the populace.²⁰

Heber J. Grant and his associates arrived in Yokohama just two years after the foreign settlement there had been legally abolished and foreigners could live and travel in Japan as they pleased. This is not to say that missionary work could not have been conducted in Japan prior to 1899. In fact, several mainstream Christian denominations had already been established in Japan and had met with some success.²¹ However, their method of proselyting was not the kind the Mormons generally employed. Mainstream churches had established their bases of operation in the foreign settlements, notably in Yokohama, Tokyo, and Osaka,²² and had reached the Japanese by building mission schools, where religion could be mixed with secular instruction. Christianity was also spread by foreign teachers employed in Japanese schools; these teachers were given somewhat greater freedom of movement within the country. Most of the notable Christian converts of the Meiji period were social elites who were influenced by Christian teachers while studying at some of the country's most prestigious institutions of secondary or higher education. Given the limited financial and human resources of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the second half of the nineteenth century, however, building schools probably would not have been possible for the missionaries in Japan.

Reactions of the English-Language Press

When Grant and his associates arrived two years after the segregation of foreigners had been lifted, Yokohama possessed a thriving foreign community along the harbor in the original settlement as well as in a newer settlement upon a hill overlooking the harbor. To meet the needs of the foreign community, estimated at between 2,000 and 2,400 in number,²³ Yokohama maintained several foreign-language newspapers, including the *Japan Advertiser*, the *Japan Herald*, and the *Japan Mail*.²⁴ Of these, the *Japan Advertiser* (founded in 1890) was the only notable newspaper under American management. Unfortunately, because all of these newspapers had a circulation of at most only several hundred, no known copies from this period exist in any Japanese public library. Thus, for information regarding the foreign press in Japan, we must rely on newspaper clippings in Elder Alma O. Taylor's scrapbook, references in his diaries, and some weekly mail editions that have been kept in major libraries overseas.²⁵

The English-language press in Yokohama reacted immediately to the arrival of the Mormon missionaries. By this time, the Protestant missionaries, who were an important component of the foreign community in Yokohama, had already been informed by their headquarters that the Mormon missionaries would shortly be arriving in Japan.²⁶ The elders' arrival on August 12 was reported in the *Japan Advertiser* on the following day, with a comment that the Mormons would "find the native apparel better

than their wares.”²⁷ This rather unkind reaction of the *Japan Advertiser* possibly reflected the fact that the paper was at that time under the editorship of a Unitarian missionary, Arthur M. Knapp (editor, 1899–1902), who might have traveled on the same ship as the Mormon missionaries.²⁸ The *Advertiser's* reaction, however, may have exaggerated any lack of civility on the part of the Unitarian missionary, for Elder Grant wrote the following in his journal a few days later:

I got a letter to the editor of the *Advertiser*, Mr. Napp [sic], and called on him. He received us very kindly and promised us fair treatment at the hands of his paper. He published the address to the Japanese people and wrote an editorial that we need not look for much success in this land but said we would be kindly received by the Japanese people.²⁹

The significance of the *Japan Advertiser* reaction lies not so much in its message as in the fact that it was the first to report the arrival of the Mormon missionaries and consequently gave rise to a proliferation of newspaper reports, articles, and editorials on Mormonism during the following month.

At that time, both in terms of influence and readership, the *Japan Mail* and the *Japan Herald* were much more important in Yokohama and elsewhere in Japan.³⁰ Of the two, the *Japan Herald* was more hospitable to the Mormons. On August 14, Grant visited the office of the *Japan Herald* and received a warm reception. The editor said that he would like to write a story about the Mormon missionaries and agreed to publish an eight-hundred-word official statement that Elder Grant had prepared. As the editor had promised, the next day's *Japan Herald* carried the entire transcript, unedited, of Grant's "Address to the Great and Progressive Nation of Japan," which in part reads:

In company with my associates sent to you from the headquarters of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in Salt Lake City, Utah, an Apostle and minister of the Most High God, I salute you and invite you to consider the important message we bear. We do not come to you for the purpose of trying to deprive you of any truth in which you believe, or any light that you have been privileged to enjoy. We bring you greater light, more truth and advanced knowledge, which we offer you freely.³¹

An account of the interview with Grant was published on the same day (August 15). After quoting the thirteen Articles of Faith in their entirety, the account explained the missionary program of the Church (in which some 1,600 missionaries worked without remuneration), the proper name of the Church (with *Mormons* being a nickname), its belief in the Book of Mormon, the termination of polygamy with President Wilford Woodruff's Manifesto, and the secular accomplishments of Utah Mormons. Grant wrote in his journal: "The Herald report of my interview is very fair indeed

and the next day after its publication I called and thanked Mr. Harrison for it.”³² At that time, J. H. Brooke was both the owner and the editor of the *Japan Herald*;³³ Harrison may well have been his subordinate. The elders’ cordial relationship with Harrison appears to have lasted for a long time, as Alma O. Taylor suggested in his journal on February 2, 1902: “In the evening [we] entertained at supper Mr. Harrison the editor of the Japan Herald.”

The *Japan Mail*, on the other hand, was not so hospitable but took a consistently hostile position towards the Mormons. For example, it accused the Mormons of believing in polygamy and thereby degrading women, of coming to Japan “in the guise of Christianity” to carry men to “the days of Lot and Abraham,” and of being “corruptors of morality” and “enemies of pure happiness”; it equated plural marriage with concubinage; it belittled the letters to the editor written by Grant; and it reprinted a rather lengthy anti-Mormon article entitled “The Mormon Menace,” written by a non-Mormon resident of Utah.³⁴ At that time, the *Mail* was both owned and edited by Captain F. Brinkley, a retired British army officer who was connected somehow with the Japanese government.³⁵ As will be explained more fully below, the *Mail*’s anti-Mormon stance reflected its Protestant missionary clientele. The *Mail*’s stance may also have been a reflection of its usual anti-American sentiment, which was quite strong in the foreign settlement community at that time.³⁶ On August 17, the *Mail* called the *Herald* the “champion of the Mormon Mission” because of its favorable views of the Mormons. In response, that evening the *Herald* called the *Mail*’s editor “an amateur journalist.” The *Mail* asserted that the Mormons should not be allowed to remain in Japan to preach, a position echoed by the Japanese-managed *Japan Times* of Tokyo in its August 20 editorial.³⁷

From the vantage point of faraway Kobe, another large foreign settlement immediately west of Osaka, some 350 miles southwest of Tokyo,³⁸ the editor of the *Kobe Chronicle*³⁹ wrote this perspective on the press war in Yokohama:

[The] arrival of a Salt Lake City Apostle with a number of elders has aroused some attention in Japan, though it seems to have caused far more stir among the foreign newspapers than among the Japanese, who naturally regard the establishment of one more sect in Japan with more or less indifference. As was to be expected, the missionaries already established in this country are not pleased at such an encroachment on their preserves, and one ex-missionary now conducting a boarding-house in Yokohama even refused to give the Mormon missionaries accommodation. A Yokohama foreign journal which may be taken as representing the missionaries even went so far as to advocate that the preaching of these missionaries should be officially forbidden.

The editor then goes on to criticize the *Japan Times*:

It is not very surprising, perhaps, that such intolerance should be advocated by a foreign journal in touch with missionaries already established in the country, but we certainly were surprised to find the *Japan Times*, published in Tokyo and edited by a Japanese, taking up the same attitude a day or two later, and urging that the teaching of Mormon doctrines should be prohibited in this country.

Predicting that the Mormons "will find [that] their efforts at proselytisation in Japan will be received with stolid indifference," the *Chronicle* editor concluded by calling for religious tolerance:

It is to be hoped that religious intolerance is not one of the innovations from the West which is to be introduced into Japan. . . . [We] hope that the Government will not be misled by the efforts of rival propagandists into a departure from the attitude of tolerance which has been so honourable a feature of the Meiji era, and in which Japan has set such a fine example to Christendom.⁴⁰

Strictly on rational grounds, the editor, probably an American named Robert Young, was not fond of Christianity.⁴¹ Thus, his opposition to Christianity in general was translated into his fair treatment of the Mormon missionaries who were being ill treated by Protestant missionaries.

The more substantive problem with the foreign press in Yokohama was the lack of professionalism, compounded by the small size of the foreign community itself. According to historian James Hoare, the "invective of the Yokohama papers became notorious not only in Japan but far outside the country. The lack of real news often meant that editors had little better to fill their papers with than personal attacks on their rivals. The smallness of the foreign communities meant that no such attacks could be ignored and so the cycle went on."⁴² Moreover, the smallness of the foreign communities also meant that the newspapers depended heavily on subscribers for operating funds. Consequently, maintaining an impartial view on issues was difficult, and "switches in editorial policy, even under the same editor, were . . . a marked feature" of what has been called "treaty port journalism."⁴³ The controversy with which the Mormon missionaries were accosted by the Yokohama foreign press was a product of treaty port journalism, the very type of newspaper controversy the elders were later counseled by the First Presidency to avoid.⁴⁴

Reactions in the Japanese Press

Despite the *Kobe Chronicle's* claim that the Mormons had been met with "indifference," the elders also received wide, though by no means universal, coverage in the Japanese press. Likely, the Japanese press obtained the news of the arrival from the August 13 issue of either the *Japan Advertiser*

or the *Japan Herald*.⁴⁵ The *Jiji Shinpo* of Tokyo quickly responded on August 14 by noting the arrival. The *Yamato Shinbun* (also of Tokyo) published a similar report the following day. At the turn of the twentieth century, Tokyo had over a dozen competing newspapers, among which the *Yorozu Choho* had the largest circulation (at close to one hundred thousand),⁴⁶ followed by such papers as the *Hochi Shinbun*, the *Niroku Shinpo*, and the *Chuo Shinbun*.⁴⁷ The *Kokumin Shinbun*, the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, and the *Miyako Shinbun* were also important. With a circulation of only about ten thousand, the *Jiji Shinpo* was considered to be a first-rate newspaper and was extremely influential because its readership was concentrated in the business community.⁴⁸

Beginning on August 16, the story of the elders' arrival was picked up by a number of regional newspapers throughout the country. Probably the news was obtained from the wire services or from the papers' Tokyo correspondents, who could communicate via telephone or telegraph, which had connected most major points of the country by that time.⁴⁹ The *Niigata Shinbun* and the *Tohoku Nippo* (Niigata), the *Kobe Yushin Nippo*, and the *Shizuoka Minyu Shinbun* were the first regional papers to report the news. They were followed by the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, the *Kyoto Hinode Shinbun*, and the *Hokkoku Shinbun* (Kanazawa) on August 17. Subsequently, reports, articles, and editorials relating to the Mormon missionaries and their message were published extensively in many of the country's major newspapers, including the *Ryukyu Shinpo* of Naha, Okinawa.

In Tokyo, correspondents of the *Jiji Shinpo* and the *Niroku Shinpo* both reported accounts of interviews with the Mormon missionaries. On August 16, the *Jiji* devoted the top two-thirds of page four (fig. 1) to an interview with Elder Grant held at the Grand Hotel. The interview summarized Grant's business career and explained the history and beliefs of the Mormons, including their persecution, industry, and polygamy. This interview was picked up by the *Kyoto Hinode Shinbun* on August 18 and by the influential *Kahoku Shinpo* (Sendai), which published it in two parts on August 18 and 20. Another interview, conducted by a *Niroku Shinpo*'s reporter, was published in that newspaper in five parts on August 17, 18, 19, 21, and 23, again summarizing the history and beliefs of Mormonism. The *Niroku* also published on August 19 a cartoon depicting the four elders (fig. 2) and, more significantly, the entire English-language text of Elder Grant's "Address to the Great and Progressive Nation of Japan," with a Japanese translation, on August 19 and 20 (figs. 3a, 3b). All in all, at least fifteen Tokyo-based newspapers reported in one form or another the arrival of the Mormon missionaries during the months of August and September 1901.⁵⁰

Fairly extensive commentary including an exposition on Church history and doctrines was also found in the *Kobe Yushin Nippo* (August 16),



FIG. 1. On August 16, 1901, Tokyo's *Jiji Shinpo* devoted almost an entire page to an interview of the Mormon missionaries by its reporter; the missionaries' portraits accompanied the article. Left to right: (top row) Louis A. Kelsch, Heber J. Grant; (bottom row) Horace S. Ensign, Alma O. Taylor. All photographs courtesy Shinji Takagi.



FIG. 2. On August 19, 1901, Tokyo's *Niroku Shinpo* published a cartoon depicting the four Mormon missionaries as the “Mormon *bodhisattva* (Buddhist saints)” with halos, and with a group of prominent Japanese gentlemen (presumably including Hirobumi Ito) worshipping them. In view of the presumed practice of polygamy among the Mormons, the cartoon was evidently alluding to the practice of concubinage prevalent among the leading men of Japan.



FIG. 3a. Front page of the *Niroku*, August 19, 1901. The *Niroku* published, in two parts, the entire text of Elder Grant's "Address to the Great and Progressive Nation of Japan," accompanied by a Japanese translation of the text, a portrait of Elder Grant, and a portrait of Joseph Smith.

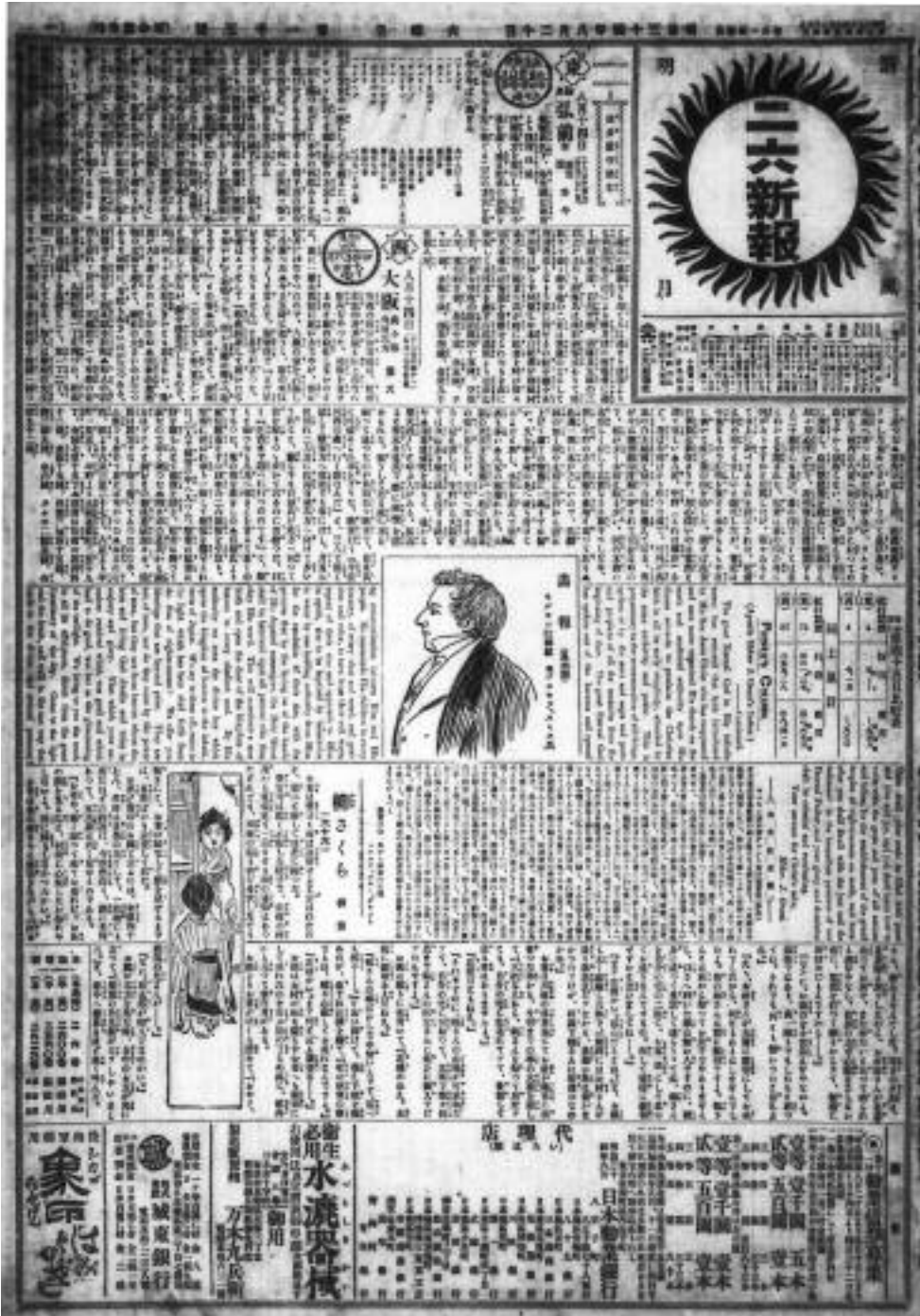


FIG. 3b. Front page of the *Niroku*, August 20, 1901.

the *Yamato Shinbun* (August 17–22, 24–27), the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun* (August 19), the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun* of Osaka (August 21, 23–24), the *Moji Shinpo* of Moji (August 22), the *Kyochu Nippo* of Kofu (August 24, 27–28), and the *Tokyo Mainichi Shinbun* (September 5–6 and 8). The *Kyochu Nippo* series was a verbatim copy of the *Osaka Mainichi* series. Except for the *Osaka Asahi* article—which presented the thirteen Articles of Faith (see discussion below) and discussed in a factual manner the nature of the Book of Mormon, the proper name of the Church, the place of secular pursuits in Mormon religious life, and the reasons for and practice and termination of polygamy—all the rest were anti-Mormon in tone. For example, all but *Yamato* referred to the Spaulding theory as a credible explanation for the origin of the Book of Mormon. Other frequently referenced topics included claims about fraudulent banking practices in Kirtland, the immoral and questionable character of Joseph Smith, the political ambition of the Church to establish an independent kingdom, the founding of a secret society to protect Joseph Smith's life, the execution of oaths to demand absolute obedience to authority, the Mountain Meadows massacre, and other usual fares of anti-Mormon literature. The *Mainichi* (Tokyo) called the Mormon religion “superstitious,” “dubious,” “unworthy of an educated person's attention,” and its teachings “incompatible with civilization.”

One religious newspaper gave particularly extensive coverage to the Mormons. The *Kyogaku Hochi* of Kyoto published at least twenty-nine articles on Mormon themes between August 18 and September 24. Founded by a Buddhist priest in 1897, the *Kyogaku Hochi* was informally affiliated with the Jodo-shinshu sect of Buddhism.⁵¹ Significantly, it was read not only by Kyoto's citizenry but also by subscribing temples and other religious institutions throughout the country.

The newspapers contained translations of Mormon terms and texts that remained in the Japanese Church vocabulary for years. Of particular significance was the August 19 issue of the *Osaka Asahi*, in which the thirteen Articles of Faith and the expression *Latter-day Saints* were translated into Japanese. In the choice of words and sentence structure, the translation of the Articles of Faith is almost identical to the one the Church would subsequently adopt, indicating the possibility that the Church translator, Goro Takahashi, consulted the *Osaka Asahi* translation.⁵² The translation of the phrase “Latter-day Saints” (*Batsujitsu Seito*), is also the same as the one which was subsequently to be used by the Church.⁵³ The *Osaka Asahi*'s translation of the Articles of Faith was reprinted in the August 26 issue of the *Yamato Shinbun* and the August 29 issue of the *Ryukyu Shinpo*. In the August 18 issue of the *Yamato Shinbun*, the expression “Book of Mormon” was translated as *Morumon Kei*, the same wording that would be used by the Church for over ninety years.

Next to the arrival of the LDS missionaries, the most widely reported event was the refusal of a Yokohama boardinghouse keeper—an ex-Protestant missionary named Staniland—to admit them. This event was described in Alma O. Taylor's journal entry for August 13 as follows:

During this afternoon we had been hunting for a place to board which would be cheaper than at the hotel and at one place to which Bro[ther] Kelsch, Bro[ther] Grant and Bro[ther] Ensign were directed they found suitable rooms but when they were about to accept them, the landlord said: "We had been expecting some Mormon preachers from Utah" The Brethren said that they were the ones and had just arrived the day before on the steamer Empress of India. "Oh!" said he, "I cannot take you under any consideration.[""] After talking with him a few moments during which they asked him if he would not like to hear the other side of Mormonism, he said that he did not and would not have anything to do with them or their money, so they left him and sought elsewhere for acomidations.⁵⁴

This incident was first reported by the English-language newspapers. The *Japan Mail* covered the event on August 16 in a condescending manner by saying that the paper was "given to understand that the Mormon elders who recently arrived in Japan are not staying at Beverly House, No. 2, Bluff," to which the *Japan Herald* sharply reacted in its evening edition. The *Herald* accused the "tenant of the premises in question" for appearing "to glory in his indefensible conduct" by reporting the incident to "the all too complaisant *Mail*," and concluded that "to save trouble to future applicants for rooms, advertisements emanating from No. 2, Bluff, should be worded after this fashion: 'Lodging to let, but only to persons deemed by the letter, to hold correct opinions. . . . Particulars to be had on the premises, at No. 2, also at the *Japan Mail* Office.'" The Associated Press carried the news with a commentary that the Mormon missionaries had received "a sample of the lack of Catholicity which characterises Christian workers in the Orient, and of the sectarian feeling which vitiates their work."⁵⁵

Starting August 19, the boardinghouse incident was picked up by Japanese newspapers in Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Moji, and Okinawa.⁵⁶ For some reason, the story became distorted by the Japanese press to the effect that Staniland had admitted the missionaries but his wife, finding that they were Mormons, kicked them out. Some editorials, such as those in the *Mainichi* (Tokyo) on August 21 and in the *Jiji* on August 25, capitalized on this version, arguing that the sexual immorality of Japanese men was reinforced by the blind obedience of Japanese women, who should be more like American women. Undergirding the reaction of the *Mainichi* and other papers to the Staniland incident was the antiprostitution movement, a major social force at that time, as well as the conflict in Japanese society over the proper role of women.⁵⁷

The Question of Polygamy

The Mormon missionaries, representing a religion whose recent history included belief in and practice of polygamy, arrived during a time of national debate over antiprostitution and monogamy. From the mid-1880s on, Christians led a movement to abolish the system of licensed prostitution in Japan, in part responding to a similar movement in leading countries of the world.⁵⁸ Earlier, in 1872, the Meiji Government had abolished the system of licensed prostitution that involved slavery by issuing the Anti-Slavery Law and the Prostitute Liberalization Law. The following year, however, yielding to pressure from brothel owners, the government allowed prostitutes to engage in the profession of their own free will and brothel owners to offer their facilities to such prostitutes.⁵⁹

The antiprostitution movement regained momentum in 1885, when a women's magazine called *Jogaku Zasshi* was inaugurated and began campaigning against licensed prostitution. In December 1886, the Tokyo Women's Temperance Union was founded with the broader objective of promoting the liberalization of women and a charter that included (1) promoting the establishment of a wholesome association between husband and wife, (2) improving the status of women in the family, (3) abolishing prostitution, and (4) establishing the system of monogamy. Three years later, it filed a petition with the government, stating that the prevalent practice of concubinage was adultery. Also, in 1890, a move toward consolidation began. Local antiprostitution organizations joined together to establish the National Anti-Prostitution League, and in 1893 the Tokyo Women's Temperance Union absorbed other Christian women's organizations throughout the country to become the Japan Women's Christian Temperance Union.⁶⁰ By the late 1890s, the antiprostitution movement was a major national movement and a significant social force.⁶¹

In this social movement, a significant role was played by the *Mainichi* of Tokyo and the Salvation Army, which had arrived in Japan in 1895. The *Mainichi*, an antiprostitution newspaper, set up a daily column in which it reported the names of prostitutes who left the profession.⁶² The Salvation Army, on its part, preached against the evils of prostitution in the August 1, 1900, issue of its magazine *Toki no Koe* (War cry), calling for licensed prostitutes to leave the profession and offering assistance and asylum to those who did so.⁶³ On August 5, as a group of Salvation Army volunteers were walking through the red light districts of Tokyo with copies of the magazine, they were attacked by mobs hired by brothel owners. This incident was reported in newspapers throughout the country.⁶⁴

Thus, the Mormon missionaries arrived in Japan at a time when Japanese society was debating the evils of its social institutions that subjugated women, including licensed prostitution and, more broadly, the marital

relationship between husband and wife. In this light, it is easy to understand why almost all of the editorials on Mormon themes published in Japanese newspapers at that time discussed the Japanese practice of concubinage in the context of Mormon polygamy. For example, in a two-part front-page editorial published August 16–17, the *Yamato Shinbun*⁶⁵ made a far-fetched suggestion that the people of nobility (who frequently practiced concubinage) should all become Mormons and that the commoners be forbidden to become Mormons. This way, the editorial argued, the evil practice of concubinage could be eliminated in Japan. On August 21, the Tokyo *Mainichi Shinbun* wrote a front-page editorial entitled “Foreign Mormonism and Domestic Mormonism,” arguing that Japan’s elite society did not have the moral qualification to reject Mormonism and that the practice of concubinage should be abolished. Other negative editorials were even introspective. For example, on August 24, the *Kyoto Hinode Shinbun* published an editorial stating that prohibiting the preaching of Mormonism by legal means would be useless unless the system of monogamy was firmly established first. Otherwise, a “type of Mormonism” would continue to flourish in Japan.

Heber J. Grant fought the perception that the Mormons had come to preach polygamy. In his interviews with the Japanese press as well as in his letters to the editors of the *Japan Mail* and the *Japan Herald*, he vehemently denied any suggestion that the Mormon missionaries had come to preach polygamy, referring to the Manifesto of 1890. He was not entirely persuasive, however. For one thing, he simultaneously made rather laudatory remarks about polygamy, including the logic behind the Mormon practice of polygamy, phrases such as “beautiful” polygamist families, and comments about the social and biological virtues of such practice. Perhaps more importantly, Grant admitted that he himself was a polygamist.⁶⁶ Probably for these and other reasons, many newspaper articles continued to claim that the Mormons still believed in polygamy, while fully acknowledging the official termination of the practice in the Manifesto.

The image of the Church as a polygamist institution lingered for years. In October 1901, Kajiko Yajima, the president of the Japan Women’s Temperance Union, and Chiseko Seda, the President of the Tokyo Women’s Temperance Union, filed with the Home Ministry a petition to ban the preaching of Mormonism on the grounds that the Mormons still believed in polygamy and that there were still polygamists in Utah.⁶⁷ As late as March 1907, Alma O. Taylor, then the president of the Japan Mission, felt compelled to write for the *Jiji Shinpo* an article stating there was “no fear of polygamy.”⁶⁸ Likewise, E. D. Thomas, who succeeded Taylor, devoted considerable space to the topic of polygamy in an article published in the May 1911 issue of the *Seiko* (Success), a monthly magazine.⁶⁹

Hirobumi Ito and the Legal Prostitution Controversy

The Mormon elders carried at least one letter of introduction to Hirobumi Ito (1841–1909), perhaps the single most important political leader of the Meiji period and one of the founding fathers of modern Japan.⁷⁰ The letter was written by Angus M. Cannon, the younger brother of George Q. Cannon and the manager of the *Deseret News* office during 1867–74.⁷¹ Cannon's association with Ito resulted from the visits Ito made to the United States in 1870 as a part of his responsibility at the Ministry of Finance to study the monetary system of the United States and in 1872 as a member of the mission led by Prince Tomomi Iwakura, Junior Prime Minister, to begin preliminary renegotiations of treaty revision with the treaty powers and to study their modern institutions.⁷²

One thing Elder Grant had not been informed of was the fact that Hirobumi Ito was known in Japan as a womanizer and an advocate of licensed prostitution.⁷³ In 1896, in an interview with the Tokyo correspondent of the *London Daily News*, Ito stated that he supported licensed prostitution as a realistic way of controlling vice and protecting the public. A summary of this interview was published in the September issue of the *Fujin Shinpo*, the monthly magazine of the Tokyo Women's Temperance Union, and Ito's position on prostitution became widely known in Japanese society.⁷⁴ Thus, the August 24, 1901, issue of the *Yonezawa Shinbun* called Ito "a Mormon in deed" and a "good representative of Mormonism in the Orient." The August 27 issue of the *Yamato Shinbun*, referring to Grant's letters of introduction to Ito, stated that Ito was the "overlord of the sexual world, and the supreme ruler of carnal desire." The fact that Grant had a letter of introduction to Ito sent a wrong and unintended signal to the Japanese public.

Apparently, Elder Grant had every intention of meeting Ito upon his arrival in Japan. His intentions were implied in a short *Deseret Evening News* article under the headline "Arrive at Yokohama, Apostle Grant and Companions Now in the Mikado's Empire." The article stated:

President Snow received a cablegram today from Apostle Heber J. Grant announcing that he and his companions arrived safely at Yokohama last midnight. The cablegram merely stated the fact, giving no further particulars but those who are familiar with his plans say that Apostle Grant will first call on the highest government officials including the mikado himself, and will lose no time in getting the work started in Japan.⁷⁵

The Japanese press was more explicit. The August 16 issue of the *Jiji Shinpo* quoted Grant as saying that he would visit Ito with letters of introduction. On the same day, the *Shizuoka Minyu Shinbun* speculated that Ito might be the first person to be baptized by the Mormons.⁷⁶

However, Elder Grant was probably unsuccessful in meeting Ito in Tokyo. According to the August 21 entry of the journal of the Japan Mission,

"President Grant went to Tokyo again, not having been successful in meeting the parties yesterday for whom he has letters."⁷⁷ On January 19, 1902, Alma O. Taylor wrote in his journal, "Another [of the Japanese students who visited us was] the nephew of Marquis Ito to whom we have letters of introduction from Bro[ther] Angus Cannon, who, with his Brother Geo[rge] Q. Cannon, had met the Marquis a number of times." The fact that the missionaries still possessed the letters from Angus Cannon seems to suggest that as of January 1902 the letters had not yet been given to Ito. A more definitive statement comes from the October 19, 1909, journal entry of Alma O. Taylor:

After dinner we were favored with a call from Mr. Akimoto a Japanese who has been engaged in beet raising in Idaho for a long time. . . . A friend of his who is a high official in the government told him that when Apostle Grant and his companions came to Japan, Marquis (now Prince) Ito proposed welcoming officially, by public reception, the Mormon missionaries. All Buddhist and Shinto sects approved the suggestion but the Christians (?) were unanimous in their opposition and said they could not accept an invitation to such a reception. This manifestation of ill will caused the Marquis to withdraw his proposal.⁷⁸

If this story is true, it establishes that Ito was willing to see Grant but, for reasons unknown, did not.

Constitutional and Legal Questions

Another topic frequently treated in the newspapers concerned the limits to the freedom of religion guaranteed by the Meiji Constitution. Chapter 3 article 28 of the constitution reads, "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief."⁷⁹ The key expression is "peace and order," which can restrict the exercise of religious freedom. Many newspaper articles and editorials used this restriction to argue that the government should prohibit the preaching of Mormonism. The first newspaper to take this line of reasoning was the *Japan Mail*, which argued in its August 17 issue that the Mormons should be officially forbidden to preach in Japan because their teaching threatened peace and order. Over subsequent days, this position was adopted by Japanese newspapers, including the *Chugoku*, *Hinode*, *Osaka Mainichi*, *Moji Shinpo*, *Kyushu Shinbun*, and *Yonezawa Shinbun*.⁸⁰

These arguments may have some validity as a Home Ministry ordinance stipulated that a religious organization must file an application before it could be authorized to preach. On August 24, the *Tokyo Asahi* and the *Osaka Asahi* (both under the same management) became the first newspapers to take a look at this issue, noting that the Mormons had not

yet filed an application with the authorities. Possibly in response to this *Asahi* report, which was picked up by the *Japan Herald* in the evening, Elder Grant decided to go to Tokyo on August 27 to consult with the Home Ministry about securing a permit to preach and to distribute tracts in Japan.⁸¹ He returned again to Tokyo on September 2–3, in order to “attend to some business with the Home Department.”⁸²

As Elder Grant discovered, the procedure to secure a permit was quite simple, requiring only that an application be filed with the local authorities, in this case, with the Kanagawa Prefectural Government. The press closely followed the actions of the Mormon missionaries in this matter. Between August 25 and 29, the newspapers frequently made references to the possible decisions of the authorities.⁸³ Curiously, the only thing which the Ito-affiliated *Tokyo Nichinichi* reported during August was the fact that, as of August 28, the Mormons had not filed an application. The *Tokyo Nichinichi* may have considered it wise to distance itself from the controversy surrounding the possible relationship between Ito and the Mormon missionaries.

Elder Grant and his companions continued their attempts to meet the legal requirements. On September 6, they visited the chief of the Kanagawa Police Department to determine the requirements of the law. The chief told them he would consult with the governor before informing them of the particulars. This incident was noted in the September 10 issue of the *Kyogaku Hochi*.⁸⁴ In the event, on September 17, application was made to the governor to preach the gospel. On September 20, the missionaries received a communication from the governor’s office, requesting them to reappear and answer questions regarding their intentions. On September 21, when they called again at the governor’s office, they were told that they “did not have to make such an extensive application as [they] had done in order to get permission to preach and establish a mission, and that there were some points which the law required that had not been mentioned in the application.”⁸⁵ These developments were reported in the September 21 issue of the *Tokyo Nichinichi*, the September 23 and 24 issues of the *Kyogaku Hochi*, and possibly other newspapers, as well as the October issue of the nationally influential *Chuo Koron* magazine.⁸⁶ On October 5, after a few more attempts, the missionaries completed the bureaucratic formalities.⁸⁷

The Osaka Controversy

As previously noted, some of the newspaper editorials used the arrival of the Mormon missionaries as an occasion to discuss the contemporary social issues of Japanese society. Other editorials, however, took definite positions for or against the idea of allowing the Mormon missionaries to preach in Japan, with the Japanese press being roughly split between antagonists and defenders. The antagonists were led by the influential *Jiji Shinpo*,

which on August 20 argued that Mormonism was a “perverse” religion and should be banned in Japan “as in the United States.” On August 23, the *Chuo Shinbun* likewise argued that Mormonism should be banned in Japan as the Mormons had not truthfully given up the practice of polygamy. These articles were followed by the August 27 issue of the *Kyushu Nippo*, which supported the idea of banning Mormonism for being against Japan’s morals.⁸⁸

There were defenders of Mormonism as well. On August 21, the day after the *Jiji* published its devastating editorial, the *Shizuoka Minyu Shinbun* defended the right of the Mormons as a Christian sect to preach in Japan, saying that the mysterious stories associated with Mormonism were not unusual in religion. On August 25, the *Dokuritsu Shinbun*, noting the earnestness of the Mormon missionaries in traveling thousands of miles to come to a country with a totally different culture, stated that complacent Japanese religionists could learn much from Mormonism. The *Chukyo Shinpo* of August 27 devoted part of its front page to appeal to those who were advocating the idea of banning Mormonism, saying that the Mormon missionaries could not be so stupid as to preach the illegal practice of polygamy. It went on to say that what should be feared was not foreign Mormonism but domestic Mormonism, namely, those wealthy Japanese gentlemen who practiced the evil of concubinage.

The most spectacular debate took place in the commercial city of Osaka between its nationally influential *Osaka Asahi* and the *Osaka Mainichi*, which fiercely competed with each other and were often known to take opposite positions on issues that came up. The debate began on August 20, 1901, when the *Asahi* devoted two front-page columns to an editorial entitled “Mormon Missionaries Arrive,” which read in part:

Mormonism is distinguished by its practice of polygamy. Although it professes to uphold Christian teachings, it is despised by other Christians. . . . Several years ago, the United States Government enacted a law to prohibit [polygamy], but the practice has not yet disappeared. Its teachings still approve [polygamy], and the state of Utah, in which the headquarters are located, is a stain in the United States of America. Now, the missionaries of a religion which is considered perverse, feared and despised by the people of America and Europe, have come to Japan and set out to preach.

The writer then went on to say that he objected to Mormonism because the polygamy it promoted could “degrade the public morals of Japan.” As Japanese society was just beginning to recognize the evils of concubinage and public opinion was rising against such practice, he continued, allowing a polygamist religion to be preached might “rekindle” the dying practice. He recognized the constitutional freedom of religion but argued that the freedom of religion was guaranteed only insofar as religious practice did not violate the law. Inasmuch as polygamy was prohibited by law, it was

constitutional to prohibit the preaching of Mormonism in Japan. "Hence," he wrote, "Mormonism is a perverse religion that disrupts social ethics and endangers public peace. It is thus appropriate from the standpoint of national policy to prohibit it today and to cut off the penetration of the vicious practice before it spreads."

The *Mainichi* immediately responded to the editorial. On August 21, it devoted two front-page columns to an editorial entitled "What in the World Should Prevent Them?" After noting the wide coverage the Mormon missionaries had received in the Western-language newspapers in Yokohama and others in Tokyo and Osaka, the editor stated:

I believe that there is no need to prohibit the preaching of Mormonism. . . . Inasmuch as it recently made a public declaration that it would give up polygamy, by the order of the U.S. Government, there should be no fear that it will dare to break the law of the land even in Japan. Moreover, although our ancient custom may allow concubines to be kept, it does not permit the stupid act of having several legal wives. How could the teachings of the Mormon sect change it by themselves?

The editor then explained the existence of many religions in Japan by saying, "It is because the Japanese people are broad-minded and do not show particular dislike for any of them. Why should the Mormon sect be the only exception?" Although the editor noted the Mormon "tactics" of resorting to supernatural phenomena, he brushed them away by saying that Mormonism was not different from any other Christian, Buddhist, or Shintoist religion in this regard. He did not necessarily compliment Mormonism, however, because he said it was a foolish religion. He simply argued that education, and not legal sanction, should be used to make sure that such a religion not be accepted by the ignorant populace. As to the right of the Mormon missionaries to preach, however, his position is clear:

Constitutionally, Japan upholds the freedom of religion. As long as it is not prejudicial to public peace, any religion is permissible, be it Buddhism or Christianity. Among the ignorant public, even Tenrikyo or Renmonkyo is allowed to exist. Then, what in the world should prevent the coming of Mormonism?

The impact of this debate should not be underestimated for at least three reasons. First, Osaka was (and, to a lesser extent, still is) an important economic center of Japan, the principal city of the historic Kansai region extending from Kyoto to Kobe. During the pre-WWII period, the economic might of Osaka was unmatched by any city, including Tokyo, in terms of manufacturing and finance. Second, the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Osaka Mainichi* were both newspapers of national significance. Their influence went beyond the fact that they were both read widely within the greater Kansai region. In 1888, the *Osaka Asahi* had expanded to the Tokyo

market by purchasing the *Mezamashi Shinbun* and changing the name to the *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*.⁸⁹ Although in 1901 the *Osaka Mainichi* did not have an explicit Tokyo presence, its management and editorial board included nationally prominent figures. Third, the Osaka newspapers were the first in Japan to assume a modern corporate form of management and, as such, quickly expanded their scale of operations, aided by their efficient sales and advertisement departments.⁹⁰ In 1897, for example, the *Osaka Asahi* had begun to subscribe to the Reuter wire service. In response, in 1897, the *Osaka Mainichi* appointed Kei Hara, a prominent diplomat and future prime minister, to become the editor-in-chief (and, later, president of the company).⁹¹ Hara used his diplomatic connections to appoint foreign correspondents in various parts of the world. At the turn of the twentieth century, the *Asahi* had a readership of about 120,000, while the *Mainichi* claimed 100,000.⁹²

A Voice of Reason: Eitaro Okano

One member of the press who was particularly helpful to the Mormon missionaries' cause was Eitaro Okano, a prominent journalist⁹³ and the English-language editor of the *Niroku Shinpo*. The *Niroku Shinpo* promoted social justice and, as such, naturally defended the rights of prostitutes to leave the confinement of forced servitude.⁹⁴ The *Niroku* also had a tendency towards sensationalism and quickly gained in readership after it was restarted in 1900. By the end of 1903, it had the largest circulation in Tokyo, with a peak readership of about 150,000 people.⁹⁵

Okano first visited the missionaries on August 14, 1901, when they were still at the Grand Hotel.⁹⁶ Elder Taylor's journal entry on that day states, "In the evening a Japanese editor of the largest Japanese newspaper in Japan published at Tokyo came from Tokyo to interview us." It has already been mentioned that, as a result, the *Niroku* published a five-part article based on that interview plus the full text of Elder Grant's address to the people of Japan.

Apparently, the relationship between Okano and the missionaries became even more cordial. On August 23, Elder Taylor recorded:

We found two representatives from the "Niroku Shimpo" [*sic*] newspaper published in Tokio. These gentlemen had called to learn more concerning our doctrines than what [they had] published already. . . . They had come to learn particularly of the difference in doctrine between our Faith and the beliefs of other Christians.

It was also Okano who arranged and assisted Elder Grant's initial meeting with the Home Ministry official in charge of the religion bureau.⁹⁷ It is possible that his association with the missionaries continued for some time.

Okano's greatest contribution to Mormon proselyting work, however, was the editorial⁹⁸ he published on August 22. Amid the frenzy caused by the voices of the influential *Jiji* and *Osaka Asahi* calling on August 20 for the authorities to prohibit the preaching of Mormonism, Okano defended the rights of the Mormons and encouraged readers to look at positive aspects of Mormonism. He began by reminding readers of the finiteness of human wisdom, so that only unlearned people are "proud of the low level of our present civilization and are satisfied with the shallow state of our present knowledge." He then went on to say:

It may be that what a majority calls good is evil and what a majority calls evil is good. . . . I am not advocating an unnecessarily skeptic view. . . . I am only a man who cannot blindly follow the opinion of a majority. . . . Mormons have come. They have come for the first time since the opening of Japan. I welcome them. We must first find out (what they believe). During the sixty some years since the establishment of their religion, they have withstood extreme opposition and persecution and now claim the membership of 300,000 and 1,200 teachers. They virtually control the entire state of Utah, which has come to be called the most prosperous region in the United States. This is a fact. In (Mormonism), there must be something that is appealing. . . . Four missionaries have come across the vast ocean to enter Japan, which has been influenced by the civilization of Christian nations of the West for a long time. We must say that they are brave. As we hear, they are supporting themselves with their own funds. Their spirits are to be admired. I cannot bear mistreating them with a bitter face. I will instead welcome them with a smile of good will, and desire to listen to their doctrines.

Undoubtedly, Okano's August 23 visit to the missionaries was a fulfillment of his own public declaration. His was indeed a voice of reason amid the hysteria of the day.⁹⁹

Conclusion

From mid-August to mid-September 1901, at least forty newspapers throughout the country devoted considerable space to articles and editorials on issues surrounding the arrival of Mormon missionaries. When we recognize that there were only about one hundred respectable newspapers in Japan at that time¹⁰⁰ and that the arrival of the Mormon missionaries was also covered by two of the leading national magazines,¹⁰¹ we realize that the extent of the press coverage was massive indeed.

To be sure, the extensive press coverage was initially triggered by the generally hostile resident foreign press, which received much of its subscription revenue from the Protestant missionary community. Fuel was added by the culture of the treaty-port newspapers, which were managed by amateur journalists who took delight in petty arguments among themselves.

The resident foreign press was frequently used as a source of foreign news; as such, the foreign language newspapers in Japan at that time exerted greater influence than the number of subscribers might have indicated. The foreign press's story of the arrival of Mormon missionaries was quickly picked up by the Japanese press. The ensuing fervor with which the subject of Mormonism was treated in the Japanese press was undoubtedly related to the tendency of Japanese newspapers towards sensationalism (designed to outrival their competitors) as well as to the sheer curiosity of the Japanese public concerning the Mormon practice of polygamy.

On a more fundamental level, however, the zeal with which the arrival of the Mormon missionaries was covered emanated from Japanese society's own internal conflict regarding the morality of its own marital and related social institutions, which was a major social issue dividing the country at the turn of the twentieth century. In this respect, the reaction of Japanese society to the arrival of the Mormon missionaries, as reflected in its press coverage, provides a means of understanding the fabric and dynamics of that society. Against the dominant sentiment calling the authorities to ban the preaching of Mormonism, there were voices of reason and fairness, which indicated the (increasingly) pluralistic nature of Japanese society.

In terms of proselyting work, the impact of the extensive press coverage was likely more positive than negative, if there was any effect at all. For one thing, the Japanese public was by then quite tolerant of religious diversity and probably did not care one way or another what the Mormons believed or practiced. Hence, whatever the negative message the press coverage might have contained, it was more than offset by the positive benefit of mere publicity. Second, responding to this publicity, there were some positive developments for the Church, such as an offer of speaking opportunities for the missionaries and the publication of a major treatise on Mormonism entitled "*Morumonkyo to Ramakyo (Mormonism and Lamaism)*" by an influential Christian writer named Goro Takahashi.¹⁰² Third, as another consequence of the publicity, the Mormon missionaries received numerous letters and visitors from all over the country. Although these visitors did not immediately result in convert baptisms, the missionaries did, as a result, meet in late August with Tatsutaro Hiroi, who agreed to serve as their translator, interpreter, and Japanese teacher.¹⁰³ Be that as it may, when newness wore off, the interest in Mormonism waned. Nonetheless, through both newspapers and magazines, the press was instrumental in making sure that the news of the arrival of Mormonism in Japan penetrated every region and sounded in virtually every ear.

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1. At that time, the Canadian Pacific fleet consisted of three ships—the *Empress of India*, the *Empress of Japan*, and the *Empress of China*—and connected Vancouver and Hong Kong, via Victoria, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Shanghai. See the newspaper advertisement that frequently appeared in those days, for example, the *Japan Times*, August 8, 1901.

2. Although the Church had earlier sent missionaries to such places as China, India, and Thailand, the efforts were short-lived and did not result in the establishment of a permanent mission. See "Minutes of Conference," *Deseret Evening News*, September 18, 1852, 4, for the names of fourteen missionaries sent to Asia in 1852.

3. The expression "quartet" was first used by Augusta, the plural wife of Heber J. Grant, in a letter addressed to her husband in Japan. See Alma O. Taylor, Journal, December 25, 1901, Special Collections and Manuscripts, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as BYU Archives).

4. Currently, on this location stands the Yokohama Doll House.

5. See the newspaper advertisement that frequently appeared in those days, for example, the *Japan Times*, August 8, 1901. See also Heber J. Grant, "A Japanese Journal," comp. Gordon A. Madsen, August 12, 1901, BYU Archives.

6. See Frederick R. Brady, "The Japanese Reaction to Mormonism and the Translation of Mormon Scripture into Japanese" (master's thesis: International College, Sophia University, 1979); and Murray L. Nichols, "History of the Japan Mission of the L.D.S. Church 1901–1924" (master's thesis: Brigham Young University, 1957). The present study expands the scope of analysis in these earlier studies and offers a sociohistorical explanation for the newspaper coverage of the first Mormon missionaries, a view first sketched in Shinji Takagi and William McIntyre, *Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi, 1850–1980* (Japan Latter-day Saint history, 1850–1980) (Kobe, Japan: Beehive Shuppan, 1996).

7. A brief editorial and a brief communication, respectively, appeared in the September issue (dated September 1) and the October issue (dated October 1) of the *Chuo Koron* (Central Review), and a two-page article by a religious commentator was published in the September 5 issue of the *Taiyo* (Sun). Along with the *Nihonjin* (Japanese), the *Chuo Koron* and the *Taiyo* were considered to be the three leading national magazines of the period. See Taketoshi Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi* (Newspapers and magazines of the Meiji period) (Tokyo: Shibundo, 1961), 262. Nothing, however, was written on the Mormons in the *Nihonjin* during the months of August and September.

8. Although no hard figure is available, it can be reasonably assumed that no less than half of Japan's 44 million people were literate at the beginning of the twentieth century. This conjecture is based on the following two pieces of indirect evidence. First, by the end of the Tokugawa period, Japan already had a highly literate society which

"compared favourably . . . with some contemporary European countries." Practically every samurai was literate, as were "the majority of town-dwellers with a settled occupation" and "a good proportion of the farmers of middling status." In 1868 somewhat more than 40 percent of boys and about 10 percent of girls were receiving some kind of formal education, meaning that at least 25 percent of the population were literate. See R. P. Dore, *Education in Tokugawa Japan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965), 2–3, 254, 291. Second, in 1902, thirty years after a government-directed program of school construction began in 1872, the rate of primary school enrollment was 90 percent, and less than 20 percent of draft-age males were illiterate. See Takenori Inoki, *Gakko to Kojo: Nippon no Jinteki Shihon* (Schools and factories: Human capital in Japan) (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 1996), 25–27.

9. For a general overview of the Church at the turn of the nineteenth century, see James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 435–65.

10. For a general overview of nineteenth-century Japanese history, see, for example, W. G. Beasley, *The Modern History of Japan* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981).

11. "Opening of the Mission in Japan," *Deseret Evening News*, April 6, 1901, 9.

12. The earlier treaties signed with the United States (the Kanagawa treaty negotiated by Commodore Matthew C. Perry), Russia, Britain, and the Netherlands during 1854–55 were not commercial treaties and obliged Japan only to open Hakodate, Shimoda, and Nagasaki for the provision of coal, water, and food; to allow consuls to be stationed; and to grant most favored nation status and the right to be tried in a consular court. It should be noted that, in these (as well as Ansei) treaties, the slight individual differences in terms that might have existed across treaties were immaterial because the best terms were to be applied to all countries because of the most favored nation status clause. For this reason, they could collectively be treated as a single treaty for all intents and purposes. See Shigeru Yamamoto, *Joyaku Kaiseishi* (A history of the treaty revision) (Tokyo: Takayama Shoin, 1943), 27–55.

13. The major ports were Shimoda, Hakodate, Nagasaki, Kanagawa, Niigata, and Hyogo. Shimoda was to be closed six months after the opening of Kanagawa. The commercial cities were Edo and Osaka.

14. Yokohama was opened in lieu of Kanagawa, and Kobe in lieu of Hyogo. Edo was renamed Tokyo in 1868.

15. Eleven of the treaties were inherited from the Tokugawa regime, and four additional ones were signed after the Meiji restoration.

16. James Edward Hoare, "The Japanese Treaty Ports, 1868–1899: A Study of the Foreign Settlements" (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970), 213.

17. Fearing the reactions of the Western diplomatic community, the government's attitude toward the work of Christian missionaries in the interior was equivocal. For example, local officials would display open opposition, which might then be overruled by the central government. Moreover, the enforcement of restrictions on Christian missionary activities differed in intensity from period to period and from place to place. See Charles W. Iglehart, *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), 60.

18. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 157–59, 165–70.

19. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 212.

20. Of the fifteen treaty powers, the revised treaties came into force on July 17, 1899, for thirteen of them and on August 4 for the remaining two, namely, France and Austria. For Germany, the revised treaty came into force on July 17, but the right to a consular trial was retained until August 3. See Yamamoto, *Joyaku Kaiseishi*, 621.

21. It is estimated that, at the turn of the twentieth century, there were about 130,000 Christians in Japan (against the population of 44,000,000), including some 54,000 Roman Catholic and 30,000 Orthodox members. See Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Missions* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1976), 355, 423; and Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Protestant Missions* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1976), 296. Among the many Protestant denominations that had come to Japan by far the most prominent were the Congregational, Presbyterian-Reformed, Methodist, Anglican-Episcopal, and Baptist churches, which were collectively called the “Big Five.” See Iglehart, *Century of Protestant Christianity*, 80–82.

22. With the completion of the railroad between Kobe and Osaka in 1874, most merchants in Osaka moved to Kobe. In Tokyo, foreigners were permitted to live outside the settlement. Thus, it is said that virtually all the residents of the Tokyo and Osaka settlements ended up being Christian missionaries. Akio Hotta and Tadashi Nishiguchi, eds., *Osaka Kawaguchi Kyoryuchi no Kenkyu* (A study of the Osaka Kawaguchi Settlement) (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1995), 43, 55; Hoare, “Japanese Treaty Ports,” 43–44.

23. Hachiro Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi* (History of Western-language newspapers and magazines in Japan) (Tokyo: Taiseido, 1934), 73.

24. The *Japan Herald*, initially under British management, was founded in 1861 and continued to exist until the outbreak of World War I in September 1914, when the Japanese government ordered the paper to close down because its owner then was a German. The *Japan Mail* was founded in the 1870s. In 1918 it was absorbed by the *Japan Times* of Tokyo. See Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 18–20, 81, 210–12.

25. Many daily newspapers printed special weekly mail editions, containing a digest of local news, for consumption in foreign countries. The British Library has maintained copies of these mail editions of the *Japan Mail* and the *Kobe Chronicle*. The microfilms are maintained by major Japanese libraries. The relevant newspaper clippings from Taylor’s scrapbook are reproduced in chapter four of Brady, “The Japanese Reaction to Mormonism.” See also Nichols, “History of the Japan Mission.” Both Brady and Nichols, however, erroneously call the *Japan Advertiser* the *Yokohama Advertiser*, because the latter is how Taylor called it.

26. The arrival of the Mormon missionaries was also anticipated by the Japanese press. See, for example, “Morumonshu no Nihon Fukyo,” *Kyogaku Hochi*, July 23, 1901, 1, which cited an American newspaper for the information.

27. As quoted in Taylor, *Journal*, August 13, 1901. We do not know what else was said in the article, but Taylor thought of it as “a beginning of the ill feeling which we found had been created by the efforts of wicked men who claimed to be members of Christianity.”

28. As reported in the August 27 issue of the *Yamato Shinbun*. Knapp is reported to have heard Grant say on the ship that he would take a Japanese woman as a plural wife. Of course, this cannot possibly be true, calling into question the credibility of the very story that Knapp and Grant traveled together across the Pacific.

29. Grant, *Journal*, August 12–18. However, the August 20 issue of the *Japan Times* suggests that the *Japan Advertiser* apparently argued against allowing the Mormon missionaries to preach in Japan.

30. After the publication of the *Japan Herald* and the *Japan Mail* ceased, however, the *Japan Advertiser* became a very influential English language newspaper in Japan. Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 151, 204; Hoare, “Japanese Treaty Ports,” appendix.

31. According to Preston Nibley, a Church historian, this address was prepared by James E. Talmage. See Murray L. Nichols to Shinji Takagi, July 1996, in author's possession.

32. Grant, Journal, August 12–18.

33. J. H. Brooke owned the paper from 1870 to 1902 and edited it from 1893 to 1902. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 339.

34. "Mr. Grant's Explanation," *Japan Mail*, September 6, 1901; "The Mormon Controversy," *Japan Mail*, September 7, 1901.

35. Brinkley was owner and editor from 1881 to 1912. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 337. The *Mail's* rivals accused Brinkley of being in Japanese pay, to which he admitted only that the Japanese government had a number of subscriptions to the *Mail*. According to Hoare, "Japanese Ports," 337–38, the paper did tend to give the Japanese view, though it could be critical of the Japanese when British interests were concerned. The views expressed in the *Mail* on the Mormon missionaries, however, should not be taken to reflect the views of the Japanese government, which at least initially did not have any position on the matter.

36. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 327.

37. *Japan Mail*, August 17, 1901; *Japan Herald*, August 17, 1901; "The Mormons," *Japan Times*, August 20, 1901, 2. The *Japan Times* was founded in 1897 by a group of prominent Japanese in Tokyo. In 1918 it absorbed the financially troubled *Japan Mail* and, for a time, changed its name to the *Japan Times and Mail*. See Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 165–69.

38. Kobe was opened as a foreign settlement in 1868, some nine years after the opening of Yokohama. In 1901, it had about one thousand foreign residents, in contrast to over two thousand in Yokohama. Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 77. It should be noted that these figures exclude Chinese residents. With Chinese included, the population of foreign residents was about five thousand in Yokohama and two thousand in Kobe. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 47.

39. The *Kobe Chronicle*, founded by Robert Young in 1890, was renamed the *Japan Chronicle* later in 1901 and remained as one of the most influential foreign language newspapers in Japan throughout the pre-WWII period. The editorial office later moved to Tokyo. It is said that, in the early 20th century, it had the largest circulation of any English language newspaper in Japan, followed by the *Japan Herald*. See Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 149, 203–4.

40. "Mormon Missions," *Kobe Chronicle*, weekly edition, August 21, 1901, 226.

41. Ebihara, *Nihon Oji Shinbun Zasshi Shi*, 204.

42. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 340.

43. Hoare, "Japanese Treaty Ports," 339.

44. After the fact, towards the end of the year, the missionaries were told in a letter from the First Presidency to avoid newspaper controversy. See Ronald W. Walker, "Strangers in a Strange Land: Heber J. Grant and the Opening of the Japan Mission," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986–87): 29.

45. The August 15 issue of the *Japan Herald* states that it had "a few days ago" chronicled the arrival of Apostle Heber J. Grant.

46. During the period under investigation, the *Yorozu Choho* did not publish an article of its own on the Mormon missionaries. On August 21 and 22, however, it quoted on its front pages the thrust of the editorials published in the *Jiji Shinpo*, the *Japan Times*, the *Osaka Asahi Shinbun*, and the *Mainichi Shinbun* on Mormonism, thus acknowledging the width with which the arrival of the Mormon missionaries was known in Japanese society.

47. Hideo Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu Shi* (Development history of Japanese newspapers) (Tokyo: Itsuki Shobo, 1982), 252–53.

48. Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu Shi*, 226–40. In 1936 the *Jiji Shinpo* was merged with the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, which was then under the ownership of the *Osaka Mainichi Shinbun*.

49. There were wire services by the late 1880s, providing national and international news to local newspapers. Tsushinshashi Kankokai, *Tsushinsha Shi* (History of news services) (Tokyo: Tsushinshashi Kankokai, 1958), 21–23.

50. This number includes the English-language *Japan Times*, the *Kokumin Shinbun*, and the *Shakai Shinpo*, in addition to the twelve Japanese-language newspapers listed in the appendix. Brady, “The Japanese Reaction to Mormonism,” chapter 5, provides, without much commentary or analysis, a chronological listing of Mormon-related articles and editorials in seven Tokyo-based newspapers. It should be cautioned that Brady’s translation is less than accurate, particularly when fine nuances, subtleties, and sarcasms are involved or when meaning must be understood within a particular social and historical context. Some translated texts are even outright misinterpretations or mistranslations (for example, the important *Mainichi* editorial of August 21, 1901, on pages 130–31).

51. Its name was changed to the *Chugai Nippo* in January 1902. See Ruikotsu Matani, *Ningen Ruikotsu* (Ruikotsu the man) (Kyoto: Chugai Nipposha, 1968), 202–5. Currently, the *Chugai Nippo* is published three times a week, with a circulation ranging between eighty and one hundred thousand. It is entirely devoted to reporting news of religious significance.

52. Goro Takahashi (1856–1935), a nationally recognized Christian scholar who was a member of the joint Protestant committee that translated the Bible into Japanese in the 1870s and 1880s, befriended the missionaries in late 1901 and offered to write a book to help the Church. His book, *Morumonkyo to Morumonkyoto* (Mormonism and the Mormons), was published in August 1902. In this process, at the request of Heber J. Grant, he translated the Articles of Faith and other Church tracts. His relationship with the Church, however, did not last long. Takagi and McIntyre, *Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi*, 57–62.

53. The expression *Batsujitsu Seito* was also used by the Tokyo *Mainichi Shinbun* in its front-page three-part article published on September 5, 7–8. During the post–World War II period, the same configuration of Chinese characters has been pronounced in the Church as *Matsujitsu Seito*.

54. Taylor, *Journal*, August 13, 1901.

55. See “Our Elders in Japan,” *Deseret Evening News*, September 5, 1901, 4.

56. The *Hochi Shinbun*, the *Niroku Shinpo*, and the *Yomiuri Shinbun* (all of Tokyo) reported the event on August 19; the *Chukyo Shinpo* (Nagoya), the *Kyogaku Hochi* and the *Osaka Asahi* on August 21; the *Kyushu Nippo* (Fukuoka) and the *Moji Shinpo* on August 22; and the *Ryukyu Shinpo* on September 1.

57. Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu Shi*, 257. The *Mainichi Shinbun* changed its name to the *Tokyo Mainichi Shinbun* in 1906.

58. Tamio Takemura, *Haisho Undo* (The antiprostitution movement) (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1982), 4–5. For instance, licensed prostitution was abolished in Britain in 1886.

59. Takemura, *Haisho Undo*, 2–7.

60. Takemura, *Haisho Undo*, 19–21; Kaneko Yoshimi, *Baisho no Shakaishi* (Social history of prostitution) (Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1984), 45–47.

61. There were important legal developments as well. In February 1900, the Supreme Court ruled in a landmark case that a prostitute was not bound by any contract that required her to work to pay off her debt. The case involved an indentured prostitute in Hakodate, Hokkaido, by the name of Futa Sakai, who had borrowed money from the owner of a brothel and agreed to work for him for thirty months. She, however, did not like the work and desired to quit. Although the rulings of both the District Court and the appeal court were against Futa, the Supreme Court overruled, stating that, although the financial contract was valid, the labor contract was void as it violated the Prostitute Liberalization Law of 1872. On October 2, 1900, in response to the Supreme Court ruling, the Ministry of Home Affairs established a formal procedure stipulating that (1) no one under the age of eighteen could be a prostitute, (2) one must be registered at the police to be a prostitute, (3) cancellation of the registration could be done either in writing or verbally, and (4) the cancellation could not be challenged by anyone. Takemura, *Haisho Undo*, 22–23; Yoshimi, *Baisho no Shakaishi*, 103–4.

62. Yoshimi, *Baisho no Shakaishi*, 93.

63. Takemura, *Haisho Undo*, 21–24; “Joroshu ni Yoseru Fumi” (A letter addressed to prostitutes), *Toki no Koe*, August 1, 1900, 1.

64. The newspapers included the *Jiji* (August 6), the *Mainichi* (August 7), and the *Tokyo Asahi* (August 8). Takemura, *Haisho Undo*, 24; Yoshimi, *Baisho no Shakaishi*, 101–2.

65. The *Yamato Shinbun* was generally believed to be a nationalistic paper. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 238–40.

66. An interesting sidelight in this context is that the Mormon quartet included not just one but two polygamists. Despite Grant's claim (made in the August 16 issue of the *Jiji Shinpo*) that the other two married elders were monogamists, Louis Kelsch, too, was in fact a polygamist. Kelsch, born in 1856 in Bavaria, Germany, was raised as a Catholic, emigrated to Nebraska in 1866 at the age of ten, and joined the Church while visiting Salt Lake City in 1876. He served missions for the Church in several areas, including the Southern States, the Northwestern States, the Eastern States, England, and Germany. When he was called to Japan, he was the president of the Northern States Mission. It was while he was serving in that capacity that he was asked by Lorenzo Snow to live the law of plural marriage, and with the permission of his first wife, Rosalia Atwood, he married Mary Lyerla. Dorothy K. Zitting and Barbara O. Kelsch, *The Life Story of Ludwig Koelsch (Louis A. Kelsch), 1856–1917* (Salt Lake City, By the family), 47.

67. *Kyogaku Hochi*, October 10, 1901. The whole text of the petition was reprinted in the October 25 issue.

68. *Jiji Shinpo*, March 29, 1907, 8.

69. See E. D. Thomas, “Netsuretsunaru Morumonkyo no Kyori” (The ardent doctrines of Mormonism), *Seiko* 20 (May 1911): 585–92.

70. Hirobumi Ito was born in the Choshu domain (now Yamaguchi Prefecture) and was sent clandestinely by the Choshu clan (one of the major forces opposing the Tokugawa shogunate) to study in England. Following the Meiji Restoration, he was appointed to various government positions, including junior councilor (in charge of foreign affairs), director of the Tax Division, vice-minister and then minister of public works, and minister of home affairs, before becoming the first prime minister under the modern cabinet system in 1885. He would again serve as prime minister three more times, finally resigning from the position in June 1901, shortly before the Mormon missionaries arrived. In 1906, Ito became the first Japanese resident general in Korea and, in 1907, he forced the Korean emperor to abdicate and established a full Japanese protectorate over Korea that paved the way for eventual annexation. Following his resignation as resident general in 1909, he was assassinated in Harbin, Manchuria, by a Korean nationalist.

Ito was largely responsible for establishing modern political institutions in Japan, most notably the Constitution of the Empire of Japan (the so-called Meiji Constitution), which was promulgated on February 11, 1889. He also helped draft the Peerage Act of July 1884, in which five hereditary titles for the nobility were established on the basis of the European system, namely, prince (*koshaku*), marquis (*koshaku*, with a different character for *ko*), count (*hakushaku*), viscount (*shishaku*), and baron (*danshaku*). In this system, individuals with nonaristocratic backgrounds could be awarded hereditary titles for distinguished service to the nation. Ito himself (who was of the low-ranking samurai background) was appointed count in 1884, was promoted to the rank of marquis in 1895, and eventually rose to the highest rank of prince in 1907.

71. Angus Munn Cannon was born in Liverpool, England, on May 17, 1834. He was the business manager and later director and vice-president of the *Deseret News*. In the Church, he presided over the Salt Lake Stake from 1876 to 1904, when the stake was divided into the Salt Lake, Liberty, Pioneer, and Ensign stakes. He was then called as the patriarch of the new Salt Lake Stake and served in that capacity until his death on June 7, 1915. See Donald Q. Cannon, "Angus M. Cannon: Pioneer, President, Patriarch," in *Supporting Saints: Life Stories of Nineteenth-Century Mormons*, ed. Donald Q. Cannon and David J. Whittaker (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1985) 369–401; and 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), 1:292–95.

72. On the very first leg of its journey through the United States and several European countries, the Iwakura Mission became stranded by snow and stayed in Salt Lake City from February 4, 1872, to February 21, 1872. Charles Lanman, *The Japanese in America* (New York: University Publishing, 1872), 8, 23–24.

In the April 6, 1901, issue of the *Deseret Evening News*, we find the following statement of Angus M. Cannon:

I have known Count [*sic*] Ito, now Prime Minister Ito, for a good many years. I met him first in the spring of 1871 [*sic*] at Ogden and traveled with him over the Union Pacific as far as Omaha. . . . The conductor knew me, and Count [*sic*] Ito on learning that there was a newspaper man on the train, expressed a desire to see him. I was introduced to him by the conductor and we soon found ourselves in an interesting conversation. . . .

[He] was a bright, earnest and interesting character who absorbed information as a sponge does water. His people and their advancement seemed to be his particular pride and ambition. . . .

[He] exhibited a lively interest in the 'Mormon' people, the origin of their faith and the struggles through which they had passed. He asked me for a detailed statement of their history. I gave it to him and he listened most attentively during the two days and a half that we were fellow travellers and expressed a desire to learn more of them. After we separated, I wrote home to my brother, President George Q. Cannon . . . to forward him a full list of books containing the principles of 'Mormonism.'

I heard nothing further of Count [*sic*] Ito until, I think, in 1873 [*sic*] when I met him again, this time in Salt Lake City. I recognized him at once and his recognition of me was just as prompt. With him were a number of Japanese gentlemen and one of our own officials from Washington. The latter marvelled at the familiarity that Ito showed concerning our faith and

people, adding that his knowledge seemed much more extensive in this particular than that of most Americans. Ito had now been promoted to the position of head of the board of public works, a very important office in Japan. I met him a third time in Ogden, later. He was then homeward bound from Washington, having been entrusted with important dispatches to the emperor. . . . He gave me the most urgent kind of an invitation to visit him in his own home should I ever have occasion to go to Japan. ("Opening of a Mission in Japan," *Deseret Evening News*, April 6, 1901, 9)

73. Yoshimi, *Baisho no Shakaishi*, 52.

74. "Ito Ko no Danwa (Saying of Marquis Ito)," *Fujin Shinpo* 20 (September 15, 1896): 30–31.

75. Quoted in *Deseret Evening News*, August 13, 1901, 2. *Mikado* is an English word for the Japanese emperor.

76. Some newspapers, such as the August 17 issue of the *Tokyo Asahi*, had the heading "A Mormon Elder Shakes Hands with Marquis Ito." It should be noted, however, that the Japanese verb "shake" in its infinitive form, as it typically appears in a newspaper heading, may indicate a future intention, not necessarily an accomplished fact.

77. Elder Grant was in Tokyo on August 20, August 21, August 27, September 2, and September 3. If it took place at all, the meeting between Grant and Ito could not have been held much later. From September 6 to September 15, Grant made a tour of Japan, travelling through Lake Biwa, Suruga Bay, Kanazawa, Toyama, Naoetsu, and Karuizawa. On Ito's part, he left for the United States on September 18 to meet President Theodore Roosevelt (who had just assumed office at the death of President William McKinley Jr.) and to receive an honorary doctorate from Yale University (in its bicentennial commemoration on October 23). He then made a tour of Europe and did not return to Japan until February of the following year. See Minoru Toyoda, *Shodai Sori Ito Hirobumi* (Hirobumi Ito, the first prime minister), 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1987), 2:256–64.

As to the whereabouts of Ito in August, although he was spending his summer in the northern Japan Sea coast, he was in his villa in Oiso on the Pacific coast on August 8 and August 25 (according to the daily reports published in the *Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun*, which was controlled by the ruling Choshu faction of the government with Ito at the top). This means that Ito was in Tokyo at least twice during August 8–25. But as Grant was not successful in meeting the people he had the letters of introduction to on August 21, the only possible day on which he could have seen Ito was August 22, if the meeting took place at all. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 167.

78. The man Akimoto must be Masanori Akimoto, a member of the 1894 entering class at Keio Gijuku (an elite private academy in Tokyo), who was the manager of Japanese laborers at the LDS Church-owned Utah-Idaho Sugar Company. See Eric Walz to Shinji Takagi, December 11, 1998, in author's possession. Keio Gijuku began its college division in 1890, with fifty-nine students in literature, economics, and law, offering three years of instruction. It is not surprising at all that a person of that background knew some prominent government figures. Fukuzawa Kenkyu Center, *Keio Gijuku Nyushacho* (Registration book of entering students at Keio Gijuku) (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku, 1986), 4:345; and Keio Gijuku, *Keio Gijuku Hyakunenshi* (Centennial history of Keio Gijuku), 3 vols. (Tokyo: Keio Gijuku, 1960), 2:52. Particularly in Idaho, the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company employed immigrant workers, including Japanese, because "thinning" beets to create living space was "stoop labor," which most American farmers would not perform. Leonard J. Arrington, *Beet Sugar in the West: A History of the Utah-Idaho Sugar Company, 1891–1966* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966), 23, 71–73.

79. "Constitution of the Empire of Japan, 1889," in *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993), 1:232–35.

80. The dates on which these newspapers picked up this position were August 20 for *Chugoku*, *Hinode*, and *Osaka Mainichi*; August 21 for *Moji Shinpo*; August 22 for *Kyushu Shinbun*; and August 23 for *Yonezawa Shinbun*.

81. Japan Mission, Historical records and minutes, August 27, 1901, Archives Division, Historical Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

82. Japan Mission, Historical records and minutes, September 2–3, 1901.

83. Some of the newspapers dealing with this issue were the *Kobe Yushin*, the *Kyochu Nippo*, the *Kyushu Nichinichi*, the *Yamanashi Nichinichi*, the *Hinode*, and the *Yonezawa Shinbun*.

84. Taylor, Journal, September 6, 1901; Grant, Journal, September 6, 1901.

85. Taylor, Journal, September 20–21, 1901; Japan Mission, Historical records and minutes, September 17, 20–21, 1901.

86. "Monthly Communications," *Chuo Koron* 16 (October 1901): 70. The dates of the missionaries' actions were inaccurately reported by the press.

87. Taylor, Journal, October 5, 1901.

88. Among the national magazines, the article published in the September 5 issue of the *Taiyo* argued against allowing the Mormons to preach in Japan, while the editorial in the September issue of the *Chuo Koron* supported the prerogative of the Mormons to do so, saying that there were some Shinto and Buddhist sects that should be banned first. The editorial then went on to say that, compared with the dubious character of these sects, Mormonism was even "respectable." Gakuji Tatsuyama, "Morumonshu Kitaru (Mormonism Has Come)," *Taiyo* 7 (September 5, 1901): 57–58; "Morumonshu (Mormonism)," *Chuo Koron* 16 (September 1901): 64.

89. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 157; Hideo Ono, *Shinbun no Rekishi* (History of newspapers), enlarged ed. (Tokyo: Tokyodo Shuppan, 1970), 50. The separate names were kept until 1940, when the *Asahi Shinbun* became the common name for both *Asahi* papers.

90. The process towards a corporate form of management was completed when they legally became joint stock companies in 1918 (in the case of the *Mainichi*) and 1919 (the *Asahi*).

91. In 1900, Hara left the company to join the political party founded by Hirobumi Ito. He later served in the cabinets of three prime ministers (including Ito) and as prime minister from 1918 to 1921, when he was assassinated.

92. At that time, the *Osaka Asahi* and the *Yorozu Choho* (of Tokyo) were called the two giants, representing Western and Eastern Japan, respectively, each claiming about 120,000 subscribers. See Ono, *Shinbun no Rekishi*, 66–67, 76; and Ono, *Nihon Shinbun Hattatsu Shi*, 316.

93. Okano was one of three leading English-language reporters. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 240. One of the other two was Eigo Fukai, of the *Kokumin Shinbun*, who later became governor of the Bank of Japan. According to the calling card pasted in Alma O. Taylor's scrapbook, Okano had apparently been educated in the United States, with an LL.B., a Litt.B., and a doctorate in public speech.

94. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 241.

95. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 176, 237; Ono, *Shinbun no Rekishi*, 64–65. The *Niroku Shinpo* was originally founded in 1893 but went out of circulation in 1895. It was started again in 1900 and began to compete with the *Yorozu Choho* for the same type of readers. By 1903 it surpassed the *Yorozu Choho* in the number of readers.

96. Alma O. Taylor, Scrapbook, 1901–24, Church Archives. It also shows that, on the previous day, the missionaries had met another reporter, Rihei Onishi of the *Jiji Shinpo*.

97. Grant, Journal, September 3, 1901.

98. In principle, Japanese newspaper editorials are unsigned.

99. Okano's generous attitude toward the Mormons, however, was made fun of by the author of the article published in *Taiyo* 7 (September 5, 1901): 57–58.

100. At the end of 1896, there were eighty-seven respectable newspapers in Japan outside of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, and Okinawa. Nishida, *Meiji Jidai no Shinbun to Zasshi*, 251.

101. The two magazines were the *Chuo Koron* and the *Taiyo*.

102. Goro Takahashi, "Morumonkyo to Ramakyo (Mormonism and Lamaism)," *Taiyo* 7 (October 5, 1901): 21–25. See Taylor, Journal, August 25, 1901, for an offer of a speaking engagement in a large public hall in Tokyo. On Goro Takahashi's involvement with the Church, see note 52.

103. In his journal entry on August 18, 1901, Taylor spoke of "a majority" of the visitors the missionaries received as "fraudulent and absolutely devoid of desire to assist us," while the "expressions of friendship" came from "their pockets rather than their hearts." See Nichols, "History of the Japan Mission," 17–19; and Takagi and McIntyre, *Nihon Matsujitsu Seito Shi*, 53–65.

Appendix

A Partial List of 1901 Japanese Newspapers and Magazines That Discussed the Mormons, with Their Depositories

Tokyo Newspapers

Chuo Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Dokuritsu Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Hochi Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Japan Times, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Jiji Shinpo, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Mainichi Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Miyako Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Niroku Shinpo, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Tokyo Asahi Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Tokyo Nichinichi Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Yamato Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Yomiuri Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Yorozu Choho, National Diet Library, Tokyo

Osaka Newspapers

Osaka Asahi Shinbun, Osaka University Library, Osaka
Osaka Mainichi Shinbun, Osaka University Library, Osaka

Regional Newspapers

Chugoku, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Chukyo Shinpo, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Hokkoku Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Kahoku Shinpo, Kahoku Shinposha, Sendai
Kobe Yushin Nippo, Kobe Municipal Library, Kobe
Kyochu Nippo, Yamanashi Prefectural Library, Kofu
Kyogaku Hochi, Ryukoku University Library, Kyoto
Kyoto Hinode Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo
Kyushu Nichinichi Shinbun, Kumamoto Prefectural Library, Kumamoto
Kyushu Nippo, Fukuoka Municipal Library, Fukuoka
Kyushu Shinbun, Kumamoto Prefectural Library, Kumamoto
Moji Shinpo, Kitakyushu Municipal Library, Kitakyushu
Niigata Shinbun, Niigata Prefectural Library, Niigata
Ryukyu Shinpo, Okinawa Prefectural Library, Naha
Shinano Mainichi Shinbun, Matsumoto Municipal Library, Matsumoto

Shizuoka Minyu Shinbun, National Diet Library, Tokyo

Tohoku Nippo, Niigata Prefectural Library, Niigata

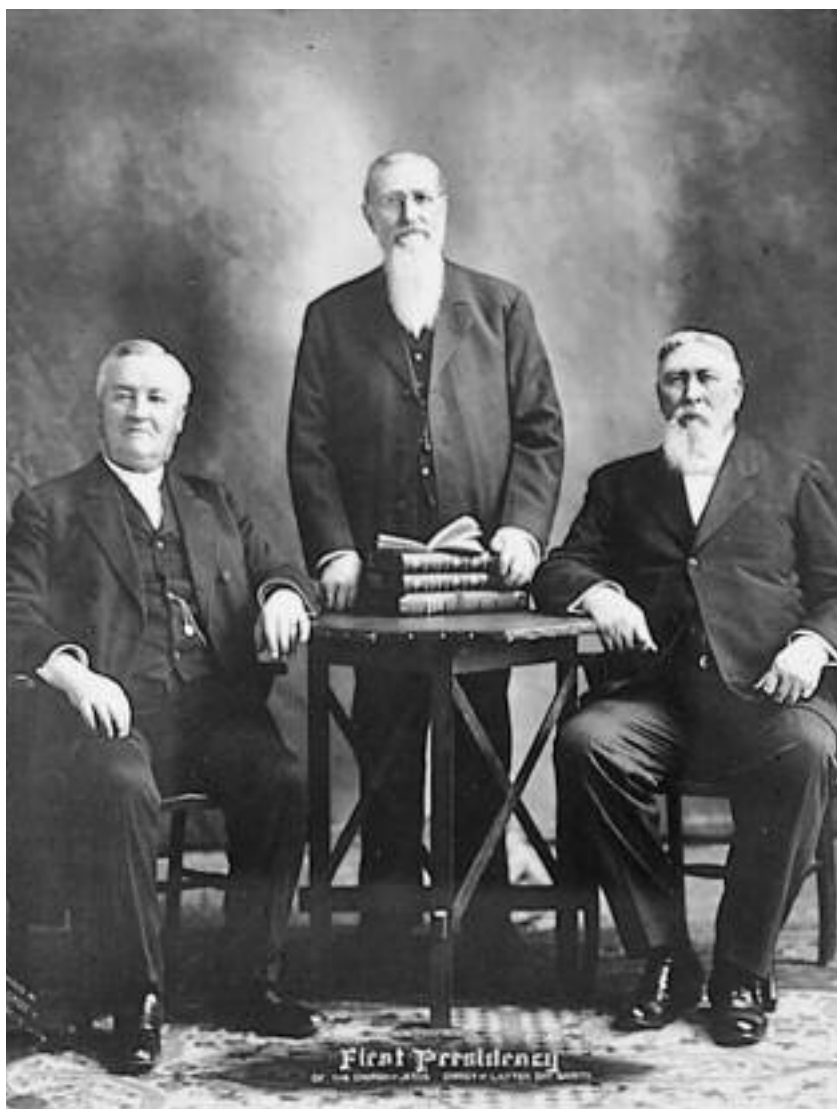
Yamanashi Nichinichi Shinbun, Yamanashi Prefectural Library, Kofu

Yonezawa Shinbun, Yamagata Prefectural Library, Yamagata

Magazines

Chuo Koron, monthly, National Diet Library, Tokyo

Taiyo, monthly, National Diet Library, Tokyo



Church Archives

President Joseph F. Smith and his counselors, ca. 1910: Anthon H. Lund (*left*) and John Henry Smith (*right*). These are the men to whom Elder Taylor submitted his findings. During Taylor's absence, John R. Winder had died, and the First Presidency had been reorganized, with Elder Smith sustained as the new counselor. After reviewing Alma O. Taylor's report, the First Presidency decided not to open a mission to China.

Alma O. Taylor's Fact-Finding Mission to China

Reid L. Neilson

On April 26, 1910, Alma O. Taylor finally returned home to his family in Salt Lake City after an absence of eight years and eight months. Taylor had been serving these many years in Asia as a missionary for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹ Reunited with his father, mother, sisters, and brothers, he naturally felt disoriented. "It was a strange home into which I was received," he wrote, "one that has been built since I went to Japan. . . . Dear old father has aged and weakened considerably. . . . Mother also shows the marks of the passing years. . . . I felt almost like [a] being in an unknown world."²

The morning after his arrival, Taylor and his recent missionary companion, Frederick Caine, met with the First Presidency. The two elders reported on their lengthy service in Japan and on the three-week fact-finding trip to China that had concluded their stay in Asia. Understandably, the First Presidency was eager to learn about conditions in China for preaching the restored gospel. The Church had had no official representatives in China since 1853, and the opening of the Church's Japan Mission in 1901 had made taking the Restoration's message to other Asian countries a top priority.³ During the ensuing three-hour interview, Taylor and Caine "explain[ed] the manners, customs and life" of the Chinese and were in turn "asked a great many questions" by the First Presidency.⁴

In addition to his verbal report, Taylor submitted a written account. He drafted a lengthy manuscript entitled "Report of Our Visit to China," parts of which are published here for the first time.⁵ The report details the religious, political, and social conditions Taylor observed in his travels and recommends that the Church not send missionaries to China at that time. Taylor's report concludes:

It appeals to us that the Latter-day Saints will not be neglecting their duty to the world . . . if they postpone the opening of a mission in China until the present chaotic, transitory state changes sufficiently to assure the world that China really intends and wants to give her foreign friends protection and a fair chance.⁶

Taylor's report is an important historical document, for the First Presidency sided with the report's recommendations. Missionaries were not sent to China in 1910 and would not be sent there for many years.⁷ While

we can never know for sure all the factors at play in a decision to open a new mission, Taylor's report provided a factual basis for the Church's decision to postpone missionary work in China.

Alma O. Taylor

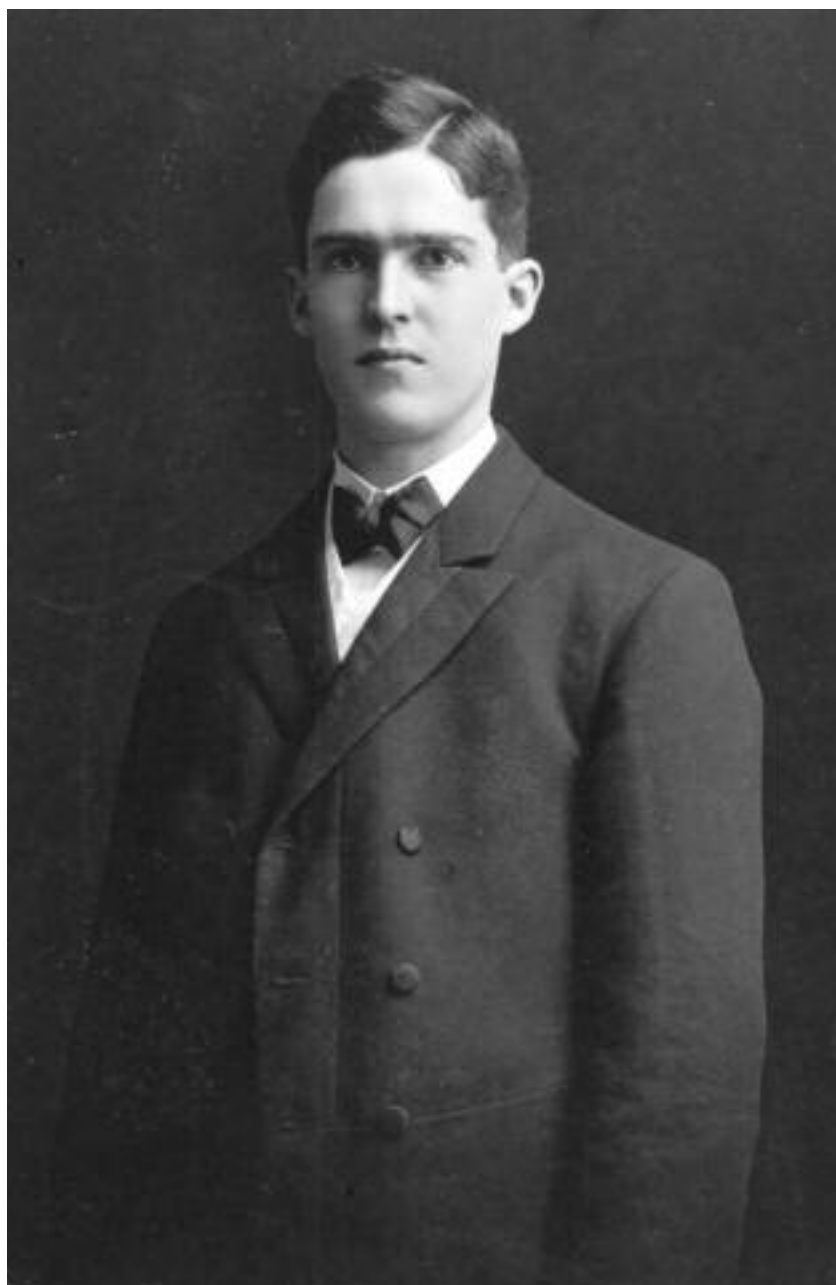
Taylor's "Report of Our Visit to China" emphasizes the political and social instability he saw along his journey. This picture contrasts with Taylor's own secure upbringing. Alma Owen Taylor was born on August 1, 1882, in Salt Lake City. He was the second of two children born to Joseph Edward Taylor, a British convert and well-to-do undertaker, and Lisadore Williams, a schoolteacher from Illinois. He served in the temple with his mother and followed his father into the undertaking business, graduating first in a class of apprentice morticians who studied in Chicago in the summer of 1899.⁸

Educated at the Eighteenth Ward Seminary and Latter-day Saints College, Alma Taylor was an attractive candidate for a mission. His elocution skills had significant appeal. When Alma entered an oratory contest at the Assembly Hall in 1900, his considerable abilities were on display for all to see. His speech, "First Vision," did not win the first prize, but one Apostle called it the crowd favorite.⁹ Alma's call to serve in the Japan Mission came the following year.

Heber J. Grant, the Apostle who issued the call to serve in Japan, seems to have had his eye on Taylor for some time. Elder Grant and the Taylor family lived in the same home ward. Joseph Taylor was a counselor in the Salt Lake Stake presidency, and he and Elder Grant were close friends. Alma Taylor had long socialized with Elder Grant's daughters.¹⁰ By the time the eighteen-and-a-half-year-old Alma was called to serve in Japan, Elder Grant knew the kind of missionary he was getting.

The Japan Mission

Even before Taylor was born, events were occurring that would change his life. In 1872, a Japanese government delegation visited Salt Lake City en route to Washington, D.C. Church leaders were favorably impressed with the Japanese and began focusing their missionary sights on the Far East.¹¹ When Taylor was thirteen years old, the Church's magazine for youth, the *Contributor*, featured an article on the worldwide expansion of the Church. It reported, "The authorities of the Church have of late had their minds more or less exercised in regard to Japan as a country in which the Gospel might at an early day be profitably preached."¹² In 1900, First Presidency member George Q. Cannon admitted the Church had "not made any great effort to enter" parts of Asia and, when it had, had done so in a "spasmodic way." He



Elder Alma O. Taylor (1882–1947). Photographed in Tokyo, Japan, ca. 1906, by S. Yeghi.

further declared, "If the time has come for Elders to go to Japan, let Japan be penetrated. After a while perhaps an opening may be made in Korea, and in Manchuria, and in China."¹³

Finally, in the spring of 1901, Church President Lorenzo Snow determined to open the Japan Mission. He called Elder Heber J. Grant to serve as its first president. Grant accepted the assignment and called Louis Kelsch, Horace Ensign, and young Alma Taylor to serve as his missionary companions. After two years in Japan, Elder Grant returned to America while Taylor continued to serve the Japanese. Taylor eventually translated the Book of Mormon into Japanese (1909) and served as president of the Japan Mission (1905–10), all while in his twenties.

A Proposal Presented and Granted

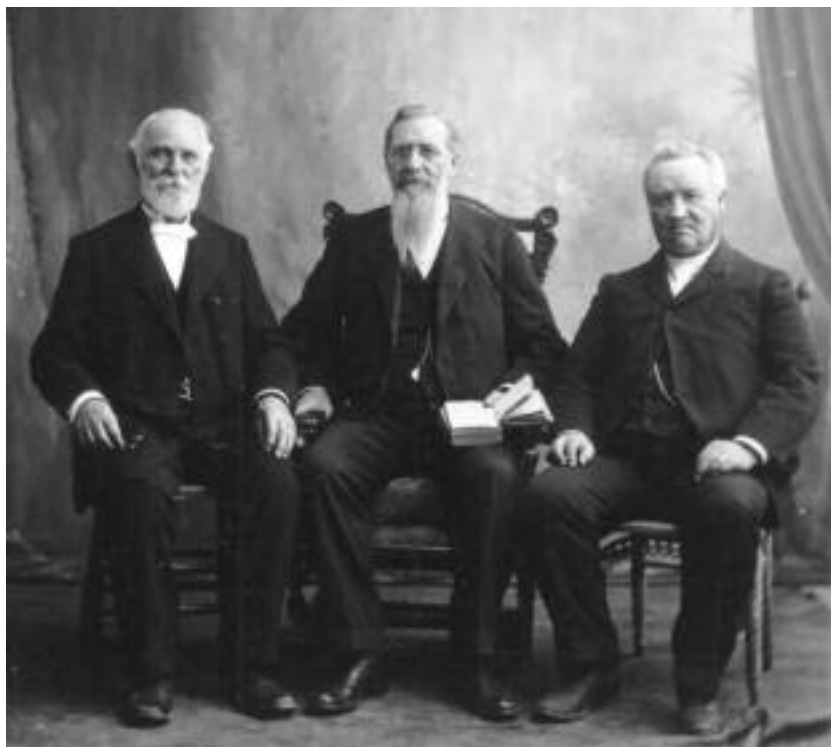
After eight years in Japan, Taylor was ready to return to Utah. Before leaving the Far East, however, he hoped to survey Asian countries where the Church had not entered. Accordingly, he wrote the First Presidency with a request to "visit China and Korea for the purpose of getting an idea of the conditions there. From all the reports I hear, these two countries afford opportunities for missionary work, equal with, if not superior to, those in Japan."¹⁴ Apparently, Taylor believed that these nations might yield more converts than the thirty-five baptized in Japan during the years he served there.¹⁵

The Church leadership consented to Taylor's proposal.¹⁶ In a letter to Taylor dated March 9, 1909, the First Presidency communicated its wishes:

We have pleasure in saying that the unanimous sentiment of the Council was that you may consider yourself at liberty to act on the suggestion after your release, and that you do not go alone, but that you take Elder Fred Caine with you, in the understanding of course that the Church is to bear your expenses.¹⁷

Months later, the First Presidency sent Taylor a bank draft for one thousand dollars to cover travel expenses.¹⁸ This money covered the two elders' expenses as they toured Korea, a country not discussed in Taylor's report, and then China.¹⁹

The First Presidency probably had several reasons for supporting Taylor's request. Of all the elders who might be sent to investigate an Asian country, Taylor was probably the best prepared. No other American Latter-day Saint had lived in Asia as long. While China and Japan differed in language, culture, and customs, the two countries had in common an Asian heritage, Buddhist theology, Confucian philosophy, and character-writing system. Taylor's many years of service in Japan would have familiarized him with these similarities. He had proven himself capable and loyal to the Church. For years the First Presidency had trusted his decisions and conclusions as he served as mission president and translated the Book of Mormon.



The members of the First Presidency who funded Alma O. Taylor's fact-finding mission: (left to right) John R. Winder, Joseph F. Smith, and Anthon H. Lund (1901).

Furthermore, Church leaders were already concerned about China's temporal and spiritual condition. In the April 1907 general conference, President John R. Winder moved that the Church send twenty tons of flour to China to aid famine victims. In another session of that conference, Elder Andrew Jensen declared that China's spiritual famine would soon be alleviated by the restored gospel.²⁰ Though the Church's 1853 mission to China had not resulted in a permanent mission, Jensen believed that the Saints now "had reason to expect that a successful missionary field will be opened in that land in the near future."²¹

A Fact-Finding Mission to China

Taylor was released as president of the Japan Mission on January 1, 1910. Three days earlier, he had written the First Presidency of his final plans: "Elder Caine and I . . . shall be in Korea and China perhaps 45 days so until a brief visit at Hawaii we do not expect to reach Zion till April."²²



Church Archives

Missionaries in Japan including Frederick A. Caine, Taylor's companion on the trip to China, ca. 1902. *Left to right:* John W. Stoker, Erastus L. Jarvis (sitting), Frederick A. Caine, Sanford W. Hedges.

For the next several weeks, Taylor and Caine traveled together through Korea and China. After fourteen days in Korea, the two elders spent forty-nine days in China both north and south of the Yangtze River. They traveled about 4,385 miles by "land and water in and about China," visiting thirty cities along the way.²³ While most of these cities were on the main rail lines or shipping lanes, these were the places most accessible to Westerners and therefore the most likely candidates for Latter-day Saint missionary activity. Taylor kept a daily travel log specifying miles traveled, places lodged, monies paid, sites seen, persons visited, and interviews held.

Taylor's conclusions, detailed in his report, were rooted in the political and socioeconomic instability he encountered while in China. Several other factors unique to the Church probably influenced his reasoning. Unlike other Christian churches, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints lacked an established physical and human infrastructure in China. Large financial resources would be needed to permanently establish this infrastructure in China in 1910. These were resources the corporate Church, only recently out of debt, did not have. Furthermore, Taylor had only recently completed an arduous mission to Japan. He was well aware of

how difficult it was for Indo-European English speakers to learn Asian languages. Although his experience in the Japan Mission had proven that language was not an impenetrable barrier, Latter-day Saint missionaries in Japan were few. Opening China would tax the resources of Taylor's former mission, which still had a very limited infrastructure.

Taylor based his opinions and conclusions on a variety of sources. First, he used his own observations. He paid close attention to the Chinese manners and customs he saw in the cities he visited. But a major source of information came through extensive interviews with foreigners. Unable to speak Chinese, Taylor instead attempted to interview every Western missionary and English-speaking resident he met. He held interviews with U.S. and foreign diplomats; newspaper editors, publishing agents, and various other businessmen; schoolteachers and university professors; doctors and humanitarian-aid workers; Protestant missionaries; and Catholic priests.²⁴ Many of his views reflect the ordinary stereotypes of these other Westerners. Lastly, Taylor read voraciously while in China and compared his reading with his own experiences. For instance, he perused the pages of Samuel H. Chester's *Lights and Shadows of Mission Work in the Far East* (1899); Chang Chih-Tung's *China's Only Hope* (1900); writings by Reverend John Macgowan likely gleaned from either his *Christ or Confucius, Which?* (1889) or his *Imperial History of China* (1906); and Arthur H. Smith's *Chinese Characteristics* (1900).²⁵

Many of Taylor's sources share certain limitations. Their conclusions often stereotyped the Chinese in unflattering terms. Unaware of a world outside the cities' vices and eager to Christianize and reform, English speakers characterized the Chinese in broad, sweeping brushstrokes. That such stereotypes found their way into Taylor's report is no surprise. The combination of observation, interview, and reading made Taylor's report to the First Presidency representative of contemporary attitudes of the Western community in China.²⁶

Conclusion

Using a variety of sources, Taylor concluded that conditions in China did not then favor the preaching of the restored gospel. Interestingly, events in China soon substantiated Taylor's conclusions. In 1911, revolutionaries overthrew the ruling Qing dynasty, and China was again torn by political disarray.²⁷ To the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches already established in China, this revolution was but another political storm to be weathered. To the fledgling Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, however, the revolution vindicated Taylor's concern that China was in "an uncertain, transitional state" and gave Church leaders an additional reason to postpone sending missionaries to China until conditions there improved.

The following excerpts come from his "Report of our Visit to China." The original typewritten report totals thirty-two double-spaced pages. I have included Taylor's introduction and four of his eight sections.²⁸ This reproduction retains original spelling and punctuation. Taylor's handwritten edits appear within slashes (/), while editorial additions, including Chinese place names that have changed since 1910, appear within brackets ([]). Original page numbers appear in bold.

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1. Taylor's may be the longest continuous proselyting mission in the history of the Church. In the 1860s and 70s, Perrigrine Sessions served nine years and nine months in New England. During this lengthy span, however, Sessions returned home four times to care for his family. See William E. Hughes, "A Profile of the Missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1849–1900" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1986), 149.

2. Alma Owen Taylor, Journal, April 26, 1910, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

3. See R. Lanier Britsch, "Church Beginnings in China," *BYU Studies* 10 (Winter 1970): 161–72; and R. Lanier Britsch, *From the East: The History of the Latter-day Saints in Asia, 1850–1996* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1998), 8–44.

4. Taylor, Journal, April 27–30, 1910.

5. Alma O. Taylor, "Report of Our Visit to China," typescript, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives).

6. Taylor, "Report of Our Visit to China," 32.

7. The Chinese mission was formally established in Hong Kong in 1949.

8. "Alma Owen Taylor," typescript, 44, copy in possession of the author. For a biographical sketch of Taylor, see "Alma O. Taylor Going to Japan," *Deseret Evening News*, May 11, 1901, 8.

9. Rudger Clawson, *A Ministry of Meetings: The Apostolic Diaries of Rudger Clawson*, ed. Stan Larson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1993), 175–76 [June 11, 1900].

10. See Lisadore Williams Taylor, Journal, March 23, 1893, Church Archives. Personal correspondence between Heber J. Grant and Joseph Taylor is included in the last nine pages of Joseph Edward Taylor, Journal, 1849–77, typescript, Manuscripts Division, J. Willard Marriot Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Alma Taylor and Heber J. Grant's daughters Lucy, Florence, and Edith belonged to the same social club, La Concordia, at LDS College. The Grant daughters later corresponded with Alma Taylor while he was in Japan.

11. See Wendy Butler, "The Iwakura Mission and Its Stay in Salt Lake City," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 66 (Winter 1998): 26–47.

12. "A Future Mission Field," *The Contributor* 16 (October, 1895): 764.

13. George Q. Cannon, Sermon, in *71st Semi-Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1900), 67 (hereafter cited as *Conference Reports*).

14. Taylor continued, "Of course, this is entirely out of my jurisdiction and my conscience somewhat censures me for being so presumptive as to even propose such a move, but again I have the feeling that my closeness to these two countries is a partial excuse, at least, for entertaining the desire to visit them." Alma Owen Taylor to The First Presidency [Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund], February 9, 1909, Japan Mission Letterpress Copybooks, 1901–1923, 3:378, Church Archives.

15. Murray L. Nichols, "History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Japan, 1901–1924" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1957), 133.

16. On March 3, 1909, Taylor's proposal was read during the weekly meeting of the First Presidency and the Twelve Apostles. Journal History of the Church, March 3, 1909, 6–7, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

17. John R. Winder and Anthon H. Lund to Alma Owen Taylor, March 9, 1909, Japan Mission Incoming Letters, 1901–1921, Church Archives.

18. The First Presidency [Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund] to Alma Owen Taylor, November 23, 1909, Japan Mission Letterpress Copybooks, 3:486.

19. Taylor and Caine toured Korea from January 12 to January 26, 1910. I have found no report on their visit to Korea, which was then under Japanese occupation. Taylor's journal from this period, however, records impressions similar to those in the report on China.

20. John R. Winder, *Conference Reports* (April 7, 1907), 59.

21. Andrew Jenson, *Conference Reports* (April 7, 1907), 103.

22. Alma Owen Taylor to The First Presidency [Joseph F. Smith, John R. Winder, Anthon H. Lund], December 27, 1909, Japan Mission Letterpress Copybooks, 3:489.

23. In northern China, Taylor and Caine traveled exclusively by train, eventually logging an impressive 1,463 miles on the Chinese rail system. In the south, they traveled primarily by steamer along the Yangtze and the coast of China. Taylor, "Report of Our Visit to China," 1–5.

24. Taylor met with nearly sixty foreign missionaries, several of whom were regarded as experts on China by their peers. Of this number, I have been able to positively identify twenty-seven in contemporary Protestant mission records. Of these organizations, The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, American Mission Church Compound, Church of England Missionary Society, London Mission Society, Scottish Presbyterian Mission, and the Young Men's Christian Association accounted for 56 percent of his documented contacts. Taylor's journal entries show that he sometimes withheld his religious affiliation until questioned by his interviewees. However, if the subject of Mormonism surfaced, Taylor boldly defended his faith. For the most part, Taylor was well received by his Christian and Western counterparts. See D. MacGillivray, ed., *A Century of Protestant Missions in China, 1807–1907* (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission, 1907); *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: The One Hundredth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Board Congegational House, 1910); Taylor, Journal, January 26–March 15, 1910.

25. S. H. Chester, *Lights and Shadows of Mission Work in the Far East; Being the Record of Observations Made during a Visit to the Southern Presbyterian Missions in Japan, China, and Korea in the Year 1897* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899); Chang Chih-Tung, *China's Only Hope*, trans. Samuel I. Woodbridge (New York: F. H. Revell, 1900); John Macgowan, *Christ or Confucius, Which? or, The Story of the Amoy Mission* (London: London Missionary Society, 1889); John Macgowan, *The Imperial History of China; Being a History of the Empire as Compiled by the*

Chinese Historians, 2nd ed. (Shanghai: American Presbyterian Mission, 1906); Arthur H. Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, rev. and enl. (New York: F. H. Revell, 1900). One historian has claimed, “*Chinese Characteristics* was the most widely read and influential American work on China of its generation. Written in the late 1880s, it was still among the five most read books on China among foreigners living in China as late as the 1920s. . . . Smith’s contemporaries read it as a wise and pungent handbook.” See Charles Hayford, “Chinese and American Characteristics: Arthur H. Smith and His China Book,” in *Christianity in China: Early Protestant Missionary Writings*, ed. Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbanks (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 154.

26. After carefully reviewing Taylor’s journal and report, I found no evidence that other Christian missionaries purposely colored his view of China to discourage the Mormons from entering.

27. In 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen deposed the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) and imperial rule of China. He is considered the founder of modern China. Dorothy Perkins, *Encyclopedia of China: The Essential Reference to China, Its History and Culture* (New York: Roundtable, 1999), s.v. “Revolution of 1911.”

28. The sections not included in this article are “Races and Political Conditions,” “Military Condition,” and “Educational Condition.” A full copy of the entire report can be seen at the Church Archives.

Report of Our Visit to China

/Written by Alma O. Taylor/

. . . On the morning of January 26th [1910] we crossed the Yalu River [Yalujiang] on ice /sleds/ and arrived at Antung [Dandong] in Manchuria. At Antung we took the train for Mukden [Shenyang]. Although the distance is only ~~nineteen~~ /191/ miles, owing to the poor condition of this light-railroad, which was hurriedly built by the Japanese during their war with the Russians,¹ it took two days to reach Mukden, one night being spent at the half-way station, Tsaohokon. Mukden is the chief city of Manchuria and the sacred city of the present Imperial Family of China. It has an interesting history connected with the Manchus, and here we find some of the tombs of the Imperial Ancestors.

After an interesting three days visit at Mukden we boarded the train going south. At night we reached Shanghaikwan [Shanhaiguan]. The next morning we visited that wonderful monument to the genius and endurance of the Chinese—the great wall of China—which terminates at this place.

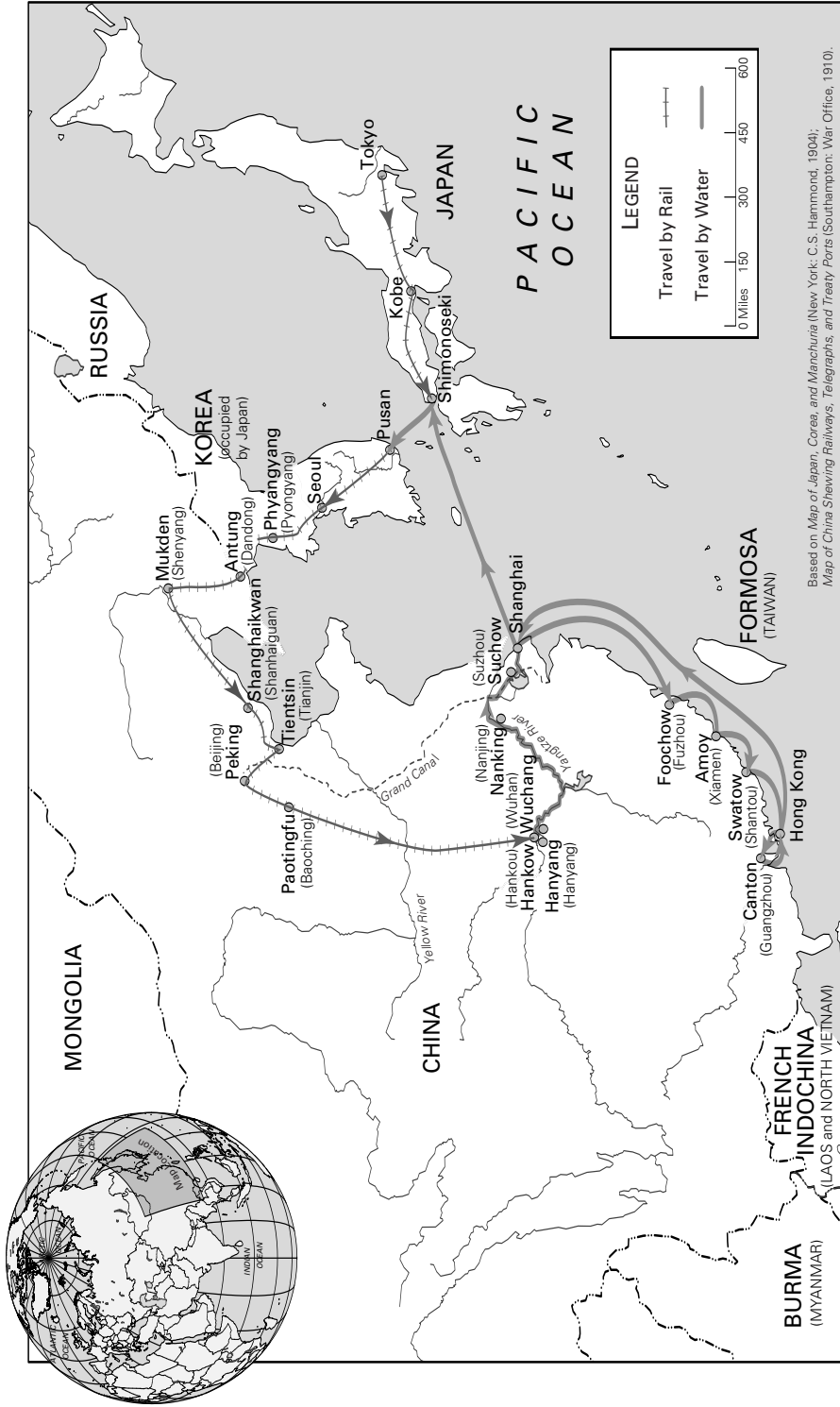
Proceeding by the early forenoon train, we reached Tientsin [Tianjin] that afternoon. Tientsin is the outlet to Peking [Beijing], holding the [p. 2] same relation to it that Osaka does to Kyoto or Yokohama to Tokyo. It is interesting because of the massacre of whites enacted here in 1870 and because of the part it played in the Boxer War—the battle of Tientsin deciding the fate of the foreigners in Peking.²

After two days we proceeded to Peking, the capital of China and the most interesting and most cosmopolitan city in the Empire. We spent ~~three~~ /four/ full days here in busy inquiry and educational sight seeing.

From Peking to Hankow [Hankou/Wuhan] is a ride by rail of 750 miles, and there is nothing on the way that the ordinary tourist cares or ventures

1. The Russo-Japan War of 1904–5 was over control of Korea and Manchuria.

2. The Boxer Uprising was a rebellion in northern China in 1900 initiated by a covert group against Christian missionaries, foreign diplomats, and technology. Members of the society became known as “Boxers” because they practiced martial arts and secret rituals. For fifty-six days, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign legations of Beijing and killed 250 foreigners and many Chinese Christians. In response, Western powers swiftly sent their military forces to put down the Boxer Uprising and defend national interests in China. On August 14, 1900, a multinational, international army marched into Beijing and rescued their nationals and other Chinese Christians. The Western powers demanded indemnity from the Chinese government and forced political concessions.



Alma O. Taylor's Fact-Finding Journey to Korea and China, 1910

Taylor left Tokyo for Korea on January 10, 1910, and returned to Shimonoseki, Japan, on March 18, 1910.

to see. For these there is only one through train a week. All the other trains are locals and by these it takes three days to reach Hankow, two stops at night in Chinese inns being necessary. The chance to stop in a Chinese inn and get in closer touch with their food and life tempted us, so we left Peking on the slow schedule.

Paotingfu [Baoching] is the capital of Chihli Province and the scene of a bloody massacre of Christians during the Boxer War. This was made the first stop and we had half a day to visit the resident foreigners and see the city. We boarded and lodged in a Chinese inn. The next day we got as far as Changtefu and had another experience in Chinese life. It was the night before Chinese New Year³ and the noisy celebration, together with uncomfortable slab-beds, made sleep difficult.⁴ After another day in a train as dusty as a desert stage, we reached Chumatien and spent New Year's night in a Chinese inn where a Western idea or two had been poorly applied. The next day we reached Hankow.

From a point about 30 miles the other side of Mukden to Hankow our journey was mostly through extensive plains seldom [p. 3] broken by mountains or hills. At this time of the year (last of January and first of February) scarcely a green leaf or blade of grass is seen. The broad fields are dry and dusty. The cold winds that blow almost every day pick up the dust and carry

3. The Chinese New Year, the most important and widely celebrated holiday in the Chinese calendar, celebrates the arrival of spring and lasts for fifteen days.

4. Taylor was generally unimpressed with the Chinese boarding conditions. Ever the good sport, he poked fun at his eating and living conditions. One night in Paotingfu, he stayed at a Chinese inn and ordered dinner. Disgusted by the meal, Taylor recounted, "In a short time two bowls of greased rice and twenty one eggs were served! The eggs were cooked in three ways, boiled fried and poached. The greasy rice gagged me so I /also/ lost my appetite for eggs." Sadly, the evening continued downhill. Taylor exclaimed, "The beds! Nothing in my experience will describe them unless I go to the old American country morgue in the undertaker's back yard and choose the slab for the comparison. Nothing but plain inch boards on top of wooden pedestals." He and Caine "were supposed to spread our blankets and sleep well! Our blankets being too few, we applied for more and got four quilts hard and greasy. But we had come to see, to taste and to feel so we laughed and rejoiced over the experience." The two missionaries "piled our clothing on top and I slept very comfortably but Elder Caine said he didn't look half as much like a corpse as he felt like one, being cold and 'stiff' all night." The next morning, the two elders eagerly departed after a fitful night of sleep. Ironically, they fared no better later that week in a room designed specifically for foreigners. Taylor complained, "Oh what a room! It was much more crude than any house in the western wilds of America." That night Taylor noted, "The feather pillow provided was not tempting as there was too much fear that while the chickens might be dead the vermin in the feathers may not be, so I wrapped up a book in my towel and slept restlessly through the night." Taylor, *Journal*, February 8–10, 1910.

it over the open country with such fury that the atmosphere is colored and the houses and trains are constantly coated with dust both inside and out.

Across the river from Hankow is the city of ~~Uri~~/Wu/chang [Wuhan], the educational center of middle China. ~~Uri~~/Wu/chang, Hankow and Hangyang [Hanyang] three cities all in one group, form the great metropolis of central China. We had a profitable three days' sojourn here. Leaving the dusty, uncomfortable trains of North China, we took steamer down the great Yangtse [Yangtze] river for Nanking [Nanjing].

Nanking was the capital of China during the Ming dynasty, and it was the scene of the bloodiest tragedy of the Taiping Rebellion,⁵ which rebellion, it is said, resulted in the death of 100,000,000 of China's inhabitants. A day and a half were spent investigating conditions at Nanking, then we proceeded by rail to Suchow [Suzhou], called by some, the Venice of China. The visit here was limited to sight-seeing.⁶ The next day we took the train to Shanghai. This ended our railroad experiences in China. From Chinkiang to Suchow the railroad runs parallel with the grand canal, another of the great engineering feats of the Chinese.

A wait for the proper southbound coast steamer made it necessary to spend eight days in Shanghai.⁷ Shanghai is a great commercial city populated by men of all nations and creeds, whose principal aim in life seems to be money-making. Here also a mixture of Western and Eastern life can be seen to good advantage; the foreign city standing alongside the native gives a good chance to draw comparisons. While the Westerner is showing [p. 4] the Chinese a good example in material affairs, his influence morally is absolutely degrading.

5. The Taiping Rebellion, which lasted fourteen years, was the largest uprising in mid-nineteenth-century China. During the rebellion, more than thirty million people were killed.

6. "We . . . entered the city on donkeys. This was real fun. Our donkeys rushed rapidly through the narrow, thronged streets while our knees /kept/ poking the people in the ribs. The donkey boys ran ahead to clear the way and the bells on the donkey's necks rang merrily. Here we saw large attractive Chinese stores, and numerous water canals and bridges." Taylor, *Journal*, February 17, 1910.

7. Taylor determined to observe the Chinese in their native worship by visiting a Buddhist temple in Shanghai. He was underwhelmed: "We soon reached the city temple, a dark, dirty and conclusive witness to the utter degradation of operating Buddhism. The buildings were filled with smoke from the candles which burned by the hundreds /from/ the paper money which was being burned in deceitful homage to the dingy gods which sit or stand almost buried in soot and dust, /smoke/ and /from/ the incense which the people lighted with ~~almost~~ reckless waste." Taylor, *Journal*, February 24, 1910.

Leaving Shanghai we proceeded down the coast to the city called Foochow [Fuzhou], on the Min River. At last we have found a spot in China where the scenery looks fresh and beautiful! Our disgust with the poverty of scenic landscape in north and central China is partially forgotten when we behold the magnificence of the scenery from the mouth of the Min up to the city of Foochow. Unfortunately we had to leave Foochow early the following morning.

The next stop was at Amoy [Xiamen], situated in a beautiful harbor. The native city is the filthiest and foulest in China so far as our experience permits us to judge. In this harbor a part of the American Atlantic Fleet was royally entertained by the Chinese in 1908.

Our steamer called next at Swatow [Shantou], where we had a few hours' stay and then proceeded to Hongkong [Hong Kong]. Hongkong has a delightful situation and its life and activities are much like ~~that~~ /those/ of Shanghai.

We went up the river to Canton [Guangzhou], the city of the greatest population in China. There are more people in Canton to the square rod than in any other spot on the globe. Most of the Chinese in America emigrated from the country surrounding Canton. After two days of study, inquiry and sight-seeing we went back to Hongkong, allowing one day to prepare for the start home. Our steamer sailed from Hongkong Saturday, March 12th, at noon. The next Tuesday we had seven hours at Shanghai, where we said farewell to China.

China is commonly spoken of as North China and South China, the Yangtse River being the dividing line. Our sojourn in the north lasted seventeen days, and we were seventeen days in the [p. 5] south, while fifteen days were spent in cities on the banks of or near the Yangtse, for, when we reached this river at Hankow, we were about 600 miles inland from the Pacific. The entire journey in North China of 1463 miles was made by rail—railroads owned by the Chinese, but still directed more or less by foreigners. The rest of our journey in China, with the exception of the distance from Nanking to Shanghai, 193 miles, was made by steamer, and from Shanghai to Canton was limited to the coast. In all, our travels by land and water in and about China, including the return from Hongkong to Shanghai, covered a distance of about 4,385 miles. . . .

[p. 18] Social Conditions.

The home is the foundation of Chinese society. The family interests are greater than the interests of the individual. Individual liberty is, to a degree, curtailed because of the supremacy of the family.

While traveling in China we have heard considerable of the Chinese lack of real love in the family circle. Much has been said and written about

family quarrels and sorrows. But, after all, in a land where so much stress is laid upon filial piety and ancestor worship and the perpetuation of the family lines, there must be a strong loving bond somewhere. After living in Japan and studying the Japanese for over eight years, we feel safe in judging that in China also the surface appearances are poor indications of the inner life. We are therefore inclined to accept the view of the minority which is best stated in the words of Dr. McGowan:⁸

“There is no doubt that husband and wife in the great majority of homes in China are bound to each other by genuine, undoubted love. At first sight this seems difficult to be believed. Not only do the young people never catch sight of one another until the moment that they stand side by side as man and wife in the husband’s home, but it is an undoubted fact that the great mass of the women of this land are very deficient in personal charm. Fortunately, good looks are not the things that cause love to grow in a man’s or woman’s heart. As time goes by, other forces come into play that make the plain face shine with a beauty of its own; and soon the hearts are knit together as though Cupid himself had twined the golden chain that bound them in a common love. . . .

“That there are unhappy homes in China, where husbands and wives dispute and quarrel with each other I do not doubt. The same is the case in countries where men and women fall in love and willingly marry each other. . . .

[“]As far as a long experience would enable me to judge, I verily believe that the majority of homes in this country are reasonably happy ones, and the wives hold a position not of sufferance but of love.”⁹

’Tis true that marriages are performed in what, to a Westerner, may seem an arbitrary, mechanical, loveless way, but the Oriental is used to Oriental customs, and a person cannot safely theorize on Chinese love-knots while holding up the Western custom as a standard.

We discovered, however, some decidedly barbaric practices in connection with the family life of China, which moral principles all over the world

8. Dr. John Macgowan (1835–1922) was a missionary for the London Missionary Society who labored in Amoy and other cities in China. Macgowan authored a number of books on China including the two works cited in note 25 above and *Chinese Folk-Lore Tales* (Shanghai: North-China Daily News and Herald, 1910); *English and Chinese Dictionary of the Amoy Dialect* (Amoy, China: A. A. Marcal, 1883); and *A Manual of the Amoy Colloquial* (Hongkong: De Souza, 1869). See also Taylor, “Report on Our Visit to China,” 1–32.

9. As Taylor identified only the author and not the source of this long quotation, I was unable to locate this particular quote in any of the writings by Dr. John Macgowan that are housed in the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

condemn: such as /the/ killing of infants, especially [p. 19] girl babies, or casting them away, or selling them as slaves. That this has been an all too general custom in the past and is an all too common sin at present every speaker and writer admits. But justice demands that the world be informed that this sin has greatly decreased of late years and hope is bright that it will, ere long, cease entirely. Poverty, the honor that comes to the parents with the birth of a male child, and the disgrace and humiliation which custom and perverted Confucianism¹⁰ frequently attaches to the birth of a female child are the chief reasons assigned for this crime.

The use above of the word "slaves" may imply that slavery exists in China, in fact some men so view it, but from our readings and observations, we would be more inclined to refer to it as a severe apprenticeship, because whips and lashes and bloodhounds are not in evidence, and freedom and independence are not impossible if worked for. Still it is not uncommon for this apprenticeship to continue from father to son, making the system appear like an inherited bondage.

One would expect to find in a country like China a pronounced class distinction, but we were agreeably surprised to find that the high and low mingle together with less restraint than Oriental society in most places demands. As already noted in the remarks on education, according to the old system, every man, except the sons of those engaged in degraded business, could aspire to and, by their own diligence and genius, reach the highest honors this side [of] the Imperial throne. Wealth and poverty makes less distinction between men than learning and ignorance do. It remains to be seen whether or not the program for a new China will result in more or less caste in her society. [p. 20]

Ideas of propriety in the intercourse between men and women in China are different from the Western ideas. The women are separated from the men in most public places. The churches in North China are provided with curtains that hang through the /centre of the/ assembly rooms and the men are seated on one side and the women on the other, preventing even a view of each other. In all churches where the curtains are not used, the sexes are assigned different parts of the room, a mixture of sexes in the same tier being carefully avoided, let alone a mixture on the same bench. The inns where we stopped, the public places where we visited (aside from the shrines), the stores where we made purchases; all these are manned,

10. Confucius (551–479 B.C.) taught that a person became noble by developing five virtues, which are not given at birth. The requisite virtues are humanity or benevolence, righteousness, propriety or proper conduct, wisdom, and trustworthiness. Filial piety, the respect and obedience of children towards their parents, was the overarching principle.

giving everything an indelicate, inartistic, rough, masculine aspect /appearance and air/. The women in the house also have no special part to play in the entertainment of a male guest. This condition makes it impracticable and dangerous, therefore quite impossible, for a male missionary to do work among the women; and they, being generally too illiterate, he cannot reach them with the written word. The female missionary is therefore a necessary adjunct to missionary work in China.

There is a class of females, known as singing girls, who dance and play and sing before male audiences in certain public and private entertainments. These girls are common attendants upon real swell restaurants, tea houses, etc., but their profession is decidedly shady.

The theatre is the chief source of amusement in China, and all performances, whether good or bad, elevating or demoralizing, are well patronized by both men and women. The actors are all men; women being prohibited from going on the stage. [p. 21]

Private gatherings are no doubt common among the wealthier people, but we have had only the faintest hints as to their nature, except that feasting at the other fellow's expense is the Chinaman's delight.

Although we have not recognized it by sight, polygamy¹¹ is a common institution in China. The importance of the family, the necessity of continuing the family line and keeping up the worship at the ancestral tombs and tablets¹² according to Confucian principles, are cited as the basic reason for polygamy: Since the beginning of the practice, however, the reasons have been found to justify individual cases and now concubinage has also become common as an appendage to a perversion of polygamy.

The terrible graft that is carried on in official circles, because every official is so badly paid and squeezed by his superiors that he in turn has to squeeze and steal right and left in order to live and maintain the standard of his position, has had a demoralizing effect upon aristocratic society. And the commoners have found in this an excuse and precedent for similar immoral, high-handed schemes in their part of society. Thus there are evidences that one rank of society is suspicious of the other and a mutual

11. Taylor is referring here to the Chinese practice of concubinage, in which a man brought one or more women in addition to his legal wife into his household to cohabit with him. The concubine was a "secondary spouse," and her duties included serving the first wife and bearing children.

12. Ancestor worship is the religious practice of Chinese paying respect to their ancestors, whose spirits they believe reside in wooden ancestral tablets known as *lingwei*. Family members offer up food, beverages, candles, and flowers to these tablets on the altar of the family shrine. These practices help demonstrate filial loyalty for deceased family members.

suspicion and jealousy exists alarmingly among individuals. The President of the largest Christian University in China¹³ said that the students' distrust in the government and official promises was so great that free education in government schools was no attraction to the young men of the nation, who are too fearful of what the results might be to themselves. This common suspicion is one of the important sociological problems of the Celestial Empire. [p. 22]

Moral State

The statements we have heard about the Chinaman's morality are many and often quite contradictory. Foreigners of long residence in North China unhesitatingly applaud the personal purity of the people and declare their condition to be equally as clean if not cleaner, than conditions found in Europe or America. The story in South China, told by men of equally long experience is that the Chinese are terrifically loose in their morals, and the seclusion of women (it is not so marked in the south as in the north) so much applauded, is not the white flower of virtue that it is often said to be. One veteran, living in central China, recited what he called actual discoveries of immorality which, if true, certainly rank well with the startling revelations of sexual rottenness in the Occident. Doctors in middle and south China claim that syphilis and kindred diseases are unusually common but are not of the most virulent type.

One fact, which, we judge, would have a bearing on this question is that marriage, being considered of utmost importance, is urged upon everyone. Bachelors and old maids are the scapegoats of society. The result is that the Chinese marry young, the girls' years are especially tender. This custom, to our minds, reduces the temptations of young manhood and young womanhood, and surely prevents much impurity which would otherwise exist.

The Chinese are known all over the world as men of their word. Honesty in business—commercial integrity, have made them almost a proverb in the mouths of Westerners. To know the basis of this reputation has been one of the objects of our search and study in China. After all, we conclude, from the evidence to [p. 23] hand, that honesty with the Chinese is not a moral asset to his character—it is not a matter of conscience with him; it is only a policy which he has recognized to be essential in obtaining the most coveted thing in the world—money. The Chinese keenly recognizes that in

13. Taylor is most likely referring to Dr. "F. C." Cooper, President of St. John's University, Shanghai. See Taylor, *Journal*, February 23, 1910; and *China Centenary Missionary Conference* (Shanghai: Methodist Publishing House, 1907), 514.

order to get the foreigner's money he must first get his confidence. And the policy that gets and holds a merchant's confidence, is honesty in business deals. Now the basis of a man's honesty and reliability in business is not a question about which the Western merchant cares much, therefore they have praised the Chinese so loudly that people take it for granted that honesty is /a/ characteristic virtue of the Chinese. /But it is not./

The Chinaman is a born gambler. He would rather play games of chance than eat, and he likes a feast very much. It was no uncommon thing for us to see little boys and girls not yet big enough to go to school playing juvenile games of chance in the streets, preparatory, it seemed, to following in the footsteps of their sires. Their intense passion to play for luck is illustrated by one writer who says it is not uncommon for the people of a certain district who have received a tax notice, say, for \$17.00, to sink the \$17.00 in a game of chance in the hope of getting \$20.00, but only come out with \$14.00 rather than go directly to the collector and pay the \$17.00. Gambling is no doubt one of the curses of China.

Another curse is opium smoking. It has been prohibited by law, but a majority of the officials are said to be secretly continuing the practice, while hundreds of thousands of the common people are slaves to the habit—a habit which, it/ is claimed ~~to~~ do/es/ more harm to the nation than floods, pestilences and famines combined. [p. 24]

We have been deeply interested in learning of the Chinese sincerity of heart and purpose when he enters the Christian church. Missionaries, questioned on this point, have naturally spoken in defense of their convert's sincerity, [b]ut there has been an occasional shy acknowledgment of exceptions to the rule. The history of a Baptist missionary's /(not Dr. McGowan)/ experiences in China during 50 years,¹⁴ which has been read with keen interest, records happenings which clearly prove that the Chinese have weaknesses in common with their neighbors, and there is more or less ulterior motive in the sympathetic attitude of many towards religion. This is not limited to the professing Christians—it is seen in the professing Buddhists and others. In justice to the Chinese Christians, their heroic stand at the time of the Boxer War should not be forgotten. A Bible was placed at their feet and they were commanded to trample upon it and renounce Christianity. Not complying, they were threatened with death. It is said that practically every soul thus tested chose death. We are told by missionaries generally that apostasy is uncommon, but lukewarmness and inactivity in Christian duties is one of the worries of the work.

14. Lovelace Savidge Foster, *Fifty Years in China: An Eventful Memoir of Tarleton Perry Crawford, D.D.* (Nashville, Tenn.: Bayless-Pullen, 1909).

Religious Condition.

The Chinese being such faithful students of the classics, we were not surprised to hear of their high esteem for Confucius and Mencius.¹⁵ Ancestor worship, so common in every part of the Empire, and in every grade of society is the chief product of Confucianism. It, in fact, is the soul of religion in China, if indeed China has any distinct religion, and around this worship of the dead have gathered Buddhistic and Taoistic rites and ceremonies embracing varied conceptions of strange gods and spirits [of] both [p. 25] good and bad, beautiful and ugly, gentle and ferocious.

Confucianism should exist as an independent code of ethics. It cannot logically or consistently admit Buddhism or Taoism, for the very nature of these systems is antagonistic to Confucius' doctrines. But the remarkable ability of the Chinese to mix oil with water, as it were, has mixed the metaphysics of Buddhism, the superstitions of Taoism and the ethics of Confucianism into one incongruous, but, to the Chinese mind, quite harmonious mass. Thus in some rites of worship the people may be strictly Buddhists, while in others, Taoists, and still again in others Confucianists. Dr. Arthur H. Smith¹⁶ states his observations of this condition as follows:

. . . Any Chinese who wants the services of a Buddhist priest, and who can afford to pay for them, will hire the priest, and thus be 'a Buddhist.' If he wants a Taoist priest, he will in like manner call him, and this makes him 'a Taoist'. It is of no consequence to the Chinese which of the two he employs, and he will not improbably call them both at once, and thus be at once ['a Buddhist' and 'a Taoist'. Thus the same individual is at once a Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist, and with no sense of incongruity. Buddhism swallowed Taoism, Taoism swallowed Confucianism, but at last the latter swallowed both Buddhism and Taoism together, and thus 'the three religions are one!'"¹⁷

Our own observations lead to the belief that the Chinese are polytheists. They seem to have a god for every occasion. It seems also that pantheism is a characteristic of their faith, for objects in nature, if not nature itself, are deified and worshipped. It may be, however, indeed our observations suggest[,] that idolatrous polytheism and idolatrous pantheism are more eagerly followed by the ignorant classes than by the scholars [p. 26],

15. Next to Confucius, Mencius (372–289 B.C.) is the most important thinker in the Confucian tradition. He is known by the Chinese as the Second Sage of Confucianism.

16. Arthur Henderson Smith (1845–1932) was an American author and Protestant missionary to China. He began his proselytizing work among the poor Chinese in Tientsin. He contributed a number of articles to various Christian magazines and wrote several books on China, including *Chinese Characteristics*. See also note 25.

17. This quotation comes from Smith, *Chinese Characteristics*, 294.

for the latter have their brains well soaked in the teachings found in the classics. Some understand the Confucian classics to deny the existence of God, hence say that atheism is common among the scholars of China.

However it all may be, what our own eyes have seen, our noses smelled, and our ears heard, while visiting Buddhist, Taoist and Confucian shrines in China, all goes to prove that the religions of China are, in practice, unclean, without order, superstitious, immoral, idolatrous, retrogressive and unenlightening. No matter how beautifully their theology may be recorded, Confucius, Mencius, Guatama¹⁸ and Laotse are not honored by the worship done in their names.

It is said that the Chinese have never been anti-Christian, that is, hostile to Christianity itself. It is the foreigner and the foreign influence that accompanies Christianity into China that the Chinese have opposed and do still oppose. Still it does not seem to us reasonable that Christianity, as such, should not be more or less resisted. It is no doubt true that the common people, unacquainted with the classics are not anti-Christian, but the scholars, from the very nature of their textbooks must recognize Christianity as antagonistic to their beloved sage's analects.¹⁹ In a book entitled "China's Only Hope," written by Chang Chih-Tug, one of China's greatest Vice-roys, and approved by Imperial edict, the idea of Christianity for the West and Confucianism for China is plainly set forth. The following paragraphs are ~~sufficient~~ /significant/:

"We would here state that there are now three things necessary to be done in order to save China from revolution. The first is to maintain the reigning Dynasty; the second is to conserve the Holy Religion; and the third is to protect the Chinese Race. These are inseparably connected; in fact they together constitute one; for in order to protect the Chinese Race we must [p. 27] first conserve the Religion, and if the Religion is to be conserved we are bound to maintain the Dynasty.

"Our Holy Religion has flourished in China several thousand years without change. The early Emperors and Kings embellished our tenets by their noble examples and bequeathed to us the rich legacy which we now possess. The sovereigns were the teachers. The Han, the T'ang and all the Chinese Dynasties to the Ming (embracing a period of 1800 years) honored and

18. Siddhartha Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, lived in northern India in the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C. After becoming troubled by the problem of human suffering, he abandoned all of his possessions and became a monk who tried to resolve suffering. Eventually he was awakened to the truth, which he called the "Middle Way" and which he taught to his followers until his death.

19. Confucian Analects (*Lunyu*). A book of twenty chapters in 497 verses that contains the wise sayings of Confucius plus his dialogues with his students.

revered the religion of Confucius. Religion is the government, and the Emperors of our Dynasty honor Confucianism with a still greater reverence[.] . . . For government and religion are inseparably linked together and constitute the warp of the past and present, the woof of intercommunication between China and the West.

"The foundations of our State are deep and durable. Protected by Heaven, the superstructure will certainly stand secure! But supposing this absurd gossip about the partition of China by Europeans were true and the country were cut up, be it ever so exalted and excellent, would foreigners respect the Holy Doctrine of Confucius? Far from it. The Classics of the Four Philosophers would be thrown out as refuse, and the Confucian cap and gown would never more cherish the hope of an official career. Our clever scholars would figure as clergymen, compressors, and clerks, whilst the common people would be required to pay a poll-tax and be used as soldiers, artisans, underlings, and servants. That is what would happen. And the more menial our people became, the more stupid they would be; until being both menial and stupid, they would become reduced to wretched poverty and at last perish miserably. Our Holy Religion would meet the same fate that Brahmanism in India did. Its adherents would be found skulking away, or crouching among the cavernous hills, but clinging fast the while to some tattered remnants of the truth!

"Buddhism and Taoism are decaying, and cannot long exist, whilst the Western religion is flourishing and making progress every day. Buddhism is on its last legs, and Taoism is discouraged, because its devils have become irresponsive and inefficacious. If there be a renaissance of Confucianism, China will be brought to order and Buddhism and Taoism will receive secure protection ~~against~~ /from/ the Sect of the Learned.

"The old and new must both be taught; by the old is meant the Four Books, the Five Classics, history, government, and geography of China; by the new, Western government, science, and history. Both are imperative, but we repeat that the old is to form the basis and the new is for practical purposes.

"Chinese learning is moral. Western learning is practical. Chinese learning concerns itself with moral conduct. Western learning, with the affairs of the world. What matters it, then, whether Western learning is mentioned in the Classics or not, if it teaches nothing repugnant, or antagonistic, to the genius of our books? If the Chinese heart throbs in unison with the heart of the sages, expressing the truth in irreprovable conduct, in filial piety, brotherly love, honesty, integrity, virtue; if government is loyalty and protection, then let government make use of foreign machinery and the railway from morning to night and nothing untoward will befall the disciples of Confucius."²⁰ [p. 28]

There is one point that should not be overlooked in discussing the religious conditions in China; that is, the passionate love of the Chinaman for money. We are told that a Chinese will almost forsake his ancestors, if such

20. These quotations come from Chang, *China's Only Hope*, 32–35, 99–101, 137–38.

an act will bring him a bag of money, and he can be persuaded that the spirits will not destroy him for his unfiliality. Therefore, one of the fears, in South China especially, is that if the Chinese are convinced of the absurdities of their superstitions and ancestor worship, that they will put the dollar in place of Confucius' tablet and Buddha's idol and prostrate themselves before the altar of filthy lucre.

In regard to Christian missionary work in China, we have heard much, seen a little and read considerable. Certainly the pathway has been rough and is dotted with the grave mounds of thousands of martyrs. The way is still hard.

Catholic Missions²¹ have been operating in China since the Ming Dynasty (1368–1628). They have a large following. There are historical facts that show that in the past they have wielded great influence—great enough to attract Imperial attention and call forth the government's praise or restrictions as the case might be. Catholic cathedrals, orphanages, and schools represent an immense outlay which one priest said was nearly all subscribed by Christians in Europe.

The oldest Protestant Mission was started in 1807.²² There are now representatives of 91 different sects or societies in the Protestant wing of missionary work. Protestant stations having resident foreign missionaries are established in over 600 cities and towns throughout the empire. In nearly every instance schools are run in connection with the evangelizing work. Hospitals [p. 29] are established to show the practical benevolence of the doctrine and to act as a bait for the "heathen". Many churches with native pastors are said to be entirely self-supporting. The table of statistics submitted at a Protestant Conference, January 13th /1st/, 1907, while incomplete, may serve to give an idea in figures of Protestant strength:

Foreign Missionaries	3,719
Native Helpers	9,998
Stations	706
Sub or out Stations	3,794

21. The earliest Roman Catholics in China followed Mongolian trade routes to enter China or were brought to China as Mongolian prisoners. In the twelfth century, French king Louis IX sent William of Rubruck to convert Mongolian leader Khan Mongke. Marco Polo (1254–1324) visited the court of Kublai (Khubilai) Khan. Polo was subsequently appointed the first Roman Catholic archbishop of China.

22. Robert Morrison was sent by the London Missionary Society to China. He arrived in Guangzhou in 1807, making him the first Protestant missionary in China. As a missionary, he worked for the British East India Company as a translator, compiled the first Chinese-English dictionary, and translated the Bible into Chinese.

Communicants	154,142
Schools	2,394
Students in attendance	52,965
Hospitals and Dispensaries	366

Since the Boxer War the work in North China is reported to have grown more rapidly than ever before. Some think the stand of the native Christians who chose death rather than deny the faith, made a great impression on the non-Christians, stirring them up to an investigation of Christianity. Others think that the liberty with which the missionaries have been able to pursue their work since the war is naturally bearing its fruit. The war didn't affect the people of South China much. There missionary work seems to be going on at the same old pace. One thing in the South which makes progress slow is the commercial spirit of the people. They are more worldly, material and mercenary than the people of the North. Yet, in Fukien Province perhaps the greatest response to the Christian call has been observed. The people of this province are nearly all men of the soil, with little ability for or tendency towards commercialism.

The following two or three fragmentary ideas are submitted by way of conclusion on religious conditions:

Dr. C. D. Tenney²³ at present Chinese Secretary of the U. S. Legation at Peking, an ex-missionary who has perhaps been broad[p. 30]ened in his views by experience and study in the East, declared that Christianity unrelieved of its dogmatism and unrationalized would never be generally accepted by the Chinese.

Rev. Timothy Richard,²⁴ a man of decided views, after a long experience in China, is very optimistic in his estimate of the influence of the principles of Christianity is having on the trend of Chinese thought and life, but he doesn't boast much over the condition of the concrete Church in China.²⁵

23. Dr. C. D. Tenney was on the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Peking (Beijing).

24. Rev. Timothy Richard (1845–1919) was a Baptist Missionary Society missionary in China. He began his Chinese mission in Shantung (Shandong) Province and then moved to Chefoo (Yantai) and Ch'ing-Chou-Fu. He dressed like the natives and distributed Christian tracts and simple medical aid. He also concluded that the church in China must be self-sufficient and that native Chinese Christians should do most of the "itinerant evangelism," thus freeing up Western missionaries to work with Chinese social leaders. He became one of the most well-known Western missionaries in China.

25. Taylor wrote of Richard:

He was very optimistic in his views and believed that the "Kingdom of God" in China was much larger than the Churches. He thinks abstract Christianity

It seems that the upper class and officials have hardly been touched by Christianity. Some lament this condition, while a number of prominent church men say it is a blessing, because the so-called gentry are generally so corrupt and unreliable that their sympathy would do Christianity more harm than good.

Miscellaneous.

The Chinaman has been born and raised in such ~~an~~ unsanitary, foul-smelling, filthy and badly aired houses and cities, that we wonder if he would thrive outside of an atmosphere filled with the germs of plague and disease. It is useless to attempt a description of the terribly dirt-infected cities and houses of China. One can only marvel that pestilence does not annihilate more millions than it does. It was seldom, in fact only once, did we find the foreigner living right in among the Chinese. They have had to get up on some hill, out of the cities, or on a different island, or somewhere /where/ they could find room to breathe and space to walk without inviting contagion. Sure it is that if cleanliness is next to godliness, that the Chinese are not even within telegraphing distance of it. But in personal appearance the Chinese men, and especially the women, are neat and clean. It is a miracle how they can come out of so much sur[p. 31]rounding filth with so few soiled spots.

We are told everywhere that there exists a strong anti-foreign feeling. But, by sore experience and loss of money, influence and territory, the officials have learned that murdering the foreigner is no way of getting rid of him, hence their hate for the foreigner has not asserted itself so freely since the ~~general~~ /great/ lesson of 1900.²⁶ The common people, however,

has millions of adherents whereas the concrete Christianity as seen in ceremonies and rights cannot boast of such a large number. He spoke of educational work in China and told what he had done to help it along. He declared that the Chinese had started forward and would never go back. He said the Chinese were thinkers and if a good reason for Christian principles is given the Chinese gladly accept the principles. But as for the more concrete features of Christianity such as church going, psalm singing, performance of rites etc. the Chinese are not overly anxious to change to these. To him the future was very bright. (Taylor, Journal, February 21, 1910)

26. The failed Boxer Uprising.

are easily excited and when once a riot arises it requires a quick and powerful official to protect life and property. The Chinese are more or less converted to the need of civilization educationally, politically, and materially, but they don't want any more of the foreigner than they can possibly avoid. In a few instances, such as in the railroads, customs service, and army, they have had to use foreigners, but we are told that the present tendency is to discharge and get rid of the foreign employees and advisers. Of course, if China were as able to get along without outside teachers and leaders as Japan is, then the dismissal of foreigners would be a good thing. The future will prove China's wisdom or folly in ~~this~~ /her present tendency/.

To sum up the condition: China is in an uncertain, transterial/ional/state. The probability of revolution is not past. The program for the establishment of a constitution and parliament is drawn up. Will the constitution grant religious liberty, and the laws and officials protect every man in his worship? Or will it make a state religion of Confucianism and put a ban on all others? The Chinese are extremely self-proud and their national conceit, at such a critical period, is a huge stumbling block to their progress. China's friends are earnestly and prayerfully awaiting the time when she will be united within, friendly to other nations [p. 32] and people/s/, truly appreciative of and consistently working for modern education and a healthful, sanitary life.

It appeals to us that the Latter-day Saints will not be neglecting their duty to the world nor allowing any golden opportunity to slip by if they postpone the opening of a mission in China until the present chaotic, transitory state changes sufficiently to assure the world that China really intends and wants to give her foreign friends protection and a fair chance.

~~ALMA O.~~

~~TAYLOR.~~

Joseph Smith

for Robert Hayden

After the pearl shines in the last country,
a ball of spindles, an iron rod,
a dove fashioned from gold plates
belonging to me like skin, free as sky,
after it brightens the unlit corners; after it is banners,
sun, tsunami, grand canyon, undercurrent;
after it sears the antipodes and septentrion;
after it is more than two missionaries
walking from door to door: a vessel, a seer,
a primary schoolboy, a wrestler jailed
in the Missouri reeds, tarred, seeing salt
in distant mountains, in handcarts, in Zion,
a mystic steeped in knowledge and burden,
a translator shall speak at the bar,
and not with Roman toga, not with princes
and medals and crisping pins,
but with Jesus' arms far extending,
his children carrying the asp and lion,
New Jerusalem will start to gleam.

—Mark Bennion

The Lynching of an American Prophet

Warren A. Jennings

David Wells Kilbourne (1803–76) was an Iowa pioneer who gained prominence in Iowa politics and business.¹ He was both a land speculator and railroad builder. A native of Connecticut, he taught school there before becoming a commission merchant in New York City. When that business failed because of a disastrous fire, he moved west and took up residence on the Iowa shore of the Mississippi River. There he laid out the town of Montrose. With his brother, Edward, he operated a general store at the abandoned Fort Des Moines. David Kilbourne was appointed a justice of the peace and also served as general agent for the New York Land Company, which held claim to the Sac and Fox Half Breed Tract in Lee County, Iowa.

Kilbourne was thus in an advantageous position to observe the Mormons when in 1839 they arrived in Iowa as refugees from the fury in Missouri. Driven from that state by armed militiamen set on carrying out the “Extermination Order” of Lilburn W. Boggs (governor of Missouri 1836–40), the Mormons were further victimized by unscrupulous men with questionable authority who sold them Iowa land in the Half Breed Tract, in which Kilbourne had a stake.² At the time of their settlement in Iowa, other Saints, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith Jr., began developing Nauvoo on the Illinois shore opposite Montrose.

Originating in a dispute over land titles, a feud arose between Kilbourne and the Mormons, and in time the former became a leader of anti-Mormonism in Iowa.³ Kilbourne wrote a number of polemics against the Mormons, many of which appeared in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye and Patriot*, and, as his letter books indicate, he was soon in communication with others opposed to the Saints.⁴

Among Kilbourne’s sympathizers was an Anglican parson, Thomas Dent, of Clitheroe, England. When The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was introduced in England in 1837, the faith attracted a large number of converts. One of the first Latter-day Saint congregations was established at Clitheroe, a fact that no doubt accounted for Dent’s interest in learning more about the new sect in America.

The following three letters to Dent were extracted from letter books in the Kilbourne Collection at the State Historical Society of Iowa, located in Des Moines, Iowa.⁵ One should be cautious before accepting as fact every statement within these letters; obviously, they contain some material that was only rumor. Kilbourne viewed events from Fort Madison, Iowa, ten miles

and a wide river away from Nauvoo. Allowance must also be made for Kilbourne's personal animus toward the Mormons. Nevertheless, the letters do give some insight into how non-Mormons viewed the dramatic events leading up to and following Joseph Smith's death.

Warren A. Jennings taught U.S. history for many years at Southwest Missouri State University. His Ph.D. dissertation, "Zion Is Fleed: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (University of Florida, 1962), remains the most comprehensive study available on the early Missouri period of Church history. His family appreciates the efforts of Brian Q. Cannon, William G. Hartley, and the staff of *BYU Studies* for the final preparation of this article, on which Dr. Jennings was working at the time of his death in December 1998, in Springfield, Missouri.

1. *History of Lee County Iowa*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 2:434, describes some of Kilbourne's accomplishments. Timothy R. Mahoney, *Provincial Lives: Middle-Class Experience in the Antebellum Middle West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), discusses some of Kilbourne's political and economic activities and explores the socioeconomic milieu in which he and his peers operated.

2. See David Wells Kilbourne, *Strictures, on Dr. I. Galland's Pamphlet, Entitled "Villainy Exposed," with Some Account of His Transactions in Lands of the Sac and Fox Reservation, Etc., in Lee County, Iowa* (Fort Madison, Iowa: Statesman Office, 1850); and Lyndon W. Cook, "Isaac Galland—Mormon Benefactor," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 3 (1979): 261–84.

3. Some of Kilbourne's anti-Mormon activities are documented in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 4:416–17, 444–45; 5:61.

4. See Warren A. Jennings, ed., "Two Iowa Postmasters View Nauvoo: Anti-Mormon Letters to the Governor of Missouri," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 3 (1971): 275–92.

5. The three letters reproduced here are the most complete published versions to date. The first of these letters was published in part in *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois*, ed. John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 226–28. A short excerpt of the second letter is quoted in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 251–52, while the third letter goes unquoted in that source. An additional letter Kilbourne wrote to Dent, dated June 15, 1844, detailing a non-Mormon view of the destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor press, can be found in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 161–62.

Kilbourne's letter books contain copies of three earlier letters to Dent. The earliest and longest, signed October 20, 1842, was probably a response to an inquiry for information about the Mormons. The others were written on February 24, 1843, and December 28, 1843. The Kilbourne Collection contains no letters from Dent; perhaps these were destroyed by accidental burning. Kilbourne's letter books are charred about the edges and obviously have survived a fire that may have destroyed other correspondence.

Kilbourne to Dent: Three Letters

Fort Madison
June 29th 1844
7 O Clock P. M.

Rev^d T. Dent
Billington
near Whalley Lancashire England

My dear Sir

I hasten to inform you of the wonderful events which have taken place at Nauvoo since my letter to you a few days since. The work of death has commenced. The Mormon Prophet Joe Smith & his brother Hyrum are no more. I have just returned from Nauvoo & I this day looked upon the lifeless remains of these two men—the great heads & leaders of Mormonism. Their work of infamy is finished & their dupes about two hours since committed their remains to the silent grave. But I will hasten to give you the particulars as full as I am able in a single letter. I believe I mentioned in my last¹ that Gov[ernor] Ford² was at Carthage³ & had ordered out troops to enforce the laws.

As soon as the Gov. arrived at C[arthage] he found that the people were determined to march to Nauvoo for the purpose of arresting Joe & all the members of the City Council for destroying the press⁴ & for other crimes—The Gov on the 21st sent messengers to Joe ordering him & the council to appear at C[arthage] & answer to the numerous charges which had been preferred vs him.

1. Likely the letter Kilbourne wrote to Dent on June 15, 1844. See note 5 of this article's introduction.

2. Thomas Ford (1800–50), governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846, took his responsibilities of office seriously but was so prone to indecision for fear of offending anyone that he proved ineffective in handling this crisis. His apologia may be found in Thomas Ford, *A History of Illinois: From Its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847* (1854; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

3. Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, was approximately eighteen miles southeast of Nauvoo.

4. William and Wilson Law and other Nauvoo dissenters printed the first and only issue of their anti-Mormon newspaper, the *Expositor*, on June 7, 1844. Three days later, the city marshal destroyed the press according to a resolution of the Nauvoo City Council. A standard treatment of the action is Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the *Nauvoo Expositor*," *Utah Law Review* 9 (winter 1965): 862–903. Some relevant primary documents can be found in *Cultures in Conflict: A Documentary History of the Mormon War in Illinois*, ed. John E. Hallwas and Roger D. Launius (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1995), 142–65.

This created excitement at Nauvoo—Joe called a meeting of the Council—He & some of the Council would at this crisis have fled from the town & made their escape from justice; but most of the leaders & his people in general would not suffer him to do so. They knew by this time that if he did not go to Carthage—that the military forces & the people would march to the City—& if Joe could not be found that under the excitement vengeance would fall upon the heads of the innocent as well as the guilty—in the destruction of their City.⁵ Joe finally decided to give himself up and on Monday the 24th Inst with the other members of the Council & an attorney from this place⁶ started for Carthage when within about four miles of C[arthage] they met a posse sent by the Gov to Nauvoo to arrest Joe—they all surrendered & were taken into custody—this was on the open Prairie. This done the officer in Command,⁷ presented an order to Joe from the Gov. for all the arms at Nauvoo belonging to the State.⁸ Joe after a moments consultation endorsed the order & the posse with Joe & his men returned to Nauvoo & rec^d all the arms & took them with Joe & his men to Carthage.

On their arrival at Carthage they appeared before a magistrate⁹ & entered into recognizance for their appearance at the next term of the Hancock Circuit Court to answer to the charge of riot on which they had been arrested.¹⁰ Joe & Hyrum were immediately arrested again on charge of Treason against the State of Illinois & committed to Jail to await their

5. The Mormon view of these events is recounted in *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 6:548–50; and Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 17. A dissenter's view is in Lyndon W. Cook, *William Law: Biographical Essay, Nauvoo Diary, Correspondence, Interview* (Orem, Utah: Grandin Book, 1994).

6. The attorney was James W. Woods. See *History of the Church*, 6:554.

7. The commanding officer was a Captain Dunn, in charge of about sixty mounted militia from McDonough County. See *History of the Church*, 6:554–55.

8. These arms consisted of about 250 muskets and other material granted to the Mormon militia, the Nauvoo Legion, by the State. See Richard L. Saunders, "Officers and Arms: The 1843 General Return of the Nauvoo Legion's Second Cohort," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 138–51.

9. The magistrate was Robert F. Smith, who was also captain of the Carthage Greys, the military force that was charged with protecting the Carthage prisoners but that failed to do so. During the Civil War, Robert Smith would rise to the rank of brevet brigadier general. Joseph Smith actually arrived in Carthage shortly before midnight on June 24th and appeared before Robert Smith on the following afternoon. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 17–18, 20, 121, 218; *History of the Church*, 6:559, 567–69.

10. The charge of riot resulted from the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor* press.

examination.¹¹ On Wednesday the 26th Inst they were brought before a magistrate,¹² and time was given until 12 O Clock, Thursday, to get witnesses ready for trial. On the same day the Gov held a council of Officers, and determined to march all the troops with the exception of one company, into the City of Nauvoo. The examination of Smit[h] in consequence of this determination to march to Nauvoo was postponed until Saturday the 29th Inst.

On Thursday morning 27 Inst the order for all the troops to march to Nauvoo were [sic] for some cause countermanded.¹³ Most of the troops at Carthage some 800 in number were discharged. One company of some 50 men were left at Carthage to protect the prisoners, only eight of this Company were stationed at the Jail as guards while the remainder of the Company were [sic] in Camp a quarter of a mile distant.¹⁴

The Gov with some 60 horsemen marched to Nauvoo where he made a speech to the Mormons telling them of the excitement that was abroad against them & the dangerous ground on which they stood.

In the absence of the Gov. & about 4 O Clock P.M. of this Thursday 27th day of June, an armed and disguised [sic] band of men, about two hundred in number attacked the Jail—overpowered the guard of eight men, entered the Jail and shot both the Smiths.¹⁵ Hiram received a ball in

11. The charge of treason resulted from Joseph Smith's declaring martial law in Nauvoo after non-Mormon citizens of Hancock county threatened to march against the city.

12. Robert F. Smith. See *History of the Church*, 6:594–97.

13. Ford came to fear the consequences of marching hundreds of angry anti-Mormons into Nauvoo under the guise of a posse, a fear fully justified. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 19.

14. Ford erred grievously in choosing the strongly anti-Mormon Carthage Greys to guard the prisoners. He later maintained that he disregarded warnings of a possible attack upon the jail because he believed them to be unfounded. Oaks and Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy*, 20. Ford's intent is sympathetically examined in Keith Huntress, "Governor Ford and the Murderers of Joseph Smith," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (summer 1969): 41–52; and George R. Gaylor, "Governor Ford and the Death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 50 (winter 1957): 391–411. Other historians have been more critical of Ford. B. H. Roberts concludes in *History of the Church*, 7:113–16, that "things looked more than suspicious against him [Ford]." Susan Sessions Rugh, *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 218, cites evidence suggesting Ford's complicity with the assassins. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 646, maintains that Ford "knowingly enabl[ed] the assassination."

15. The estimates of the number involved in the mob vary widely from under 80 to 250. See, for instance, Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 141, 374; *History of the Church*, 7:110, 142–46; Davis Bitton, *The Martyrdom Remembered: A One-Hundred-Fifty-Year Perspective on the Assassination of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Aspen Books, 1994), 111. Non-Mormon accounts of the conflict are found in Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 222–37.

the head, and nearly [*sic*] had time to exclaim “I am a dead man,” and expired; Joe received a number of balls which pierced his body, some while still in the Jail, some while he was in the act of leaping from the window of the Jail, and others after he reached the ground, he exclaimed “O God”—and expired.¹⁶

Elder [John] Taylor who was also in the jail received several flesh wounds, is considered dangerous.¹⁷ The disguised [*sic*] band immediately escaped to the woods & were not pursued for want of force sufficient to take them. They were all disguised [*sic*] with paint, & of course not known.

There is but one feeling throughout this country in regard to this last tragedy, & that is, that merited vengeance had fallen on the right men, at the same time all regret that it happened while he was a prisoner & had a right to expect protection. It is regretted because his followers will now claim that he died a martyr when if he could have been tried on the charges & convicted he would have died a felon.

On Thursday morning I determined to go to Carthage 18 miles distant for the purpose of seeing for myself & learning the true state of the case—but after I got over the river I concluded to go down to Nauvoo. There I found Mr. Ford & his company & heard him make his speech. The Gov invited me to go to Carthage with them that evening & about sunset we set out when about 4 miles out we met a messenger with the intelligence that Joe & Hyrum were dead. The Gov fearing to have the intelligence [*sic*] go to Nauvoo took the man in charge & proceeded on towards Carthage.

As it was after dark I turned about myself unnoticed & went back to Nauvoo & put up at Joe^s tavern¹⁸ where several of my friends from this place were stop[p]ing over night which circumstance made me feel more secure.

I soon retired without mentioning the circumstance to any one for I could hardly believe it. About 4 O Clock the next morning Friday June 28th the same messenger arrived at Joe^s tavern confirming the news. I immediately

16. According to Mormon sources, Smith's last words were, “O Lord, my God!” *History of the Church*, 6:629. See also Dean C. Jessee, “Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom,” *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 14–16; and Quinn, *Origins of Power*, 141, 374.

17. John Taylor (1808–87), an English convert, was editor of the Mormon publication *Times and Seasons*. He succeeded Brigham Young as President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Francis M. Gibbons, *John Taylor: Mormon Philosopher, Prophet of God* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985); *History of the Church*, 6:621–22; 7:104–5.

18. The “tavern” was the Nauvoo Mansion House.

dressed & went down, saw Joe^s wife & children about the house, but saw no manifestations of grief on the part of any one save Joe^s mother who made her appearance at the door in the course of the morning & enquired who had killed her sons.¹⁹

The Mormons were told by their principal men to be quiet, to be calm to make no threats—and to remain quiet in the City, as the only possible means of preventing their entire extermination. I remained [*sic*] here until this evening—they are still in a great state of alarm—and I doubt not they have reason to be. The troops are rallying at Carthage & the people at Warsaw, Quincy & other towns. The people say that they must scatter—that there are 12 men yet in Nauvoo who must be brought to Justice.²⁰ Every body who is able to get away is doing so. I do not myself think that there will be any further hostilities at present—but there may be.

I called at a small house in Nauvoo the other day where I found an English family. They had been there but 12 weeks, had resided & [*word illegible*] in Missouri. They told me that they came from Clith[e]roe, Lancashire—The mans name is Stephen Longstroth.²¹ I found them an interesting family. There was three daughters—young women—he has an acre of ground there & a fine garden. He told me that he had heard you preach many a time. . . .²²

19. Joseph Smith's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, suffered another shock five weeks later when her son, Samuel, died of natural causes. Only William Smith, one of six sons born to Lucy, survived her. *History of the Church*, 7:213, 216–22. Another guest in the Mansion House, B. W. Richmond, also recalled the seemingly stoic initial reaction of Lucy Mack Smith. See Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 195.

20. Brigham Young and other Apostles feared for their lives, and attempts were made to arrest Elder Young, but Kilbourne's reference to "12" may refer to those charged with ordering and carrying out the destruction of the *Expositor* press and papers. Young, along with the majority of the Twelve, was far from Nauvoo preaching and electioneering at the time this letter was written. See *History of the Church*, 7:132–33.

21. On December 16, 1844, Stephen Longstroth was appointed to work full-time as a carpenter on the Nauvoo Temple. He went west in the Brigham Young Company of 1847, as did Willard Richards, Joseph Smith's secretary, who escaped Carthage unharmed and who married two of Longstroth's daughters. See Frank Eshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), s.v. "Longstrath, Stephen"; and *History of the Church*, 7:326.

22. This letter may have been the first account of the death of Joseph Smith to reach England. It was printed in the Mormon paper in England, the *London Record*, according to "Death of the Mormon Prophet," *Millennial Star* 5 (September 1844): 58–59.

Fort Madison
Upper Mississippi river
Lee Co. Iowa
July 29th 1844

Rev^d T. Dent
Billington
near Whalley
Lancashire England

My dear Mr Dent

I wrote you under date 29th Ultimo giving you an account of the death of Joe & Hiram Smith. As my brother leaves tomorrow for New York I will improve the opportunity to send a few lines by him, believing that you will feel some solicitude to know what has become of the "Saints."



David W. Kilbourne (1803–76). From *History of Lee County Iowa*, vol. 2 of *Story of Lee County Iowa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 441.

There have been no further hostilities since I last wrote you. They are perfectly quiet in Nauvoo & in the surrounding country. The Mormons are much more decent in their deportment—not insolent as formerly.

They have been taught a lesson which I think they will not soon forget. They will hereafter be afraid to interfere at all with the rights of the people.

All the Elders abroad have been sent for to return to Nauvoo—also the 12 Apostles—who are I understand to appoint a successor to Joe.²³ They continue to work on the Temple & matters go on there about as usual.

23. At the time of the Martyrdom, most of the Twelve and over three hundred brethren (Kilbourne's "Elders") were away from Nauvoo campaigning for Joseph Smith's presidential candidacy. See Margaret C. Robertson, "The Campaign and the Kingdom: The Activities of the Electioneers in Joseph Smith's Presidential Campaign," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000): 147–80.

There is however great distress there for the want of the necessities of life. It is also very sickly there this Season.

It is impossible to say what will be the result there—but my opinion is that there will be great trouble among the ambitious leaders—& that hereafter the doctrine will not prosper. I think very likely they may open papers purporting to be sealed up by Joe—saying who shall be the Prophet & giving other instructions in regard to their future course.—

It is supposed that Joe & Hiram were buried under Joe's house. Their remains were disposed of while all the people were assembled at preaching some miles from the house—there was no funeral service. Notice was given at the meeting where I was that a "few judicious persons would bury them." It is said that these few men carried out two coffins & put them on wagons & buried them at the grave yard two miles out of town but that they did not contain the corpses. I have no doubt myself of the fact. They were fearful that Joe would be taken up,²⁴ which no doubt would have been done if possible. I therefore believe that they rest under the house where his family now resides.

With great Esteem

Your friend

D. W. K

24. The Saints were fearful that Joseph Smith's grave would be exhumed because Thomas Reynolds, the governor of Missouri (1840–44), had offered a reward of six hundred dollars for the Prophet's return to Missouri—dead or alive. See *History of the Church*, 6:627–29; Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), 5, 453. Kilbourne's suspicion of a false burial was correct. A public burial was staged with coffins filled with sand. The bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were hid in the basement of the unfinished Nauvoo House and later buried under a small shed twenty-five paces from the Smith family's homestead. See Richard N. Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Nauvoo, 1839–1846: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1990), 160.

Fort Madison Upper Miss R.
Lee County
Iowa T[erritor]y
North America
Decr 16 1845

The Rev^d T. Dent
Grindleton in Mytton
Clith[e]roe
England

Respected Friend Your much esteemed favor of October 23rd came safe to hand a few days since. It gave me great pleasure to hear from you once more; mingled however with regret on account of the serious & protracted indisposition with which you have been afflicted. I have enjoyed the best of health since I last wrote you. But during the last year I have been deeply afflicted in the loss of an affectionate father & mother—They had lived together upwards of fifty years & were aged 74 & 75 years.²⁵

I spent the last summer in New York City on a visit & returned here only four weeks since. There have been exciting times at Nauvoo for six months past. Several dens of Mormon thieves [and] murderers have been broken up. In the early part of the Summer a house in this County—about five miles from my house—was entered by three men about 12 O Clock on a Saturday night & two men, Father & son murdered. They were traced to Nauvoo—were arrested & by force brought back to this County—had a legal trial—were found guilty & hung on the 15th July. They were Mormons.—The third person has since been arrested and is now in prison in this place—He is a good Mormon from Nauvoo.²⁶

On the 4th July in broad day light 5 men entered the house of Coln Davenport²⁷ at Rock Island (about 100 miles above this—) & murdered him—& took about \$800 in cash—a Gold watch &c. They were traced—three of them caught—tried convicted & all hung at the same time on one

25. His parents were David Kilbourne and Lydia Kilbourne.

26. Three brothers, William, Stephen, and Amos Hodges, who were not Mormon but had family who were, were implicated in the murders. Amos was released for lack of evidence, but the others were hung. See Barbara Howard and Junia Brady, "The Hodges Hanging," *Palimpsest* 60, no. 2 (1979): 48–58; Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 244–45; and Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Crime and Punishment in Mormon Nauvoo," *BYU Studies* 32 (1992): 214–15.

27. Colonel George Davenport (1783–1845), one of the founders of Davenport, Iowa. See *St. Louis American*, November 6, 1845; *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, October 3, 1845; and Godfrey, "Crime and Punishment," 217.

Gallows in October. They were from Nauvoo—The other two have since been arrested and are now in jail at Rock Island—They are also from Nauvoo.

These things so excited and exasperated the people in all this region of Country that public [*sic*] meetings were held during the summer & resolutions passed giving the Mormons formal notice that they must leave Nauvoo. All those [Mormons] living out were compelled to flee to the city—such was the indignation of the old citizens.²⁸ Under this state of things the Mormons made up their minds that they could not remain here. They accordingly decided to leave the country—& they are now getting ready to leave for California in Mexico on the 1st of April next. They are now building in Nauvoo some 2000 waggons, they go by land over the Rocky Mountains & calculate one waggon with four yoke of oxen for every ten persons. They are divided into companies of 100 families each—with a Captain for each company—. They are now selling off what they cannot take along. The head men are also negotiating a sale of their Temple & other public buildings together with the town site. I believe they have had some offers from the Catholics.

[Sidney] Rigdon left them more than a year ago & settled in Pittsburgh Pennsylvania & is publishing a paper there—He denounced all the present leaders at Nauvoo—says that Joe Smith was a fallen Prophet—that he Rigdon is now the true & only Prophet of the church.²⁹ Brigham Young one of the twelve is the leader. He exercises as absolute power over them as ever Joe did—he equals him in depravity & all evil practices. He pretends to have revelations (a short time since in one of his public discourses told his people that the Bible was no more to him than a last years Almanac—that he was all the Bible they needed[]). I made the Mormons an offer for their temple & other buildings—having a large flock of sheep—I thought I could use their homes for sheep pens & the Temple to shear the sheep in—by which means the original design of the building would be carried out viz Fleecing the Flock—

It will be a glorious deliverance for all this section of country when they turn their backs upon it—but woe to the Country wherever they go. . . .

28. The violence during this time is chronicled in *History of the Church*, 7:430–533; and Hallwas and Launius, *Cultures in Conflict*, 270–96.

29. Sidney Rigdon (1793–1876) was for many years the first counselor to Joseph Smith. Harkening back to his glory days in Kirtland, Ohio, he called his Pittsburgh paper the *Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate*. See Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Sidney Rigdon: A Portrait of Religious Excess* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994), 367–87; and F. Mark McKiernan, *The Voice of One Crying in the Wilderness: Sidney Rigdon, Religious Reformer, 1793–1876* (Lawrence, Kan.: Coronado, 1971), 133–45.

We have had most bountiful crops this season—never a more productive one known. Wheat is selling here at half a Dollar per bushel of 60^{lbs} Indian Corn 16 cts Oats 14 cts—Beef 2_ cts per pound & Pork 3 cts. I shall endeavor to send you occasionally such News Papers as may give accounts of the movements at Nauvoo—together with any published at Nauvoo—together with any published matter in relation to that people which I think will interest you.

I shall always be gratified to hear from you.

With Very Cordial Salutations

I remain Yours Truly

D. W. K

Book Review

RICHARD L. SAUNDERS. *Printing in Deseret: Mormons, Economy, Politics, and Utah's Incunabula, 1849–1851: A History and Descriptive Bibliography*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2000. xv; 213 pp. Illustrations. \$35.00.

Reviewed by Craig L. Foster

The field of “book history” has been described as “the social and cultural history of communication by print’ whose purpose ‘is to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind.’”¹ Richard L. Saunders, curator of Special Collections and Archives at the Paul Meek Library, University of Tennessee at Martin, has crafted a well-written study of the history of printing in early Deseret.² In the process, Saunders, much like other historians of the printed word, has studied the social and political influences on Utah’s printing efforts.

In the introduction, Saunders announces three themes that “shaped the conduct of printing in Deseret and Utah’s first years.” These themes are “Mormon social maintenance and reconstruction, the economics of the saints’ isolated refuge and the California gold rush, and the quest for national political recognition” (xv). In the first part of the book, he describes the Saints’ efforts to establish a press in Utah as well as create a political state in their new Great Basin kingdom.

Early printing efforts centered around economics (such as printing currency for the new community and publishing advertising handbills), ecclesiastical business (such as publishing epistles from the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), and educational and political publications (such as the charter of the University of Deseret and the Constitution of the State of Deseret, both of which were published in 1850). Naturally, other printing efforts were initiated, most important of which was the *Deseret News*. Further printing jobs included announcements for entertainment, the *Deseret Almanac*, and George D. Watt’s *Exercises in Phonography*.³ However, not surprisingly, a high percentage of early printing emphasized the fundamentals of creating a community and state in the desert.

Potentially the most significant and lasting contribution to the study of printing in early Utah is the second part of the book, “A Descriptive Catalogue of Utah’s Earliest Imprints,” which covers the years 1849 through 1851. The entries include bibliographic information, descriptions of the contents of each publication where known, and miscellaneous informa-

tion concerning the item and events surrounding the publication. This valuable section alone is worth the price of the book.

With any work of this nature, there will be strong and weak points. For example, while Saunders went to great effort to describe the background of the first printers, he left out some pertinent information, such as the illnesses and cause of death of Joseph Cain (69). Information on that topic might have been obtained through searching ward records or *Deseret News* obituaries. If nothing could be found, Saunders should have so stated, since Cain is a prominent figure in the book. Another instance in which Saunders's good information could have been made more complete is in his discussion of the 1851 political crisis. Runaway official Broughton D. Harris, federally appointed territorial secretary of state, left Utah Territory without the official seal because he had been threatened by pursuit and arrest if he took the seal with him. Harris left the seal "in the keeping of a non-Mormon merchant" (79). The name of the merchant ought to be given: since he was the holder of the territorial seal, his name is probably recorded.

These minor problems aside, the book is a good scholarly work that has generously used both primary and secondary sources on this subject. Most of all, the book has demonstrated the incalculable importance and effect of the press and printing in Utah's formative years. *Printing in Deseret*, especially its descriptive catalogue, will be a valuable addition to public and research libraries as well as to the personal collections of scholars of early Utah and Mormonism.

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1. Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" *Daedalus* 3 (summer 1982): 65, as quoted in David J. Whittaker, "The Web of Print: Toward a History of the Book in Early Mormon Culture," *Journal of Mormon History* 23, no. 1 (1997): 4.

2. "Deseret" was the name Church members first proposed for the settlement that later became Utah Territory. The name, taken from the Book of Mormon (Ether 2:3), means "honeybee."

3. George D. Watt, *Exercises in Phonography: Designed to Conduct the Pupil to a Practical Acquaintance with the Art* (Great Salt Lake City: W. Richards, 1851).

Brief Notices

Strengthening Our Families: An In-Depth Look at the Proclamation on the Family, edited by David C. Dollahite (Bookcraft, 2000)

In 1995, the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints issued a statement titled *The Family: A Proclamation to the World*. The proclamation on the family, as it has come to be known, has engendered considerable discussion, and this book joins that discussion with a probing and extensive commentary of the declaration. The book was produced by the School of Family Life at Brigham Young University under the editorial direction of David C. Dollahite, professor of marriage, family, and human development. The title of the book's introduction provides its purpose in a nutshell: "The Proclamation as Prophetic Guidance for Strengthening the Family."

Initiated in 1997, the project purposed to create a one-volume book to teach and support the principles of happy and successful family life as revealed in the proclamation. More than one hundred authors representing over thirty academic disciplines and a wide variety of professional and personal backgrounds were involved. All of the authors have been at BYU at some time as faculty or students. The editorial board provided peer review; in addition, over one hundred students reviewed drafts of papers and provided feedback.

The resulting collection includes a mixture of scholarly research, personal essays, and practical suggestions. The book is arranged in nine sections covering different subtopics of the proclamation. Each chapter begins with a quote from the proclamation to indicate the point or principle being discussed. Most sections include several scholarly chapters plus

one or more personal essays. The chapters are well documented from both sacred and scholarly sources. Theory and application are included, along with critiques of opposing philosophies. The reflective personal essays provide readers a sense of involvement and offer additional insights. The first eight sections run the gamut from doctrines on marriage and the family to the sacred responsibilities of parents. Practical tips are scattered throughout in shaded text boxes, highlighting advice, principles, quotes, arguments, and examples. Section nine offers additional suggestions and tips, making this akin to a workbook based on sacred principles. The combination of approaches in one book is an unusual but effective method for presenting this topic.

Just as the proclamation is for the whole world, so too is this book. Given the immense challenges to marriage and family life faced by today's society, concerned people throughout the world should find spiritual and practical assistance from this well-produced book.

—Connie Lamb

Finding Biblical Hebrew and Other Ancient Literary Forms in the Book of Mormon, by Hugh W. Pinnock (Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies, 1999)

The late Hugh W. Pinnock of the Seventy has produced a conveniently organized handbook of literary devices used in the Book of Mormon. Building on John Welch's and Donald Parry's work on literary forms in scripture, the book begins with a short introduction to a wide array of Hebrew writing forms, including material on the difficulty of translating any ancient text in general and of translating

rhetorical forms specifically. The remaining three chapters treat individual forms, classified as “forms of repetition,” “forms of parallelism,” and “miscellaneous forms.” Each of these chapters is divided into short sections illustrating various ancient rhetorical devices (for example, anaphora, epistrophe, polysyndeton, chiasmus, and so on). Individual sections define the term and give illustrative examples from the Bible and Book of Mormon. “Anaphora,” for example, is defined as “repetition of the same word or phrase in several successive clauses,” and 2 Nephi 9:31–38 is given as an example. It consists of nine phrases, each beginning with “Wo unto” (18–21). In addition to quoted examples, Elder Pinnock also cites in each section numerous further Book of Mormon and Bible examples for the reader to examine.

While this will be a useful tool for a nonscholarly Latter-day Saint audience (there are numerous better handbooks and dictionaries of literary devices, but these do not directly apply themselves to Latter-day Saint scripture), there is some risk that this same lay audience may misunderstand what is going on. Thus some caution may be warranted. First, the nonscholarly audience must analyze these forms as they appear in the English text of the scriptures, which is not the form in which the scriptural authors originally wrote. Elder Pinnock briefly mentions translation problems (9), but however well translated a text may be, original forms are always somewhat obscured by the translation process itself, and new forms are introduced by the translator. Obviously, there are limitations in the serious analysis of literary forms in translated texts. Second, a general reader may be left with the impression that these forms are *uniquely* Hebrew forms, when in fact they were used in nearly all the literature of the ancient world, and indeed many of them continue to be used in modern literatures. Most of the forms discussed by Elder Pinnock are Greek or Latin forms as well as Hebrew.

On the other hand, the main point of this and similar studies is that it is unlikely that an unlettered farm boy such as Joseph Smith would have used so many elaborate rhetorical devices—widespread in ancient times but perhaps not so common in the usage of nineteenth-century upstate New York—in producing the Book of Mormon, unless he were in fact translating an ancient text. And like other similar studies, this attractive volume demonstrates that point well enough.

—Robert L. Maxwell

Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History, edited by Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon and Richard O. Cowan (Deseret Book, 2000)

Those who thought the four-volume *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan, 1992) would be the last word in the encyclopedic treatment of Mormon topics will be pleasantly surprised by Garr, Cannon, and Cowan's recently published *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*. While the former is knowledge in depth on a wide range of historical, religious, and cultural subjects, the latter provides the reader with (as the editors state) “a convenient, one-volume reference work” presenting “accurate, concise, and readable articles on a wide variety of Church history topics” (vii). With more than 1,400 entries from 350 plus contributors, this work paints—in broad brushstrokes—the history of the Latter-day Saints in a straightforward, succinct style.

Just how succinct this treatment is can be judged by the entries on “Blacks” in both encyclopedias, which were both contributed by Jessie Embry, with Alan Cherry as co-author of the *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* entry. In the earlier, four-volume work, the article contains approximately 1,300 words. In this current volume, the treatment has been pared to about 400 words. That is not to say that this work is merely an abridgment of the

four-volume set. Although this new volume obviously benefited from the former work, which is now out of print, it also contains entries on people, places, issues, and events not covered in the earlier encyclopedia.

Contributors to this volume examine the Church's history in every part of the United States, Canada, and over two hundred other countries and territories around the world. More than 450 biographical entries and essays cover those who have served in the Church's First Presidency and Quorum of Twelve Apostles as well as other selected General Authorities and leaders. Sources are listed for each entry, and cross-references are found throughout the volume. The editors have appended a helpful Church chronology to the encyclopedic listings, along with a list of contributors. Unfortunately, this latter list is of little utility because the contributions of each writer are not indicated in this listing. Nonetheless, this work lives up to the editors' expectations: it is a concise, readable, and handy one-volume (albeit a 1,454-page) reference work—a book that would make even former Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jensen smile.

—Russell C. Taylor

Till Debt Do Us Part: Balancing Finances, Feelings, and Family, by Bernard E. Poduska (Shadow Mountain, 2000)

If you worry about money, if you and your spouse have conflicts over money, or if you want help in removing the burden of debt, then you must read Bernard E. Poduska's book *Till Debt Do Us Part*.

The roots of money problems frequently reach outside of money itself. They are actually behavior problems manifested in money-related ways, and behind the behaviors are deeply felt emotions. Money problems will be resolved most completely and readily when the

connections between emotions, behaviors, and money have been taken into account. Thus, *Till Debt Do Us Part* puts the arithmetic of balance sheets and budgets within the context of feelings and family relationships.

Within the broad guidelines of ten financial principles, Poduska uses discourses, exercises, case illustrations, examples, and worksheets to help explain a variety of helpful concepts: how the inherent family rules you bring to a situation affect finances, feelings, and relationships; how communication, intimacy, and finances are interrelated; how success in getting out of debt depends on a recognition of the behaviors that got you there; how to use sound financial practices and behaviors; how to get through the month on the money you have; and how to build stability into your plans for the future.

With regard to money management within the context of interpersonal relationships and family life, there is not a better resource and practical guide than this book.

—Ivan F. Beutler

Historia de los Mormones en Argentina: Relatos de pioneros, by Néstor Curbelo (Buenos Aires, Memorias, 2000)

The challenge of producing a local or regional history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints outside of the United States is daunting, due generally to a lack of available sources. Often one must depend on locally available conversion vignettes and biographical sketches of members and leaders. A native Argentine, Néstor Curbelo, who is a Church Educational System director, has done just that. He has compiled a commendable Spanish-language history of the growth of the Church in Argentina by drawing heavily on seventy-five oral interviews obtained from critical participants and witnesses of the growth of the Church across Argentina over the past eighty years.

The author recounts several seminal events such as Parley P. Pratt's mission to Chile in 1851 and the translation of the Book of Mormon into Spanish, which was prompted by a series of remarkable impressions and dreams experienced by Militón González Trejo, who detoured to the Rocky Mountains in 1874 while on the way to the Philippines as an envoy of the Spanish Crown. Curbelo also explains that German Latter-day Saints were the first people to welcome Elder Melvin J. Ballard and his party to Argentina in the waning days of World War I and that most converts before 1950 were German or Italian immigrants.

The chapter entitled "Una iglesia de inmigrantes" (A church of immigrants) reflects this trend, suggesting that the Church in Argentina showed an interesting parallel to the history of the early Church in North America, namely, it was also primarily a church of immigrants: "Los inmigrantes generalmente están bien dispuestos a nuevas ideas y amistades. Esto resulta un ambiente propicio para escuchar a los misioneros. . . . Los primeros misioneros en Buenos Aires tuvieron mucha aceptación entre los inmigrantes alemanes, italianos y españoles" (87). ("Immigrants are generally disposed to new ideas and friendships. This results in a willing attitude to hear the missionaries. . . . The first missionaries in Buenos Aires were widely accepted by the German, Italian, and Spanish immigrants.")

After World War II, the net of the gospel spread rapidly across Argentina and neighboring Latin American countries. The next two decades saw more rapid conversion rates and ultimately the development of future leaders of the Church in Argentina and beyond, including current General Authority Elder Angel Abrea of the First Quorum of the Seventy. Curbelo asserts that these leaders were prepared for their future callings as a result of the full-time missions they served, their exposure to the English language by their North American companions, and

the critical instruction they received from their mission presidents regarding Church organization and priesthood leadership.

In addition to its narrative, this small history, which runs 223 pages, also includes an impressive number of photographs (more than a hundred) documenting both local and North American missionaries, Argentine members and leaders, visits of General Authorities, church buildings (including the Buenos Aires Argentina Temple), and so on. Curbelo has taken an admirable first step toward a complete Spanish history of the Church in Argentina, filling a historical void that until recently has been largely ignored. On a personal note, as a young missionary serving in Argentina thirty years ago, I would often hear the names of the early Argentine Saints spoken of in reverent tones by local branch and district leaders. At the time, this respect piqued my desire to learn more about them, and this interest has remained with me to this day. For the same reasons, I believe many of my missionary contemporaries will appreciate this history as I did.

—Joseph E. Gonzalez

City of Roses, by R. A. Christmas (R. A. Christmas, 2000)

A poet, says Wordsworth, "is a man speaking to men." This is true of R. A. Christmas in his collection *City of Roses*. Christmas's poems have the conversational quality of things revealed quietly and briefly either to strangers or friends. They do not intend to shock or startle but to just speak. The vignettes are self-controlled with a sparseness (and sometimes humor) backed with worlds of meanings.

Dedicated "to the Pasadenans," Christmas's is an autobiographical fiction emerging from his childhood and adolescence in Pasadena, California. The poems remember a male past without nostalgia or ugliness. Though centered in time,

place, and culture, the poems also touch on universals such as identity ("His last name was laughable. / You couldn't get past it without thinking / of twinkling trees, presents—"); family ("The Christmases were just middle-class / Methodists [no blood on our door post]. / My brothers and sisters are still kickin'. / Our avenging angel passed by. Why?"); and youthful sexuality ("her bed's on the lawn. / The big Truck's nearly full— / soon she'll be gone.")

City of Roses is readable and artistically—if not emotionally—pleasurable ("Easton Wash," a poem dealing with molestation, represents the pain involved with any re-creation of the past). Subtle and understated as they are, Christmas's poems do depend on their readers to read and believe in their poetry. Reading *City of Roses* awakened in me the desire to re-create my own life with words—and so passes one of my tests of effective poetry.

—Casualene Meyer

Editor's note: For a sample of Robert Christmas's poetry, see page 224.

Riding Backwards

One of his sons was driving, and Dad
was lying in back looking back,
with his back against the back

of the front seat; and his son was
speeding, or lagging—getting
trapped behind trucks—but this

wasn't much Dad's business
anymore. Dad's business—since he
wasn't going far—was mostly to

keep an eye out where he'd been
(which'd been quite a journey).
Today it was Portland to Provo;

but instead of lying there
apprehensive over what might lie
ahead (having less and less

to do with it) Dad figured he might
as well be watching Southern Idaho
slip away—responsible for that.

—R. A. Christmas