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FIG. 1. Saints gathering for general conference, April 6, 1906 (detail). Since the Saints' arrival in the Salt Lake Valley, crowds have gathered to Temple Square hoping to find a seat for general conference. Unfortunately, buildings and other meeting locations have never been large enough to accommodate all Saints who desired to attend.

Accommodating the Saints at General Conference

Paul H. Peterson

Our buildings are very commodious,” Elder Joseph W. McMurrin of the Quorum of Seventy told assembled Saints at an outdoor general conference meeting, “but entirely too small to accommodate the people who desire to hear the word of God. Even in this overflow meeting,” he added, “notwithstanding the chilliness of the weather this morning, the people are anxious to come and hearken to the counsels that may be imparted.”¹

Elder McMurrin was speaking to hundreds of Saints who, unable to find seating in the Tabernacle for a Sunday morning session of conference, had assembled in a tent adjacent to the Bureau of Information on Temple Square to hear speakers address gospel topics. The year was 1916, but Elder McMurrin’s remark would have struck a chord familiar to Church members in both previous and subsequent generations. Accommodating the many Latter-day Saints who faithfully assemble every April and October to receive counsel and direction from prophetic leaders has always been a formidable challenge (fig. 1).

Early Latter-day Saint General Conferences

The antecedents of general conference trace back to the inception of the Church. Between 1830 and 1837 the Prophet Joseph called general conferences as needed. By the Nauvoo period (1839–1846), the practice of holding regular general conference was in place.² It is hardly surprising that it took hold so quickly. Had Church leaders not instigated such meetings early on, Church members would probably have asked for them. They believed their leaders were invested with divine apostolic authority—it was only to be expected that Church members would want to take counsel from their leaders.

Understandably, in the earliest years of the Church it was not difficult to accommodate all who chose to convene for general conference meetings. Membership was small. At the first meeting that could be called a general conference session, the June 9, 1830, gathering at Peter Whitmer's home in Fayette, New York, about thirty members and a few nonmembers attended.³ But as missionaries circulated the good news of the Restoration, tens became hundreds, and hundreds soon became thousands.

By the Nauvoo era, the Brethren found it a worthy challenge to disseminate the gospel message to all faithful Saints who congregated for conference. Generally, in this "premeetinghouse era," Joseph and others would address the Saints in one of two or three groves. Obviously, reaching thousands of people, unaided by any amplification device and subject to capricious winds that would continually change direction, was no easy task. Speaking for an hour or even more in the open air could tax the most sonorous of voices.

Perhaps no Church leader was more cognizant of the challenges of outdoor speaking than the Prophet Joseph. In May 1843, Joseph told Nauvoo Saints, "My lungs are failing with continual preaching in the open air to large assemblies."⁴ Nearly a year later, on April 7, 1844, at general conference, the Prophet asked for "the Prayers & faith of the Saints that I may have the Holy Ghost that the testimony may carry conviction to your minds of the truth of what I shall say, & pray that the Lord may strengthen my lungs."⁵ The next day, Joseph told assembled Saints, "It is impossible to continue the subject that I spoke upon yesterday in consequence of the weakness of my lungs." Due to Joseph's condition, Elder G. J. Adams was appointed "to occupy the time during the forenoon [*sic*]."⁶

Following the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum, the extensive preparations for the westward migration and the epic journey itself interrupted the general conference routine. No formal general conference sessions were held in 1846, that incredibly difficult year when three waves of Latter-day Saints evacuated Nauvoo and walked (or waded) across Iowa on their way to the Rocky Mountains.⁷

General conference resumed in 1847, despite the scattered condition of the Saints (most were strewn in temporary or semipermanent encampments in Iowa and Nebraska). The two sessions of conference held that year, in April and December, met just a few miles apart. April conference, held at Winter Quarters, on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, was a one-day affair, largely given over to departure concerns.⁸ December conference of 1847, held in a log cabin at Council Bluffs, Iowa, included not only Iowa-Nebraska Saints who had resided in the area for months but also a triumphant group of pioneer men led by Brigham Young. These intrepid

souls had already established a presence in the Salt Lake Valley (in late July 1847) and had returned to Missouri River settlements to reunite with their families and help prepare them for the westward journey.⁹ December general conference was an especially historic one, for it was on this occasion that Brigham Young was sustained as the President of the Church.¹⁰

General Conference in Early Territorial Utah

The first general conference of the Church in Great Salt Lake City was held more than a year after the first company of pioneers arrived in the Valley. It was held in October 1848 at a bowery (a covered place made from boughs of trees) that had been erected in July 1847 by recently released members of a detachment from the Mormon Battalion.¹¹ The first bowery was a small one, only 40 feet by 28 feet.¹²

This small bowery in the southeast corner of Temple Square was soon replaced by a larger, more substantial one in the southwest corner. It was built on 104 posts, approximately 100 feet by 60 feet, with “boards and planks for seats” and a “large stage with curtains” at one end. It was completed by at least 1849.¹³ This structure, able to accommodate around three thousand, was utilized for general conference through 1851.¹⁴

But all the while the Saints were holding meetings, general conference and otherwise, in open-sided boweries on Temple Square, Church leaders planned to construct more practical and fitting meetinghouses. On May 21, 1851, construction began on a permanent tabernacle. Approximately 120 feet long by 60 feet wide, this new edifice (fig. 2) on Temple Square featured the standard adobe walls and a gable roof of white pine shingles.¹⁵ The ceiling was arched without a pillar.¹⁶ “The Tabernacle on the inside is built quite in the form of a Theatre,” wrote one traveler, “benches rising one behind another until the outer row is a great way from the pulpit. The building is executed on the inside so that it is one story under ground and in entering its steps descend.”¹⁷ Heber C. Kimball said it reminded him of the cock-fighting pit in Preston, England.¹⁸

Until the construction of a new tabernacle in the late 1860s, this tabernacle remained the most imposing building on Temple Square. When its doors first swung open on April 6, 1852, it was an obviously pleased Brigham Young who greeted the Saints. “At the last conference I was sick & not able to be with you[,] not able to be up,” he observed. “I meditated upon the state of the Church. I see some going to the right[,] some to the left[,] some after gold and the riches of this life. I said I would go to work & build a Tabernacle & worship the Lord so that we would not be driven home by a storm.”¹⁹



Courtesy Church Archives

FIG. 2. The Old Tabernacle (*left*) and large Bowery (*right*) on Temple Square, ca. 1863 (detail). Built in 1851, the Old Tabernacle could seat over 2,200 people, but even then it proved too small to seat all Saints wishing to attend general conference. The large Bowery, used for the first time in April 1855, could hold more people than the Old Tabernacle and was often used if the crowds were large and the weather fair. This arrangement was used for general conference until 1867.

The following day, Brigham extolled the virtues of the new building. “I will say I never saw No one room as Convenient as this,” he told the Saints. “It will seat 2,200 persons & their is 2,500 persons [present?] to-day.” Projecting into the future, Brigham said, “The Tabernacle which we expect to build on this Block will seat fifteen Thousand people.” But even a building that size, President Young realized, would never ultimately suffice. “If we was to [Erect?] this whole 10 Acre Block so that it would Hold 200,000 people By the time we got it done their would be enough to fill it. . . . The more we are humble & labour & prepare for the gathering of Israel the faster they will gather” (bracketed information in original). Brigham concluded his remarks by reminding the Saints that “the Esstablishment [*sic*] of this Tabernacle was the result of my meditations while upon a sick bed.”²⁰

But as pleased as the Saints were with their new house of worship, this first Tabernacle was clearly too small. On its very inaugural, the opening day of general conference in April 1852, Wilford Woodruff recorded that “the Tabernacle was filled to overflowing in a hour after the doors were open & hundreds could not get into the house.”²¹ Two years later the

Deseret News noted that crowds were so large that “President Young invited all to the north side of the building, where seats had been prepared for about 7,000, and the seats and alleys were soon filled.”²² On this occasion in April 1854, Brigham noted the challenges Church leaders confronted relative to accommodating the Saints at general conference:

If it should continue weather[wise] to oblige us to occupy the Tabernacle, we shall not be able to accommodate as many of the people as we should like but if the weather should be warm and pleasant, the people will continue to gather in from the country settlements, and many will come to conference from the city that otherwise would not; in this case, we are prepared to accommodate the whole congregation on the north side of the Tabernacle. . . . When the assembly swells so large that not one half of it can get into this hall, we will then retire to the outside, if the weather will permit, that whatever business is transacted, may be done before all the people. You will recollect that we have had meetings both outside and inside of this house, on conference occasions, which caused more or less confusion.²³

President Young’s observation capsulized the inherent challenges of trying to accommodate the thousands who desired to attend general conference during the pioneer period. Note the following. First, temporary outside seating arrangements—benches, planks, and so on—with a significantly greater seating capacity than the Tabernacle had been created just north of the Tabernacle. When the weather was suitable and the crowds were large, the Brethren opted to meet outside. Second, weather continued to play a key role in conference attendance. Saints that lived out of town, for instance, were less likely to attend conference if it was stormy. Besides having to trudge over muddy roads, they realized conference would likely be held inside the Tabernacle, and therefore they would have difficulty finding seating. And finally, according to Brigham Young, this ongoing guessing game, trying to gauge conference attendance and provide adequate seating according to capricious weather patterns, sometimes resulted in confusion.

Clearly, a larger worship structure was needed, especially at general conference time. And the already utilized meeting area north of the Tabernacle seemed the logical location. As Brigham Young noted in 1854 on another overflow occasion, the twenty-fourth of July celebration, “Our Tabernacle does not afford room for seating the people, I wish the Bishops to hearken to a request I will make of them—Enable brother Hyde . . . to build a Bowery, on the north of this Tabernacle, that will convene about twelve thousand people; and let it be done before another Celebration comes off, or even before another Conference.”²⁴

This large Bowery (see fig. 2) was ready for occupancy by April conference 1855.²⁵ Built especially to accommodate the large throngs that attended general conference, it was 156 feet long and 138 feet wide. Seating capacity was estimated at anywhere from seven to ten thousand.²⁶

But even this newest and largest of boweries yet built by the Latter-day Saints on Temple Square was sometimes insufficiently small. On the first day of general conference in April 1855, the affable Elder George A. Smith lamented that meetinghouses would never be sufficiently large to seat everyone at conference time. But then, as if to console both himself and others, Elder Smith said it was all a matter of prophetic fulfillment. After all, he noted, the Prophet Joseph early on had indicated “that we may build as many houses as we would, and we should never get one big enough to hold the Saints.”²⁷

Elder Smith had two main concerns as he addressed Latter-day Saints that windy day in April 1855. The least important of the two had to do with his losing his hairpiece. He indicated to the congregation that President Heber C. Kimball had warned him “to be careful that my hair does not blow off.” Smith told the audience that while “I shall exercise as much care and caution as possible on the subject,” it was not a major worry—everyone knew “how my head looks perfectly bare,” and if the hairpiece blew off, so be it.²⁸

More than losing his hairpiece, Elder Smith was concerned with reaching “so vast an assembly.” He reflected back on his missionary days in London when his efforts to be heard by scattered assemblies caused “my lungs to bleed,” which condition remained an “effectual check to my course in life, requiring me to keep within a certain limit.” In spite of this physical weakness, Elder Smith was confident the faith of the Saints would enable everyone to hear him, “though it requires a great effort for even a man with sound lungs to make ten thousand persons hear him speak distinctly.”²⁹

For the next twelve years, from 1855 until 1867, the Saints held general conference in either the Tabernacle or the Bowery. The advantages of the Tabernacle were obvious. Although unheated, it was warmer and provided more shelter from the elements. And, while reaching all listeners was no easy task for any speaker, it was certainly easier than reaching many more thousands in an open-sided bowery.

But the large Bowery could hold thousands more people than could the Tabernacle. At conference time, especially, that was an obvious advantage. As Brigham Young expressed on several occasions, it was always nice when “none of the Saints [were] under the necessity of coming here an hour or two before the meeting commences, in order to obtain a seat here, nor of going away because there is not room.”³⁰

Indeed, on a good day, with moderate temperatures and little or no wind or moisture, the Bowery had its own kind of charm and was a semi-idyllic place to convene. “We . . . have the pleasure of sitting out of doors, and of listening to the counsel . . . of the servants of God without being crowded, from the fact that we have Father’s big kitchen to meet in,” observed George A. Smith on a nonconference occasion in 1855.³¹ So, generally, the Saints met for general conference in the large Bowery, especially on Sunday, when crowds were largest, or if winds, dust storms, thunder-showers (thatched roofs provided decent shade but were hardly leak proof), or blizzards stayed their course.

Speakers had to make a Herculean effort to reach thousands of people in an outdoor theater. Few of us today comprehend the challenges inherent in speaking to audiences in open-air theaters without the aid of microphones. They were considerable. “We wish the entire attention of the congregation; the assembly being so vast, it will almost be impossible for the speaker to be heard unless there is great order and strict attention,” Elder Parley P. Pratt plaintively told assembled Saints in the Bowery during October conference of 1855.³² The following April conference of 1856, Elder George A. Smith confessed, “It certainly is enough to try the nerves of the strongest man and the lungs of a giant, to rise and address such an immense assemblage as is here this morning, especially with the reflection that they are expecting to listen to and be edified with what I may be able to say.”³³

Speaking to the Saints in April conference of 1863, President Heber C. Kimball noted that “the wind is blowing so very strong that it will be very difficult for the loudest speakers to make you all hear, and therefore I shall have to depend upon the stillness of the congregation.” Elder Kimball then stressed that all in attendance unite their faith that “we shall obtain what we desire. Jesus says, ‘Ask what ye will and it shall be given unto you.’ My prayer is that the winds may cease for a little while, that I may be able to speak so that you can all hear.”³⁴

Plans for a New Tabernacle

Given the difficulties, then, of speakers being heard in the open air and the whimsicality of Utah weather in both April and October, the large Bowery was never regarded as anything more than a temporary center of worship. Besides, the Saints had historically emphasized the construction of permanent, imposing (but hardly ornate) houses of worship in head-quarter cities. They had built temples in Kirtland and Nauvoo, constructed a sturdy tabernacle in Salt Lake City, and were involved in an ongoing

temple project just northeast of the Old Tabernacle. It was to be expected that they would ultimately construct a major worship-convention center in Zion.

In April conference 1863, Church leaders publicly unveiled the plans for a new Tabernacle. On April 6, Daniel H. Wells, Second Counselor to President Young, wasted little time getting into the matter at hand. Speaking at the Bowery, President Wells began his sermon by declaring that “right here we want to build a Tabernacle, to accommodate the Saints at our General Conferences and religious worship, that will comfortably seat some ten thousand people; and over there we want to build a Temple. These two items I wish to call your attention to to-day.”³⁵ During the same conference, an optimistic President Heber C. Kimball lent additional emphasis to the undertaking:

If you will take hold with us [follow our instructions] we design that you shall have the privilege of meeting in it next winter. According to the plan which is already designed, it will be larger than this concern which is polled over our heads here, and when completed it will have the advantage of both comfort and convenience for a large congregation, neither of which are afforded by this Bowery in stormy weather.³⁶

President Young selected Church architect William H. Folsom to prepare the first plans for the new Tabernacle. According to an unverified account, President Young took a boiled egg to a meeting, cracked it lengthwise but slightly off-center, placed a hollowed-out portion on a table, and uttered, “I want the building shaped like that.”³⁷ Historian-architect Paul Anderson’s observation that “Folsom prepared the first plans under President Young’s direction” is probably a more accurate approximation of the interaction between the two men.³⁸

In the meantime, the Saints continued to hold general conference in either the Bowery or the Old Tabernacle, depending on the weather and the size of the congregation. Crowds were generally larger on weekends than weekdays, and Brigham Young would adjust accordingly. For example, it was reported that on Sunday, October 8, 1865, “an immense assemblage was present in the Bowery, and the concourse was so great that hundreds were unable to get near enough to hear.” Yet the following day, Monday, it was noted that in the morning session the Old Tabernacle “was comfortably filled,” while in the afternoon it was “densely crowded.”³⁹

Sometimes, President Young would make seating adjustments on the spot. On conference morning of April 8, 1867, the Saints assembled first in the Old Tabernacle. Wilford Woodruff noted that “it was Crouded [crowded] full.” Then President Young “came in & said they would remove to the Bowery and their [*sic*] was a terrible rush to get out” in order to obtain the best seats possible in the Bowery.⁴⁰

As construction moved ahead, Church leaders understandably looked forward to the completion of the new worship center. At the same time, despite previous statements to the contrary, they realized the new Tabernacle would not be able to accommodate all Latter-day Saints on given occasions, especially Sunday sessions of general conference. In truth, Brigham Young had recognized this reality years before. “When we have overcome the enemy to righteousness and have a thousand years to work unmolested,” he told the Saints in April conference 1861, “I think that we then can build a room that will contain as many people as can hear the speaker’s voice.”⁴¹

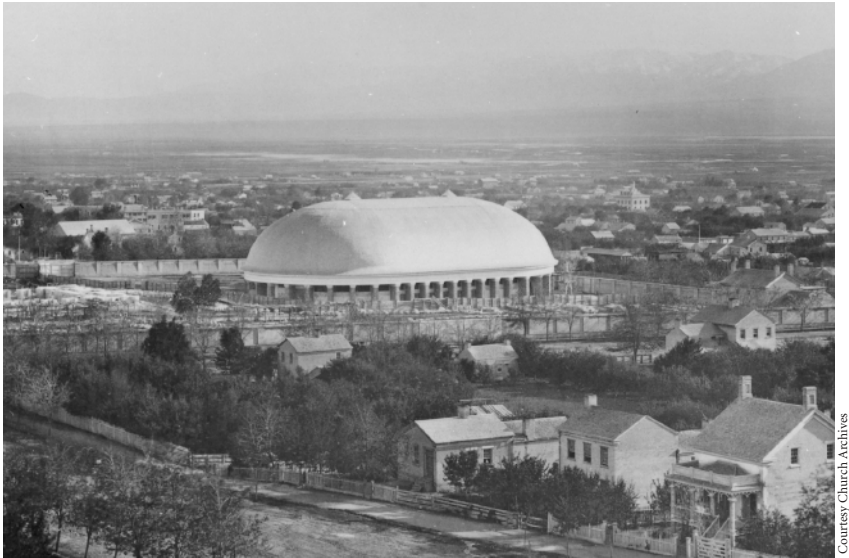
Six years later, at April general conference 1867, President Young gave final “countdown” building instructions and happily predicted that come next October in the newly completed Tabernacle, the Saints would still be shy of room:

You men owning saw mills bring on the lumber to finish the tabernacle, and you carpenters and joiners come and help to use it up. We are going to plaster the main body of this building here immediately; take down the scaffold at the west end from the body of the building while the east end is being put up. And we are going to lay a platform for the organ, and then make a plan for the seats. And we calculate by next October, when the brethren and sisters come together, to have room for all; and if there is not room under the roof, the doors are placed in such a way that the people can stand in the openings and hear just as well as inside. I expect, however, that by the time our building is finished we shall find that we shall want a little more room. “Mormonism” is growing, spreading abroad, swelling and increasing, and I expect it is likely that our building will not be quite large enough, but we have it so arranged, standing on piers, that we can open all the doors and preach to people outside.⁴²

The Completion of the New Tabernacle

It was an especially eager congregation of Saints that awaited general conference in October 1867. The Tabernacle (fig. 3), although without galleries and permanent seating, was sufficiently far along in its construction to hold meetings. Thousands of Saints within traveling distance, anxious to capture the poignancy of the moment, gathered to Temple Square for the occasion.

“On Sunday morning (Oct. 6), long before the hour named for the opening of the gates . . . the people began to assemble, and by nine o’clock there was such a dense crowd around these entrances, that there was no passage along the side-walks,” reported the *Salt Lake Telegraph*.



Courtesy Church Archives

FIG. 3. The Salt Lake Tabernacle, 1873, viewed from the northeast (detail). With a seating capacity of six to seven thousand, the Tabernacle would prove too small to hold all those who desired to attend general conference. On Sunday, October 6, 1867, during one of the first sessions held in the Tabernacle, an estimated six to ten thousand conference-goers filled the Tabernacle seats, passageways, and entrances.

The *Telegraph* further indicated that before the designated 10 A.M. opening, “the seats of the great Tabernacle were filled, and the passage ways, the entrances on the north, south, and east, were also fully occupied with those eager to be present at the opening.” The overflow congregation was, for many, a prophetic witness to “what had been so often said—‘no building could be constructed large enough to hold the Saints.’” The largeness of the gathering (actual seating capacity was probably around six to seven thousand) was particularly impressive, the *Telegraph* noted, “when it is considered that a large number of the young folks are kept at home, in order to give place for their elders.”⁴³

It was with gratitude and reverential awe that speakers addressed the Saints on this historic occasion. President Young “called the meeting to order & offered up the first Prayer in a public Capacity that was Ever offered up in that Tabernacle,” and then thanked, on behalf of the First Presidency and Twelve, all who had labored on the building.⁴⁴ Second-day speaker Wilford Woodruff told the Saints, “When I Entered this Tabernacle yesterday morning & gazed upon the vast sea of fases [faces] for a few

moments I Could hardly tell whether I was in a vision or whether it was a reality what I saw. But I was soon convinced, that I stood in the Great Tabernacle of our God.”⁴⁵ Elder Woodruff’s descriptive title “Great Tabernacle” (the *Salt Lake Telegraph* also referred to the “great Tabernacle”⁴⁶) gained some currency in common usage among the Saints. For many it was and would always be the “Great Tabernacle.”

But this splendid monument to pioneer devotion and resourcefulness did not solve all conference accommodation problems. Among other things, speakers continued to be concerned about reaching all members of the vast congregation. Yes, the acoustics were impressive, but the building was so very large. Most Saints exhibited a spirit of cautious optimism that through modest adjustments on the part of the speakers and building-related “tinkering,” Church members would be able to hear their leaders. On the second day of conference, October 7, the Tabernacle was “not more than three parts occupied,” a direct result of a driving rain storm the night before. “The noticeable portions of the absent were the very young,” reported the *Deseret News*, “and the quiet of the audience was much improved.” Their best and most hopeful prognosis was that “when the audience is as still as it always should be, it will require very little, if any change, to make it a very easy place to speak in, especially after speakers . . . become familiar with the building, and the government of their voices to the situation of the audience.”⁴⁷

Clearly, it was a new experience for the Brethren to address the Saints in so vast an edifice. “Never having had the opportunity of speaking to so large a congregation as the present, or at least in so large a house as the one in which we are now assembled,” Orson Pratt humbly informed the Saints, “I do not know whether I shall be able to adapt my voice so as to make the congregation hear me.”⁴⁸

A second challenge, hardly a new one, had to do with seating capacity. It would seem that forever-elusive goal of providing seating for all Saints had once again escaped them. Describing general conference of April 1869, the *Deseret News* reported it was assumed that “the execrable condition of the roads and the pressure of spring work” would have kept many of the outlying Saints at home. But alas, “the new Tabernacle, ample and roomy as it is, was inadequate to furnish the people seats, and, during several of the meetings, hundreds were disappointed about finding room in the building.” It was a paradox, the *News* contended—“the new Tabernacle, an immense building, can hardly be called completed yet, and there is a pressing necessity for more room!”⁴⁹

A partial solution (there could never be a complete one) was provided when galleries were added. The Saints commenced building galleries some-

time in 1869. Extending some five-eighths of the way around the building, the galleries would provide seating for another few thousand.⁵⁰ April conference of 1870 was postponed a month until the galleries could be completed. On April 6, the Saints met at 10 A.M. to commence conference and, following that morning session, adjourned until May 5, when “it is believed that the new gallery will be so far finished as to be ready for use by the public, and twelve thousand persons may then be comfortably seated within the walls of the spacious building.” With the additional seating it was “presumed that Conference may be held in comfort, and that none who desire to attend will be under the necessity of staying away, for the lack of comfortable accommodation, as has been the case on many occasions in the past.”⁵¹

On Thursday, May 5, right on schedule, the Saints reconvened for conference. Elder George A. Smith expressed contentment at seeing “the people so comfortably seated.” Speaking on a weekday when crowds were generally smaller, he predicted that before conference adjourned (on the following Sunday) some would cry out that additional room was needed, but he was grateful that at least on this occasion “we need not ask any of our brethren who reside in this city, as we have had to do, to stay at home to make room for those who may be in from a distance.”⁵²

Elder Smith also observed that the “acoustic properties of the Tabernacle are evidently improved by the erection of the gallery, and if all who attend Conference will leave their coughing at home, sit still while here and omit shuffling their feet, they may have an opportunity of hearing pretty much everything that may be said.”⁵³

At that same conference session, President Brigham Young candidly addressed the congregational challenge of perfect stillness:

One thing which strikes me here this morning, and which is a source of considerable annoyance to the congregation . . . is bringing children here who are not capable of understanding the preaching. If we were to set them on the Stand, where they could hear every word, it would convey to them no knowledge or instruction, and would not be the least benefit to them. . . . I cannot understand the utility of bringing children into such a congregation as we shall have here through the Conference, just for the sake of pleasing mothers, when the noise made by them disturbs all around them. I therefore request that the sisters will leave their babies at home in the care of good nurses. And when you come here, sisters and brethren, sit still and make no noise by shuffling your feet or whispering. Wait till meeting is dismissed, then you go out and talk and walk as much as you please; but while you are in this house it is necessary to keep perfectly still.⁵⁴

For the most part, the *Deseret News* gauged this first conference an unstinted success. On Sunday afternoon, “the number of those present was

estimated at thirteen thousand—an immense assemblage to be made to hear by the human voice. . . . Every seat was full, and hundreds were compelled to stand.” In view of this seating shortage, yet another indication that the Church would never “build a house large enough to hold all the Latter-day Saints who wished to meet together,” the *News* recommended the construction of a second gallery.⁵⁵

Regarding that ongoing challenge of being able to hear the Brethren, the *News* noted that “speakers were heard better at this Conference than at any previous one held in the New Tabernacle.” Indeed, there were “but few places in the building where the lowest voiced of those who addressed the people could not have been plainly heard, if proper quiet had been maintained.”⁵⁶

It would be another half-century or so, of course, before technology solved the dilemma of hearing speakers in a huge building. Understandably, before amplification capability came about, the Brethren, especially those with weaker voices or those with colds or raspy throats, would from time to time remind the congregation of the difficulty of the task at hand and urge the Saints to maintain quiet in order that they more adequately complete what must have seemed like an impossible task. And paradoxically, as President Joseph F. Smith remarked in April conference of 1899, the very acoustical powers of the structure could work against the speaker if the audience were not perfectly quiet:

I regret that all the congregation did not hear the most excellent discourse of President Franklin D. Richards this morning; I remarked to him when he sat down that I thought I never heard him speak better, but I was sure that half the congregation had not heard what he had said. It is a difficult thing to make so vast an assembly hear, and especially is this the case when there is a feeling of uneasiness among the people and more or less moving about. . . . It is the wonderful acoustic properties of this house that actually makes it so difficult, in one respect, to make the people hear when there are so many together as are here today, because every little sound tends to confuse the voice of the speaker.⁵⁷

The Beginning of Concurrent Conference Sessions

While inadequate space had been a challenge since the Tabernacle was built, by the 1880s, Latter-day Saints were being turned away in droves from Sunday sessions (generally the most crowded sessions) of general conference. In April 1888, the *Deseret News* reported:

The General Conference which closed yesterday was probably the most numerously attended . . . of any similar gathering since the organization of the Church. Yesterday (Sunday) afternoon it was estimated that not less than five thousand people were unable to gain admittance to the

large Tabernacle, which was crowded in every part. Even the standing space was densely packed. Probably 12,000 were in the building.⁵⁸

Clearly, there was a problem that cried for a solution. More and more often, devoted Saints came to conference, hoping to be spiritually rejuvenated by listening to the sermons of Church leaders, and more and more they were going away empty, unable to get in or near the Tabernacle. There was but one solution, a *Deseret News* reporter remarked, after noting the overflowing crowds at the April 1888 conference:

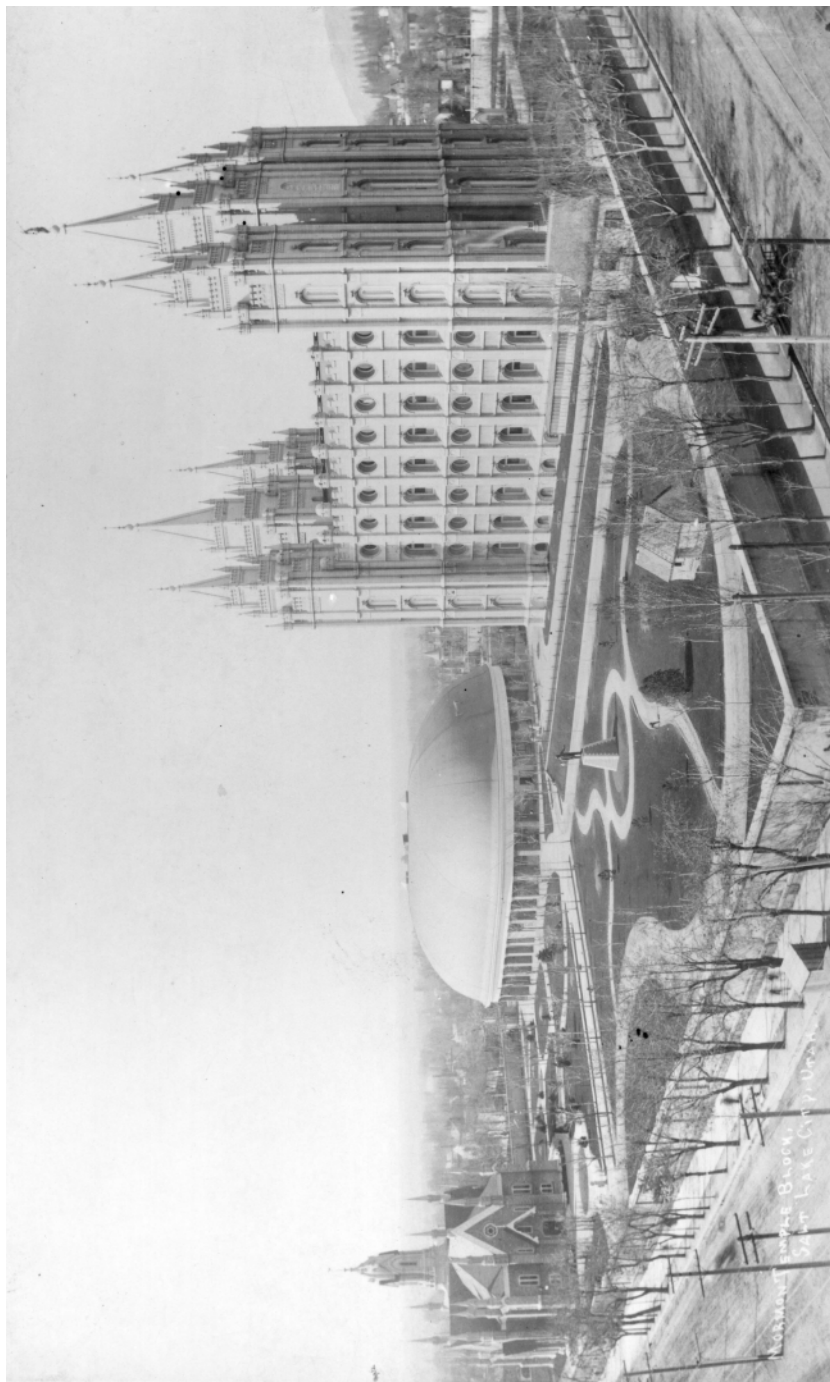
The scene of yesterday suggested the necessity at some time, not far in the future, of providing ampler means for the people as a whole to obtain the benefits of these great gatherings, when Israel assembles semi-annually for worship and instruction. It appears almost inevitable that a division of the congregations must some time ensue in order to enable the worshippers to attain the object they have in view in leaving their ordinary employment and traveling, large numbers of them, long distances to listen to the words of the servants of God, that they may, after such seasons, enter upon the usual duties of life and discharge their obligations to the Almighty with renewed zeal, faith and vigor.⁵⁹

This “divide and provide” philosophy was used, perhaps for the first time, for the Sunday afternoon session during general conference in April 1889. On that occasion, “the Assembly Hall was thrown open to accommodate the throngs who could not gain admission into the Tabernacle.”⁶⁰ There they heard their own slate of speakers as assigned by President Woodruff.

The Assembly Hall (fig. 4) was the latest addition on Temple Square. In 1877, the Old Tabernacle had been razed to make room for this splendid new edifice. Approximately 120 feet by 68 feet with walls of granite, the building was, according to John Taylor, the brainchild of President Brigham Young. Intended as a stake hall for the large Salt Lake Stake as well as for public use, the Assembly Hall was dedicated in 1882.⁶¹

From 1889 on, the Assembly Hall was regularly used as needed to accommodate overflow crowds at the Tabernacle. Almost always, the need was most acute on Sunday sessions of general conference and especially for the Sunday afternoon session.

But by the early 1890s, it was apparent the Assembly Hall could not begin to hold all of the Saints who could not gain admission to the Tabernacle. “So great was the multitude in the [Sunday] afternoon,” reported a *Deseret News* writer of April conference in 1891, “that it was found necessary to hold an overflow meeting in the Assembly Hall. That structure was also crowded to its utmost capacity, while many people were compelled to remain on the outside, unable to gain ingress to either building.”⁶²



Courtesy Church Archives

FIG. 4. Assembly Hall, Tabernacle, and Salt Lake Temple, ca. 1896. Beginning in 1889, the Assembly Hall was used as an overflow conference-session location for those Saints who could not get into the Tabernacle. After the Bureau of Information (located fifty feet

inside the south gate of Temple Square) was built in 1902, overflow sessions were also held on the grounds around the Bureau. The area that would become the Bureau of Information grounds is in the forefront of this picture.

The Extension of Concurrent Conference Sessions

While hardly a perfect solution, multiple sessions of conference appeared to be the route to follow. “The time will come,” observed Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, “when we shall have at our Conferences, not only one overflow meeting, but many of them in different buildings. Perhaps we shall have some in the Temple.”⁶³

Elder Merrill voiced that prediction in the Assembly Hall on Sunday afternoon session of general conference on April 6, 1890, at perhaps only the second general conference overflow meeting ever held. Sixteen years later, Elder B. H. Roberts of the Quorum of Seventy, having attended more than a few overflow conference sessions in the intervening years, talked to April conference goers of 1906 in a similar vein:

I expect the time will come . . . that we shall find it necessary to hold overflow meetings, not only upon the Sabbath day, but upon other days, until we will hold our general conference in sections.

We will find ourselves in the same condition that the Nephites were in during the time that the Savior ministered among them. They gathered together in such multitudes that it became necessary to divide them into groups, and to send members of the council of the Apostles to these different groups to hold meetings with the people and dispense the word of God.⁶⁴

As Elder Roberts indicated, by the early 1900s, simultaneous Sunday general conference overflow sessions had become commonplace. Up to this time, conference crowds did not warrant overflow meetings on non-Sundays except on rare occasions.⁶⁵

As mentioned, the first self-contained overflow conference sessions were held in the Assembly Hall, which soon proved inadequate to deal with increasing conference crowds. Fortunately, in the first decade of the twentieth century, two new buildings were constructed on or near Temple Square. In 1902 the Bureau of Information was completed, located just fifty feet inside the south gate into the square (fig. 5). That same year, Barratt Hall (fig. 6), just north of Temple Square across Main Street (60 North Main), was built, the result of a generous donation from Matilda Barratt, as a memorial to her son, Samuel, who died shortly after fulfilling an honorable mission to England.⁶⁶

The Bureau of Information, or more accurately the grounds adjacent to the Bureau, and Barratt Hall became (and remained for the next twenty years) general conference overflow stations number two and number three. Essentially, the prioritizing went as follows. The Assembly Hall was almost always the first option. The second overflow session, with one exception, was held *either* on the grounds of the Bureau of Information (weather

permitting) or inside Barratt Hall—sessions of conference were rarely held simultaneously in these two locations.⁶⁷ The Bureau of Information grounds were first used for a conference overflow during October conference of 1902. Barratt Hall was first used for an overflow meeting in October conference of 1907.⁶⁸ Sometimes over a thousand people would congregate on the grounds adjacent to the Bureau, and Barratt Hall could hold an additional thousand or so.

Consistent with the predictions of Elders Merrill and Roberts, the number of overflow conference meetings increased during President Joseph F. Smith's administration (1901–1918). By 1916 it became standard procedure to hold as many as four overflow sessions at a given general conference, a practice that extended throughout the remainder of the presidency of Joseph F. Smith and into the first five years of President Heber J. Grant's administration. Seating space was almost always at a premium on Sundays, and therefore it became the norm to hold overflow sessions on Sundays. Two concurrent overflow sessions were held on Sunday mornings and two more on Sunday afternoons. Again, the Assembly Hall was always option number one, and either the grounds adjacent to the Bureau of Information (most of the time) or Barratt Hall (some of the time) was option number two.

In an age when there were relatively few missions and stakes in the Church, both President Smith and President Grant opted to utilize leaders of both mission and stake Church units as speakers in general conference, especially in the overflow sessions. It was a reciprocal arrangement that had obvious advantages. Not only did Church leaders (and the Saints) enjoy hearing from these leaders, but the mission and stake presidents filled a



Courtesy Church Archives

FIG. 5. Bureau of Information (detail). On June 4, 1902, President Joseph F. Smith gave instructions to build the Bureau of Information “at once” to serve the needs of visitors to Temple Square. It was completed shortly thereafter at a cost slightly exceeding \$500. The Bureau would be a “center from which shall flow official information concerning Utah . . . and the beliefs and practices of the Latter-day Saints generally” (Edward H. Anderson, “The Bureau of Information,” *Improvement Era* 25 [December 1921]: 137). The Bureau became a place where Saints could gather to hear the word of God at conference time.



FIG. 6. Detail of Barratt Hall (with a gathering of Latter-day Saints University students), ca. 1908. Completed in 1902 and first utilized as an overflow structure for the October conference of 1907, Barratt Hall could hold around one thousand conference goers. The hall's completion was made possible by the financial donations of British immigrant Matilda M. Barratt, a member of the first general Primary presidency from 1880 to 1888 who made generous contributions to education and immigration causes.

practical need. With as many as four overflow sessions on a given conference Sunday, it could hardly be expected that twenty-six General Authorities could fill all the speaking slots.⁶⁹

Oftentimes the overflow sessions had their own choirs and conductors. This was almost always the case in the Assembly Hall. Various local, stake, and ward choirs (and sometimes university student choirs) regularly provided choral music. Congregational singing was more likely to occur on the outside grounds of the Bureau of Information.

Understandably, most Saints hoped to get a Tabernacle seat. The First Presidency and most (but not all) of the Twelve spoke in the Tabernacle. Aware that most Saints preferred hearing the First Presidency and the Twelve, on occasion some of the Brethren speaking in the overflow sessions would remind the Saints in overflow congregations that they too were entitled to a generous portion of the Lord's spirit. "I realize that it is somewhat of a disappointment to our brethren and sisters not to be able to find places in the large Tabernacle this morning," observed Apostle George F. Richards as he greeted Saints at an overflow session in 1914. But quickly

Elder Richards noted that if Saints had come to worship in the proper spirit, they would be blessed accordingly.⁷⁰ In 1924 assistant Church historian Andrew Jenson remarked that “the Saints gathered in this Assembly Hall are entitled to the blessings of the Lord as much as those congregated in the Tabernacle.”⁷¹

One blessing that continued to elude everyone was the opportunity for all congregating Saints to actually hear the speakers. This was true of all conference locations but perhaps most of all for the grounds adjacent to the Bureau of Information. Not surprisingly, as larger and larger groups of Saints gathered at the grounds outside the Bureau, it became a considerable chore for speakers to reach Saints on the perimeter. “I sincerely trust . . . that my voice will carry sufficiently far so that all of you may hear,” observed Rey L. Pratt, president of the Mexican Mission, in October 1922 general conference, “but I think never before have I seen so many people who were not able to enter the great buildings, the Tabernacle and the Assembly Hall, and who because of their desire to hear the word of the Lord have congregated themselves upon these grounds.”⁷²

And, of course, a half-century after the Great Tabernacle had opened, some General Authorities, especially those not blessed with a strong voice, continued to express concerns about reaching the far-flung congregation. “I wondered as I sat in the stand yesterday, where President John M. Knight got his stentorian voice,” observed Quorum of the Twelve President Rudger Clawson in April conference of 1922. “If I knew where such voices were manufactured, I think I should go and get one,” Elder Clawson added. “As he stood there and spoke to the congregation, he roared like a lion, and the building trembled. I cannot roar. Nevertheless, I may possibly be able to make you hear, if I speak straight ahead.”⁷³

The Advent of Amplification, Microphones, and Radio

Fortunately for Elder Clawson, for other general conference speakers, and for Latter-day Saints everywhere, advancing technology provided a solution for the nearly century-old challenge of being heard by a large gathering. For many of the Brethren, it must have seemed long overdue. By the early 1920s, thousands of Saints who made the effort to gather at Temple Square were unable to hear Sunday general conference live—at either the Tabernacle, the Assembly Hall, the Bureau of Information grounds, or Barratt Hall. There were simply too many people and too few seats.

But relief was on its way. In April 1923, the Church used amplifiers in a general conference for the first time. It was a historic occasion. On the opening day of conference, Friday, April 6, President Grant announced that amplifiers had been placed in the Tabernacle and that the proceedings were

being piped into the Assembly Hall. Speaking at the Friday session, scientist and Apostle John A. Widtsoe spoke of the amplification system as a “tremendous advance, a tremendous rebuke to those of my day, unbelievers in God, who have said to me: ‘What is the use of praying? God cannot hear. Your voice merely stirs waves in the air, and God is so far away that the waves disappear and cannot reach Divinity. You are wasting your time.’”⁷⁴

The *Deseret News* pronounced the amplification experiment an unqualified success:

For the first time in the history of the Mormon church Conference, a mechanical device is being used to facilitate and increase audition on its part of the persons in attendance. An amplifier of the most modern type, with two receivers and transmitters that project in three directions, has been installed in the tabernacle. . . .

Officials of the presiding bishopric of the church, under whose orders the amplifier was installed, pronounced it a success and conference attendants who sat at the very extreme east end of the building and under the gallery, said they heard distinctly all of the speakers.⁷⁵

Despite the glowing assessment, however, there was at least one kink in the system. Sunday sessions were piped to some four thousand assembled on the grounds adjacent to the Bureau of Information.⁷⁶ Yet Elder George Albert Smith, sent outside by President Grant to report on the quality of the sound, indicated that there was plenty of volume but that it was difficult to make out the words of speaker President Anthony W. Ivins.⁷⁷

Eighteen months later, another technological advance dramatically changed the way the Saints participated in general conference. “Radio broadcasting of the general conference sessions became a reality in October 1924, when KFPT, now KSL, ran a direct wire to the main pulpit.”⁷⁸ In his opening address, President Grant announced that proceedings were to be broadcast over the radio and that around one million people would be able to hear conference. “The radio is one of the most marvelous inventions man knows anything about,” President Grant observed. “To have the voice carried for thousands of miles seems almost beyond comprehension.”⁷⁹ To the end of his life, President Grant retained an almost childlike awe of the power of radio to disseminate the gospel message (fig. 7).

One especially poignant event occurred in that first radio broadcast of general conference in 1924. One of the great missionary-scholars in Church history, Charles W. Penrose, at the time serving as First Counselor in the First Presidency, was ill and confined to his home. A radio and radio operator were made available for his use. When President Grant began to speak, President Penrose uttered reverently from his sick bed, “It is the President’s voice.”⁸⁰ Later in the conference, President Grant read a message from the

radio operator. “President Penrose heard all of the proceedings this morning, most of it as perfectly as if he were here on the stand,” the prophet reported. President Grant added that when the male chorus sang one verse of “School Thy Feelings, O My Brother,” a Penrose-authored hymn, “tears of gratitude” filled the venerable counselor’s eyes. President Penrose later thanked the KFPT operator for “one of the most thrilling experiences of my life.”⁸¹

With the advent of radio, all local Latter-day Saints were able to participate directly in general conference. Thousands could mill around Temple Square and hear the proceedings, and tens of thousands more, at least in the immediate area, could listen on radio. But interestingly, President Grant continued to hold self-contained overflow sessions of general conference in the Assembly Hall until 1928.

For example, during the April 1923 conference, when amplifiers were first used, as Sunday conference proceedings were being piped to some four thousand Saints congregated around the Bureau of Information, separate overflow sessions were held in the Assembly Hall. Elder Joseph Fielding Smith of the Quorum of the Twelve presided at the morning overflow session, and the music and singing were furnished by the Jordan Stake choir.⁸²

There were probably at least two reasons why President Grant opted to provide separate self-contained sessions of conference, even as amplification and radio capacity made it possible for all to follow along with Tabernacle proceedings. First, it appears that President Grant and other leaders favored direct speaker contact whenever possible. In reporting on general



FIG. 7. President Heber J. Grant and others at the inauguration of radio station KZN, May 6, 1922 (detail). When general conference was broadcast over the radio for the first time in October 1924, an estimated one million people were able to hear conference. The radio was the first of many technological advances that have allowed Saints around the world to listen to general conference.

conference in October 1926, the *Deseret News* affirmed that while the radio was remarkable, “it does not provide the personal contact so necessary to give one a full appreciation of the importance and significance of conference proceedings, hence the great desire of the assembled hosts to crowd together . . . to receive first hand . . . the inspirational addresses of those who speak.”⁸³

The second reason, perhaps a more compelling one, for continuing the separate self-contained sessions of conference some five years into the amplification era was President Grant’s desire to give non-General Authorities an opportunity to speak in general conference. More particularly, President Grant, as President Joseph F. Smith before him, was committed to giving mission and stake presidents at least one opportunity (and oftentimes multiple opportunities) to speak in general conference. The separate sessions provided such a venue.

But despite President Grant’s desire to hear from mission and stake leaders, the clear-cut organizational advantages (it was much easier to run but one slate of meetings) and, most especially, the realization that most Church members wanted to be in the company of the First Presidency and the Twelve soon resulted in a discontinuance of separate self-contained overflow sessions. More and more, Church members preferred to attend the Tabernacle proceedings. “We have learned that the majority of the people prefer to hear the sermons that are preached in this building on Sundays, rather than attend overflow meetings,” President Grant announced in April conference of 1928. “For that reason we have discontinued the meetings in the Assembly Hall.”⁸⁴

The era of the self-contained general conference overflow sessions had come to an end. Though few Latter-day Saints today are even aware of this once important general conference organizational dynamic, separate simultaneous overflow sessions were held at least as early as 1889, were regularly held throughout Joseph F. Smith’s entire administration, and continued to be held ten years into President Grant’s tenure. Over this period, around a hundred overflow sessions were attended by thousands of Saints.

The Tabernacle—General Conference Headquarters

Amplification and radio were but the beginning of the technological improvements that through the years enabled Church leaders to accommodate the general conference needs of most Church members. October general conference in 1949 ushered in yet another technological era. “I am . . . pleased to announce that for the first time in the history of the church,” declared President George Albert Smith, “sessions of this conference will

be broadcast upon the air by television over the Salt Lake area and certain areas adjacent thereto.”⁸⁵

Technological advances would soon allow Saints throughout the world access to general conference. “By 1962, short wave radio transmissions beamed General Conference to” growing numbers of Saints in “Europe, South America, South Africa, and Mexico.” Satellite transmission to interested television and cable stations was initiated in 1975, and in 1980 conference sessions were first carried by satellite to church centers outside of Utah. Sessions were first translated simultaneously into other languages in 1962, and by 1990 they were being translated into twenty-nine languages. Thus the translation room became an integral part of the Tabernacle.”⁸⁶

All of these television broadcasts and satellite transmissions have, of course, emanated from the Tabernacle on Temple Square. Since 1867, this historic building has served as the hub of general conference, a vital conduit for leaders to convey truth and direction to Church members. Home to the world famous Mormon Tabernacle Choir and organ, this uniquely shaped, sacred edifice is surely a well-known and well-recognizable structure belonging to the Church.

Through the years, five generations of Church leaders have affectionately, respectfully, and even reverentially addressed the historic importance of the Tabernacle. The sacred nature of the gathering of dedicated Saints and the prophetic words spoken has made general conference a hallowed experience.

In October conference of 1929, Elder George Albert Smith told assembled Saints he remembered the days “when this building was first erected and as a child I helped to decorate the roof with festoons of paper flowers,—at least I helped make the flowers.” Elder Smith remembered the “old gas jets around the gallery that were used to illuminate this building,” and contrasted that primitive lighting system with the “perfection of lighting” that currently existed.⁸⁷ Ten years later, Elder Levi Edgar Young of the Seventy commented on the Tabernacle as a “realized dream, . . . wrought out by hard labor and sublime faith.” The building “has a spiritual quality,” Elder Young surmised, “that puts us all in a proper frame of mind to receive the word of God.”⁸⁸

Perhaps the most successful attempt to give meaning to this edifice in terms of sacred history was made by President Stephen L. Richards in April conference of 1952:

I stand today in a pulpit sanctified by its history. When I recall the noble servants of our Heavenly Father who have stood here and given inspired counsel to the people, and borne testimony with such power and conviction and spirit as to electrify every soul who heard; when I

contemplate the operation of the still, small voice, which has come from simple and lowly words given here, which have touched the hearts and sympathies of the people; when I think of the vast volume of precious truth which has been proclaimed from this stand, I feel very small and weak within it. . . .

Ponder for a moment, my brethren and sisters, and all who listen, the glorious and vital truths which have been proclaimed in this building—the nature and composition of the Godhead, the organization of the universe, the history and placement of man in the earth, his purpose in living, and the divine destiny set for him, the laws governing his conduct and his eligibility for exaltation in the celestial presence, the true concept of family life in the eternal progression of the race, the truth about liberty and the place of governments in the earth, the correct concept of property, its acquisition and distribution, the sure foundations for peace, brotherhood, and universal justice. All these elemental things, and many others incident thereto, have been the burden of the message of truth which has come from this building through the generations.⁸⁹

From the era of pioneer wagon trains to our day of satellites and the Internet, from President Brigham Young to President Gordon B. Hinckley, the Tabernacle has stood firm and strong, a viable symbol of the vibrancy of the Mormon faith. And according to President Gordon B. Hinckley, the Tabernacle will endure many more years. “This is such a wonderful old building with structure, design and organ,” President Hinckley recounted at a regional conference in January 1992. “Certainly, we could tear it down and build a brand new, modern auditorium with air conditioning, padded benches and modern amplification. But why would we? Why would we want to get rid of this wonderful old building?”⁹⁰

The New Conference Center

While the historic Tabernacle will continue to serve important functions (among other things, weekly Tabernacle Choir broadcasts), and while this sacred edifice will indeed likely outlive us, for some decades Church leaders harbored the idea of constructing a larger edifice. Such an edifice would serve as a major conference and civic center and would accommodate thousands of additional Saints for April and October general conferences.

Church leaders, however, never entertained the notion of accommodating everyone who wanted to attend conference. After all, Church membership has soared over the eleven million mark—buildings simply don’t come that size. But, for at least two reasons, the construction of a newer, larger building made sense. First, Tabernacle seating was increasingly limited. While the hand-hewn benches that were skillfully constructed by pioneer craftsmen were still around, the necessity of adding additional seats to

the choir loft and rostrum seating resulted in the removal of eight benches. At the same time, the gradually expanding physical dimensions of successive generations of Saints (while we hope to emulate the faith of our forebears, we clearly exceed them in height and girth) required spacing the benches further apart. Seating capacity had been reduced to somewhere between five and six thousand.⁹¹

More importantly, there was always the desire to make it possible for more Latter-day Saints to experience conference firsthand. The Brethren were especially solicitous that many out-of-towners have that opportunity. Many traveled “from far corners of the earth without a realistic expectation of being able to worship together and be in the presence of the . . . General Authorities of the Church,” observed President James E. Faust. “Many of these have been young people and it is upon their shoulders that the future of this Church will rest.”⁹²

In truth, as early as President Grant’s administration, some Church leaders considered or envisioned the construction of a larger edifice. In April 2000 general conference, President Hinckley read a recently discovered 1924 excerpt from Elder James E. Talmage’s journal that mentioned “the possible erection of a great pavilion on the north side of the Tabernacle, seating perhaps twenty thousand people or even double that number.”⁹³ Even with the advent of “wonderful radio,” President Grant also occasionally longed for a larger building. Impressed by the teeming throng at October 1937 conference, President Grant said, “I am living in hopes that some day we will have a bigger building so that everybody can get a seat.”⁹⁴ Twelve years later, President Grant’s successor as Church President, President George Albert Smith, observed at April 1949 conference, “I wish that many more of our people could be present on an occasion of this kind.” Added President Smith: “Our house is not large enough. Even now we have to begin to think of a larger place for our general conferences.”⁹⁵ And, in April conference of 1953, President David O. McKay noted that “one pressing need of our Church is a larger building. We need a Coliseum that will seat fifteen or twenty thousand people.”⁹⁶

President Hinckley pointed out both at groundbreaking ceremony in July 1997 and at April conference of 2000 that the notion of constructing a larger structure was “discussed in the highest councils of the Church as early as 1940.” An architect actually drew up a plan of a building that would seat nineteen thousand and would stand where the new Conference Center now stands. But apparently the opinion prevailed, said President Hinckley, “that it would be better to pursue electronic means to reach the members of the Church.”⁹⁷



Fig. 8. Interior of Conference Center, 2000. With a seating capacity of over twenty thousand, the Conference Center can accommodate twice as many Saints as the Tabernacle. The various levels of seating

can be easily seen in this view. On the right side is the stand for the General Authorities and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

The splendid new Conference Center was first unveiled for general conference in April 2000. At the beginning of his welcoming address, President Hinckley paid tribute to the historic Tabernacle “which has served us so very well for more than 130 years” and which “will go on serving long into the unforeseeable future.” Shifting his focus to the new Conference Center, President Hinckley briefly summarized its short history. The plans to construct such a building were first conveyed to Church members in April 1996 general conference. A year later, groundbreaking ceremonies were conducted on a milestone date in Latter-day Saint history—July 24, 1997, 150 years after the first group of intrepid pioneers arrived in the Valley. After considering several architectural schemes, one plan providing for twenty-one thousand seats and no interior pillars was selected (fig. 8). The Conference Center was built with granite from the same quarry that, nearly a century and a half earlier, had furnished stone for the Salt Lake Temple.⁹⁸

Although, as President Hinckley remarked at the groundbreaking ceremony, the Conference Center “can accommodate far more [people] than we’re . . . able to accommodate [in the Tabernacle],”⁹⁹ the large auditorium cannot accommodate every Saint who wishes to attend general conference. In an effort to be impartial and fair, the Church in recent years has distributed conference tickets by allotment through stakes and wards. Essentially, all Church members desiring tickets must make arrangements through their priesthood leader.

For those that are unable to obtain seats in the Conference Center, there are other limited opportunities to be an actual part of conference. Saints can observe conference on a large screen in the Tabernacle. Spanish speaking Saints can observe and hear conference simultaneously translated in their native tongue in the Assembly Hall, and a limited number of people can hear sessions piped in on the grounds of Temple Square. Occasionally, the Conference Center theater is available for conference goers.¹⁰⁰

But actual participation in general conference in or near the Conference Center must of necessity remain a privilege for but a small percentage of Church members. Fortunately, technological developments have stayed abreast of Church growth. The expansion of satellite dishes and cable companies and, most especially, the development of the Internet makes it possible for millions of Saints throughout the world to participate in live conference.

In truth, accommodation is considerably less a challenge today than it was in former times. More Saints than ever before can receive pertinent instructions, and especially, inspiring testimonies of Church leaders, as they are given.

President Gordon B. Hinckley made an implied reference to the ongoing importance of such testimonies in the conclusion of his opening

address in the new Conference Center in April 2002. In that address, President Hinckley referred to the handsome pulpit that graced the podium area. It was taken from a tree that for years had stood serenely in President Hinckley's backyard. President Hinckley said, "it is an emotional thing for me," having a small bit of himself in this grand new Conference Center.¹⁰¹ Probably few, perhaps no one, in the vast listening audience recalled that at a general conference forty-eight years previous, President Stephen L. Richards had talked of the Tabernacle pulpit as one "sanctified by its history." President Richards was referencing the continual stream of inspired utterances that had been made by prophets and apostles, testifying to the reality of God's plan of salvation and the redeeming mission of his Son, Jesus Christ.¹⁰²

And now, nearly a half century later, speaking to a Church membership some ten times greater than in 1952, President Hinckley talked of a new pulpit "in this great hall where the voices of prophets will go out to all the world in testimony of the Redeemer of mankind."¹⁰³

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1. Joseph W. McMurrin, in *Eighty-Seventh 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, 1916), 102.

2. M. Dallas Burnett, "General Conference," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:307.

3. Burnett, "General Conference," 1:307.

4. 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), 5:401 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

5. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 2:382, April 7, 1844.

6. Woodruff, *Journal*, 2:388–89, April 8, 1844.

7. William G. Hartley, "The Pioneer Trek: Nauvoo to Winter Quarters," *Ensign* 27 (June 1997): 31–43.

8. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 3:160 (hereafter cited as *Comprehensive History of the Church*).

9. Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852: "And Should We Die . . ."* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 199, 212–13; Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 290–92.

10. *History of the Church*, 7:621.

11. "Official Session First Held in S. L. in Fall of 1848," Journal History of the Church, April 5, 1934, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, citing *Deseret News* of same date. I have assumed the bowery they used was that first one built by Mormon Battalion returnees from Pueblo. According to longtime assistant Church historian Andrew Jenson, the first bowery built by Saints in Salt Lake City was a small one in the southeast corner of Temple Square in July 1847. Later that same year, the Saints built a second bowery in the Old Fort. Andrew Jenson, *Encyclopedic History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1941), 82–83, 860. Ronald W. Walker states, "Boweries became a staple of Salt Lake and outlying community worship—in some communities they were not replaced with tabernacles for several decades" ("Pioneer Life and Worship," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1085).

A firing of a cannon on October 6, 1848, signaled the opening of that first general conference in the Valley, "but after the opening exercises the conference was adjourned to the following Sunday (October 8th) in order to give the brethren of the Mormon Battalion [an early sick detachment who traveled northward from Pueblo to Salt Lake City] an opportunity of celebrating the return home of the Mormon battalion brethren [members of the main body from California who just arrived in the valley]." Journal History of the Church, October 6, 1848. In actuality October 6, 1848, was a unique date in Church history as Church general conferences were begun in two separate locations. Besides the group convening in Salt Lake City in the bowery, President Ezra T. Benson of the Quorum of the Twelve conducted a general conference at Mosquito Creek in Pottawattamie lands in Iowa. Journal History of the Church, October 6, 1848; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "150 Years of General Conference," *Ensign* 11 (February 1981): 72.

12. Carter E. Grant, "Zion's Ten Acres," *Improvement Era* 73 (June 1970): 16.

13. Grant, "Zion's Ten Acres," 17; Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:493. Grant indicates this bowery was built in spring 1848. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 82–83, suggests it was constructed in the first half of 1849. On at least one occasion, more particularly the second anniversary of the arrival of pioneers, canopies were extended about 100 feet from each side of the bowery to accommodate the overflow crowds. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:493.

14. Sarah Jane Weaver, "Park Workers Erect Pioneer-Style Bowery," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, September 30, 1995, 11.

15. Grant, "Zion's Ten Acres," 17. Estimates of the size of the Old Tabernacle vary. Grant indicates it was 100 feet by 62 feet. Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 860, suggested it was 126 feet in length and 64 feet in width. James E. Talmage, *House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 202, apparently accepts Jenson's measurements of 126' x 64'. Ronald W. Walker, "Pioneer Life and Worship," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3:1086, says it measured 120' x 60'.

16. Talmage, *House of the Lord*, 202–3.

17. Walker, "Pioneer Life and Worship," 3:1086, citing Reminiscence of Addison Moses Crane, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

18. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:122, April 8, 1852.

19. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:105, April 6, 1852.

20. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:113, April 7, 1852.

21. Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:105, April 6, 1852.
22. *Journal History of the Church*, April 8, 1854, citing *Deseret News*, April 13, 1854.
23. "Minutes of General Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1854, citing *Deseret News*, April 13, 1854.
24. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 2:17, July 24, 1854.
25. Grant, "Zion's Ten Acres," 18; George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 3:23, August 12, 1855.
26. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:15. Roberts indicates the large Bowery could hold 8,000. Junius Wells remembered it holding 7,000 and on "opening day," George A. Smith estimated that 10,000 were in attendance. Junius F. Wells, in *Ninety-Fourth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1924), 117; George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:360, April 8, 1855. The larger figures probably reflect the added numbers of late-arriving Saints and/or young children who would sometimes stand or mill around the edges of the open-sided edifice.
27. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:360, April 8, 1855.
28. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:360, April 8, 1855.
29. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:360, April 8, 1855.
30. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 4:295, March 29, 1857. That is not to say the Bowery always had ample seating. Occasionally, especially on general conference Sunday sessions, it too was inadequate.
31. George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 3:23, August 12, 1855.
32. George D. Watt, "Discourse [of Parley P. Pratt]," *Journal History of the Church*, October 7, 1855, citing *Deseret News* of same date.
33. George D. Watt, "Discourse [of George A. Smith]," *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1856, citing *Deseret News* of same date.
34. J. V. Long, "Discourse by President Heber C. Kimball," *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1863, citing *Deseret News* of same date. More so than most of the Brethren, Elder Kimball was inclined to call the Saints to repentance if there was any unnecessary chatter. In October 1856, after calling the conference to order, Kimball said:

I want to say a word to the Congregation and to all the House of Israel. If you expect to be blessed & have the word of God come through his servants let there be peace and silence. . . . For men to Come hundreds of miles & then to sit & talk & chatter & do their business here at this meeting it is not proper. . . . If you do not believe this, get the spirit of God & come on this stand & attempt to talk to this people. (Woodruff, *Journal*, 4:465–66, October 7, 1856)

35. Daniel H. Wells, in *Journal of Discourses*, 10:139, April 6, 1863.
36. Heber C. Kimball, in *Journal of Discourses*, 10:166, April 6, 1863.
37. R. Scott Lloyd, "The Great Tabernacle: 125-Year-Old Monument to Resourcefulness," *Church News*, October 3, 1992, 8.
38. Paul L. Anderson, "Tabernacle, Salt Lake City," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1433; Lloyd, "The Great Tabernacle," 8.
39. *Journal History of the Church*, October 9, 1865, citing *Millennial Star* of same date.

40. Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:335, April 8, 1867.
41. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 9:1, April 6, 1861.
42. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:29, April 7, 1867.
43. "The Thirty-Seventh Semi-Annual Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, October 6, 1867, citing *Salt Lake Telegraph* of same date.
44. Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:367, October 6, 1867.
45. Woodruff, *Journal*, 6:369, October 7, 1867.
46. "Thirty-Seventh Semi-Annual Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, October 6, 1867.
47. *Journal History of the Church*, October 7, 1867, citing *Deseret News* of same date.
48. David W. Evans, "Discourse [of Orson Pratt]," *Journal History of the Church*, October 7, 1867, citing *Deseret News* of same date.
49. "The Late Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 9, 1869, citing *Deseret News* of same date.
50. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 5:135.
51. "The Late Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 5 and 6, 1870, citing *Deseret News* of same date. The *News* on April 6 provided a rationale for the postponement:

According to the adjournment of the Conference held on Oct. 6th, 1869, the Saints met in a Conference capacity, this morning at 10 o'clock. The meeting was merely of a preliminary nature; as the Saints had been notified that, in consequence of the absence of Presidents Brigham Young and Geo.[rge] A. Smith, and also owing to the present unfinished condition of the gallery in the New Tabernacle, Conference would be re-adjourned until May 5th. The attendance was as large as might have been expected under the circumstances.

52. David W. Evans, "Remarks [of George A. Smith]," *Journal History of the Church*, May 5, 1870, citing *Deseret News*, May 21, 1870.
53. Evans, "Remarks [of George A. Smith]," *Journal History of the Church*, May 5, 1870.
54. David W. Evans, "Remarks [of Brigham Young]," *Journal History of the Church*, May 5, 1870, citing *Deseret News*, May 28, 1870.
55. "The Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, May 8, 1870, citing *Deseret News*, May 9, 1870.
56. "The Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, May 8, 1870.
57. Joseph F. Smith, *Journal History of the Church*, April 9, 1899, citing *Deseret News* of same date. Not surprisingly, larger-than-capacity congregations added to the difficulty. As the *Deseret News* observed after general conference in April 1888:

The splendid acoustic properties of the Tabernacle are insufficient to over come this difficulty [Saints hearing the speakers] when the building is overcrowded, there being, necessarily, when such is the case, more or less noise in the body of the great hall. This inability of the people to hear all that was said during the later sessions of the Conference which ended

yesterday, was probably the only feature that marred the pleasure and profit of the occasion. ("The Late Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 8, 1888, citing *Deseret News* of April 9, 1888)

58. "The Late Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 8, 1888.

59. "The Late Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 8, 1888.

60. "The General Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 9, 1889, citing *Deseret News* of same date. Even the additional two thousand-plus seats in the Assembly Hall did not afford seating space for everyone. Six months later the *Deseret News* reported that "the two commodious edifices were insufficient for the immense host and therefore crowds remained in the grounds or retired from the Temple Block altogether." "The October Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, October 8, 1889, citing *Deseret News* of same date.

61. John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 19:128–29, October 7, 1877. Speaking of the projected Assembly Hall, Elder Taylor observed:

We are engaged in this place in building a Tabernacle, in which we can meet during the Winter season. We do not call upon you outside brethren to assist us in this undertaking, because it is local and belongs to this Stake. This is a matter that was designed by President Young before his death; and we have been desirous, . . . to carry out the views of our venerated President, as far as we can. We have commenced to build this house, we want to put it up without delay. In this, as in every other matter, we do not wish anybody to contribute his means or labor towards it, unless he feels free to do it; for there are plenty that will do it willingly, and it will be built; and we shall have a nice, comfortable place to worship in through the Winter, and it will serve the Priesthood for all necessary purposes, as well as the public. The building will be 116 x 64 feet inside, with gallery all around. It will be a little larger than was at first contemplated; and we have also departed a little from the original intention respecting the kind of building material. Instead of adobe, we have concluded to use rock.

62. "The Late General Conference," *Journal History of the Church*, April 7, 1891, citing *Deseret News* of same date.

63. Marriner W. Merrill, in *Collected Discourses, Delivered by President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, the Twelve Apostles, and Others*, comp. Brian H. Stuy, 5 vols., (Burbank, Calif.: By the compiler, 1987–92), 2:62.

64. Brigham H. Roberts, in *Seventy-Sixth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1906), 63.

65. One such occasion was in April 1892 when the capstone of the Salt Lake Temple was put in place. To accommodate the thousands who desired to participate in capstone events, an overflow session was held on Sunday, April 3, and again on Tuesday, April 5. *Journal History of the Church*, April 7, 1892, citing *Deseret News* of same date. Church member Jesse W. Crosby recorded that the Tuesday session was the "first overflow meeting on a week day that ever occurred in the history of the Church." Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, *Every Stone a Sermon* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1992), 42, citing Jesse W. Crosby, *Diaries, 1884–1914*, April 5, 1892, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

66. Grant, "Zion's Ten Acres," 18; Jenson, *Encyclopedic History*, 416.

67. These conclusions are based on a close reading of the *Annual* and *Semi-Annual Conference* reports during the Joseph F. Smith and Heber J. Grant administrations.

68. *Seventy-Third 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, 1902), 37; *Seventy-Eighth 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, 1907), 99.

69. Twenty-six General Authorities included three members of the First Presidency, twelve members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, the Presiding Patriarch, seven members of the First Quorum of Seventy, and three members of the Presiding Bishopric.

70. George F. Richards, in *Eighty-Fifth 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, 1914), 15.

71. Andrew Jenson, in *Ninety-Fourth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1924), 129.

72. Rey L. Pratt, in *Ninety-Third 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, 1922), 139.

73. Rudger Clawson, in *Ninety-Second Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1922), 45.

74. John A. Widtsoe, in *Ninety-Third Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1923), 48.

75. "Sound Amplifiers Aid Conference Speakers," *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1923, citing *Deseret News*, April 7, 1923. The previous day, the *Deseret News* noted:

A feature never heretofore known at a general conference in the Tabernacle was the installation on the two upper pulpits of radio amplification, designed to throw the voices of the speakers more vividly to the farthest part of the auditorium than even the well known acoustic properties of the great structure have done in the past.

As seen from the floor of the tabernacle below the pulpit the amplifier is enclosed in a wooden frame about the size of the top of a writing desk. It is tilted from the cushion top of the pulpit at an angle that brings it probably one foot, at its highest point, higher than the pulpit itself and nearly as far in front, making the pulpit that much higher behind which the speaker stands and is seen by the audience. Thus directly in front of the speaker and just below his face the amplifier is designed to catch the voice of the speaker and by the mechanism controlling the sound waves to throw it with added force out over the congregation.

At the opening session of conference, after a number of speakers had stood before the congregation, President Heber J. Grant inquired if those

in the rear of the auditorium could hear the speakers any better owing to the amplifiers. A response came back that the voices of the speakers were more audible without so much effort at speaking loud. ("Amplifiers Used in Tabernacle," *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1923)

76. *Ninety-Third Annual Conference*, 102.

77. Heber J. Grant, in *Ninety-Third Annual Conference*, 93.

78. Albert L. Zobell Jr., "Radio and the Gospel Message," *Improvement Era* 50 (April 1947): 254.

79. Heber J. Grant, in *Ninety-Fifth 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, 1924), 2.

80. Zobell, "Radio and the Gospel Message," 254; Heber J. Grant, in *Ninety-Fifth Semi-Annual Conference*, 137.

81. Zobell, "Radio and the Gospel Message," 254; Heber J. Grant, in *Ninety-Fifth Semi-Annual Conference*, 137.

82. *Ninety-Third Annual Conference*, 102.

83. "An Inspiring Occasion," *Journal History of the Church*, April 7, 1926, citing *Deseret News*.

84. Heber J. Grant, in *Ninety-Ninth 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, 1928), 91.

85. George Albert Smith, in *One Hundred Twentieth 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, 1949), 3.

86. Burnett, "General Conference," 1:308; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "150 Years of General Conference," *Ensign* 11 (February 1981): 71.

87. George Albert Smith, in *One Hundredth 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, 1929), 22.

88. Levi Edgar Young, in *One Hundred Ninth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1939), 74. See also Elder Young's comments on the Tabernacle, in *Ninety-Third Semi-Annual Conference*, 110–111.

89. Stephen L. Richards, in *One Hundred Twenty-Second Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1952), 45–46.

90. Lloyd, "The Great Tabernacle," 10.

91. Lloyd, "The Great Tabernacle," 8, 10.

92. Hill, "Ground Broken," 4.

93. Gordon B. Hinckley, "To All the World in Testimony," *Ensign* 30 (May 2000): 5–6.

94. *Journal History of the Church*, October 3, 1937, citing *Deseret News*, October 4, 1937.

95. George Albert Smith, in *One Hundred Nineteenth Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949), 7.

96. David O. McKay, in *One Hundred Twenty-Third Annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1953), 24.

97. Hill, "Ground Broken," 3–4; Hinckley, "To All the World in Testimony," 5–6.
98. Hinckley, "To All the World in Testimony," 4–6.
99. Greg Hill, "Ground Broken for Assembly Building," *Church News*, August 2, 1997, 4.
100. Conversation with Lynne Bexell, July 22, 2002. Sister Bexell serves as ticket office manager in the Conference Center.
101. Hinckley, "To All the World in Testimony," 6.
102. Stephen L. Richards, in *One Hundred Twenty-Second Annual Conference*, 45–46.
103. Hinckley, "To All the World in Testimony," 6.

After Eden

Understand this, if nothing else: that she
had only known him darkly, fragmented
like shadow under leaves. That she was free.

That she had only seen his sleep unsaid
in flecks between his eyelids; dark as storm
between the lightning; thin and strong as thread.

*Perhaps at night the sighing owls swarm
eagerly round him; perhaps in his heat
the trees reshape their bodies to his form*

*and curl their fragile roots around his feet.
Perhaps he falls like hailstones through trees,
or crashes frightened through his dreams, the beat*

*and boil of blood rushing like rain to freeze
inside his head. Under his eyes there could
be crossings still subsiding as they breathe*

the breath of one man only.

Know this: good
felt natural to her. Some few things she knew:
his hands were cold as silver. When he stood

like moonlight in a clearing, he was blue
as angels, tall as gardens, faint as stones.
You must believe this: that her ribs still drew

their light from his. As if a mountain groaned
and rose beneath her in one morning, this
unusual, lifting sun inside her bones.

—Marilyn Nelson Nielson

This poem won second place in the *BYU Studies* 2001
poetry contest.

Singular and Plural Address in the Scriptures

James R. Rasband

Steeped in post-Enlightenment philosophy with its primary focus on the individual, modern readers may unwittingly assume that the Lord likewise is focused solely on individuals when he promises blessings or assigns responsibilities. Although the scriptures contain many instances where the Lord speaks to individuals separately, he also speaks to the Church or his people collectively. It is not always easy to distinguish between these two modes of address, especially because the English pronoun *you* can be either singular or plural. However, awareness of this linguistic issue can improve our reading of the scriptures, at times revising our understanding substantially.

It is evident that the Lord uses both collective and individual discourse. To be sure, he sometimes states explicitly that he is speaking one way or the other. For example, in assuring the elders of the Church in 1831, the Lord made it clear that he was speaking “unto the church collectively and not individually” (D&C 1:30). Three years later, in reprimanding the Saints for their transgressions, the Lord likewise stated that he spoke “concerning the church and not individuals” (D&C 105:2), and twice in section 61 he clarified, “What I say unto one I say unto all” (D&C 61:18, 36).

Although these passages are exceptional in that they overtly distinguish between singular and collective discourse, in truth the Lord has often distinguished between the Church and its individual members. Indeed, the Lord’s concern about the Church’s collective worthiness has deep but often overlooked roots. The idea of “collective responsibility” was fundamental in ancient Israelite thought. Old Testament scholarship frequently comments on the collective nature of Israelite justice and mercy,¹ and examples of collective responsibility for individual sin are common in the Old Testament.²

Israelites were bound to God not only individually but also collectively through God's covenant with the entire nation. Each Israelite had a personal duty to keep the commandments so that the entire nation would progress.³ Thus it is common in the Old Testament, but also in other scriptures, for the Lord to address his people both individually and collectively.⁴

Sometimes the grammatical form of a text will be in the singular even though the sense of the passage applies to the group, as in "thou [singular] shalt love the Lord thy God" (Deuteronomy 6:5), which is a commandment directed toward all Israel (Deuteronomy 6:4). Other times the form may be plural, but the force of the discourse is individual, as in "choose you [plural] this day whom ye will serve" (Joshua 24:15), for the covenantal choice will be made by each individual. Thus careful reading and attention are required to discern whether a text is speaking individually, collectively, or perhaps even in both of these modes.

Recognizing that the Lord speaks both collectively and individually may cast his promises and doctrines in different lights. One asks, for example, whether in Malachi 3:8–12 the Lord is speaking to one or to all when he states:

Will a man rob God? Yet ye [plural] have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse: for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you [plural] the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it. And I will rebuke the devourer for your sakes, and he shall not destroy the fruits of your ground; neither shall your vine cast her fruit before the time in the field, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed: for ye shall be a delightsome land, saith the Lord of hosts.

Focusing exclusively on individual discourse and perhaps misdirected by the opening question "will a man [singular] rob God?," readers often infer that the Lord will pour out financial blessings upon each individual who pays tithing. In fact, however, it appears that the Lord is speaking not to individual Israelites but to the house of Israel collectively. An initial indicator of the collective address is the passage's use of the plural. In the Hebrew, verses 8–12 use the second person plural masculine pronoun *'attem* and the plural verb ending *tem* instead of the singular *'attah* and *tah*. The King James translation also preserves a part of this singular/plural distinction in its use of the plural pronoun "ye" instead of the singular "thou."

Admittedly, as addressed above, the employment of plurals, and particularly of plural pronouns, is not a definitive indicator of collective

address. Speakers, including the Lord, often intend their remarks to apply to each individual within an audience even though they address the audience collectively with a plural “you.”⁵ This passage in Malachi, however, has other indications of collective address beyond the plural pronouns *we* and *ye*. The Lord states that he has been robbed by “this whole nation,” suggests that “all nations shall call you blessed,” and promises that “ye shall be a delightsome land.” This additional language strongly suggests that the Lord’s promise in Malachi 3 is a collective promise and not, in the first instance, an individual promise. If Israel collectively will pay her tithes and offerings, Israel collectively will be blessed.

Understood in this collective sense, the Lord’s promise takes on a different cast. The message is not that individuals will necessarily receive financial rewards for tithe paying but that every individual has an obligation to the Lord and to his kingdom to pay tithing so that his people as a whole will prosper.⁶ Thus the fact that some individuals are faithful tithe payers yet remain impoverished is not an indication that the Lord’s promise in Malachi has not been fulfilled. In fact, their faithfulness should be recognized as a contribution to the communal responsibility to tithe. It is in part because of their faithfulness that the Church as a whole is blessed. It follows that a tithe payer who is financially blessed should be cautious in attributing his own wealth strictly to personal adherence to the principle of tithing. It could be that the financial blessings are in part attributable to the righteousness of the Church collectively, and that the Lord rightly expects the member to use his wealth to help build up the kingdom, to ensure that Israel’s storehouses are full.⁷

This collective understanding of Malachi also applies to the frequently advanced suggestion that the Book of Mormon promises prosperity to those who are righteous. Carefully read, however, the typical Book of Mormon promise of prosperity in Alma 50:19–20 is a promise to the entire posterity of Lehi and not an individual promise to every person who keeps the commandments. Indeed, usually when the Book of Mormon discusses the prosperity that flows from righteousness, it refers to “prosperity in the church.”⁸

The idea that the Lord uses both collective and individual discourse can help us interpret numerous scriptures. For example, understanding that the Lord speaks collectively can be usefully applied to Ether 12:27, where the Lord states that he gives “unto men [plural] weakness that they may be humble.” If one’s focus is on individual rather than collective address, this scripture seems to suggest that the Lord gives each person specific trials or weaknesses to teach humility or induce private growth. But if the Lord is speaking collectively about giving men weakness, rather

than giving each man weaknesses, then Ether 12:27 becomes more readily compatible with the doctrine that trials, sicknesses, and suffering are not necessarily individually designed by God, but are often a function of the sin and inequality that result from our and others' exercise of free agency.⁹

Another illustration comes from Genesis 17:9–13. In setting forth the Abrahamic Covenant, the Lord shifts between individual and collective address for conscious purposes. This shifting in Genesis 17 has been discussed by Kevin Barney in his work on *enallage* (Greek for “interchange,” or shifts between singular and plural for rhetorical effect).¹⁰ In that passage, the Lord initially addresses Abraham in the second person singular “thou” when describing the covenant he will make with Abraham and his seed, and then the text shifts to the second person plural “ye” in discussing the implications of the covenant for both Abraham and his seed.¹¹ The Lord’s shift to collective address emphasizes that the covenant obligates and blesses not only Abraham but also his posterity.

In sum, paying close attention to the audience addressed rewards readers with more to ponder. Our understanding of doctrine in the scriptures is enhanced by realizing that the Lord may be speaking individually, collectively, or both.

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1. See Joel S. Kaminsky, *Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible* (Sheffield, Eng.: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 16–29.

2. For example, Genesis 18–19 (the Lord is willing to spare all the people within Sodom and Gomorrah if only ten righteous can be found); Joshua 6:17–7:26 (Joshua’s army faces a setback because Achan has violated the ban on plundering Jericho; in turn, Achan’s family and animals are stoned for Achan’s sin); 2 Samuel 21:1–14 (famine is visited upon Israel because of Saul’s slaying of Gibeonites; the problem is remedied by acceding to Gibeonite demand that they be allowed to hang seven of Saul’s offspring); Judges 19–21 (the Benjamites suffer until the city of Gibeah is destroyed); Jonah 1:1–16 (Jonah’s boatmates suffer until Jonah confesses that he is the source of the problem and allows himself to be cast overboard); Deuteronomy 5:9–10 and Exodus 20:5–6 (“for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments”).

Some scholars have challenged the view that ideas of collective responsibility in the Old Testament are really a departure from more modern ethical constructs. See Saul Levmore, “Rethinking Group Responsibility and Strategic Threats in Biblical

Texts and Modern Law,” *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71 (1995): 85–86, 120. Levmore’s thesis is that most of the so-called group responsibility for individual error in the Old Testament occurs in the context of warfare, where even modern law recognizes that innocents can properly be made to suffer for the actions of others within their country. His view is that ancient legal systems shared our inclination to use group responsibility and strategic threats sparingly and were concerned primarily with individual responsibility.

3. See Deuteronomy 26:17–18. Kaminsky draws a useful lesson from this point:

Ancient Israel’s fundamental insight into the fact that we are all our ‘brother’s keeper’ could provide a corrective to many of our current philosophical and political tendencies that inform us only of our rights as individuals but rarely of our responsibilities as members of larger communities. (Kaminsky, *Corporate Responsibility*, 13–14)

Although collective responsibility and reward were an important aspect of Israel’s understanding of its relationship with the Lord, individual obligations and consequences are also present in the Old Testament. For example, Genesis 19:17–26 (Lot’s wife is turned into a pillar of salt for disobediently looking back upon Sodom); Deuteronomy 29:18–21 (the Lord “shall separate . . . unto evil” certain wicked, individual Israelites “out of all the tribes of Israel”).

4. For example, 3 Nephi 10:5 (“O ye people of the house of Israel, who have fallen; yea, O ye people of the house of Israel, ye that dwell at Jerusalem, as ye that have fallen; yea, how oft would I have gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens, and ye would not”); 2 Chronicles 7:14 (“If my people, which are called by my name, shall humble themselves, and pray, and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways; then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their sin, and will heal their land”); Exodus 32:9 (“And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and, behold, it is a stiffnecked people”); Deuteronomy 26:18–19 (“And the Lord hath avouched thee this day . . . to make thee high above all nations which he hath made, in praise, and in name”).

5. For example, in 1 Thessalonians 4:1–3, Paul exhorts the Thessalonian Saints: “As ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God, so ye would abound more and more. . . . For this is the will of God, even your sanctification, that ye should abstain from fornication.” Although Paul uses the plural “ye,” his intention appears to be an injunction to each individual and a statement that their individual “sanctification” depends on their individual obedience. See also 3 Nephi 9:14 (“Yea, verily I say unto you, if ye will come unto me ye shall have eternal life”); 3 Nephi 12:1–2 (“after that ye are baptized with water”).

6. President Hinckley has focused on the collective blessings associated with tithing: “May all be honest, and even generous, in the payment of tithes and offerings, and may the windows of heaven be opened and *blessings be showered down upon us as a people* as we walk with boldness and in faith before the Lord to accomplish His eternal work.” *Ensign* 28 (May 1998), 88, emphasis added.

7. This is not to suggest that every member of the Church who is wealthy is wealthy as a result of the collective righteousness of the Church. Plainly, individuals can become wealthy by other principles upon which the acquisition of wealth is predicated. See Doctrine & Covenants 130:20–21 (“There is a law, irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundations of this world, upon which all blessings

are predicated—And when we obtain any blessing from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated”). Nor can one conclude that individual blessings are never associated with paying tithing. The experience of individual tithe-paying and the message of Doctrine & Covenants 64:23 witness that individual blessings do attach to obedience to the law of tithing, but it is not at all clear that one of those individual blessings is financial wealth.

8. See Alma 49:30 (“And there was continual peace among *them*, and exceedingly great *prosperity in the church* because of *their* heed and diligence which *they* gave unto the word of God,” italics added); Alma 1:30 (“And thus they did prosper and become far more wealthy than those who did not belong to their church”). See also Helaman 3:24–25 (equating prosperity with the growth of the Church and the number of convert baptisms).

9. Alma 28:13–14. The source and nature of adversity is a topic beyond the scope of this short study. Although we may not be able to determine which hardships are individual tutorials designed by the Lord and which are merely the result of the plan of salvation working itself out among men, the understanding that the Lord often speaks collectively as well as individually helps avoid improper anger at God for suffering that he may not have aimed at us personally.

10. Kevin L. Barney, “Divine Discourse Directed at a Prophet’s Posterity in the Plural: Further Light on Enallage,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 6, no. 2 (1997): 229.

11. Barney, “Divine Discourse,” 229–34, points to probable examples of this same sort of enallage in the Book of Mormon (citing 1 Nephi 12:9; 2 Nephi 1:31–32; and 2 Nephi 3:1–2). For a further inquiry into enallage in the Book of Mormon, see Kevin L. Barney, “Enallage in the Book of Mormon,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 3, no. 1 (1994): 113–47. For another significant shift from singular to plural between Matthew 6:5 and 6:9, see John W. Welch, *Illuminating the Sermon at the Temple and Sermon on the Mount* (Provo, Utah: FARMS, 1999), 79.

Artworks in the Celestial Room of the First Nauvoo Temple

Jill C. Major

Because of the scant time the first Nauvoo Temple was open for sacred ordinances, portraits of prominent Nauvoo citizens were borrowed to adorn the temple walls.¹ Brigham Young and the temple committee also planned, commissioned, and paid for at least one other portrait for display in the temple. The presence of these images demonstrates how carefully Brigham Young and the temple committee arranged every detail of the temple experience to make it meaningful and purposeful, even while they planned to abandon the City of Joseph. Knowing about the portraits also adds to our knowledge of the importance of art in the Nauvoo culture. What follows is an identification of the portraits that hung in the celestial room, as well as analyses of the extant paintings; in addition, reasons are suggested for the absence of temple murals and a portrait of Joseph Smith. Biographical sketches of two principle Nauvoo Temple artists are also provided.

Portraits in the First Temple

In the first Nauvoo Temple, the celestial room was “adorned with a number of splendid mirrors, paintings and portraits” and had “a very splendid and comfortable appearance.”² William Clayton, who wrote this description, also recorded the subjects of twenty-two of the known portraits that hung in the celestial room.³

Brigham Young: *Delivering the Law of the Lord*. Centered among the portraits on the east wall of the celestial room, according to Clayton, was the portrait of President Brigham Young⁴ (fig. 1), placed where members would see the seven-foot-tall, full-body portrait of their leader immediately

upon stepping into the room. A portrait of Brigham Young already existed, a bust view, which was possibly created in Philadelphia on June 1, 1841, to commemorate Elder Young's fortieth birthday.⁵ The President could easily have loaned this portrait for the prominent east wall of the celestial room, yet the busy leader took time to pose for a second portrait in July 1845.⁶ According to the biographer of the man chosen to paint this portrait—the artist Selah Van Sickle (1809–ca. 1880)—Brigham Young selected the message of his new portrait, which he called *Delivering the Law of the Lord*.⁷ This was not to be a portrait of a sitting figure with hands clasping the scriptures, as Nauvoo artist William W. Major had portrayed other citizens.⁸ Instead, Brigham Young chose to dress in formal clothes and stand solemnly in front of a large case of mostly historical books. A Book of Mormon and a Bible lie on a cloth-covered table to his right, but Brigham Young selected to emphasize a third book on the table by standing it up. The book is titled “Law of the Lord.”⁹

Starting in December 1841, the names of those contributing tithing in the form of money or goods for the building of the temple were written in a large, five-hundred-plus-page, leather-bound record called “The Book of the Law of the Lord,” which was kept in the counting room of Joseph Smith’s brick store on Water Street.¹⁰ Relief Society sisters were encouraged to donate one cent per week to buy glass and nails for the temple. Hyrum Smith promised the sisters that for this act “they should receive their blessings in that temple. All who subscribed the cent per week should have their names recorded in the Book of the Law of the Lord.”¹¹ The Saints abroad were commanded to send donations for the construction of the temple and were promised that when they gathered to Nauvoo

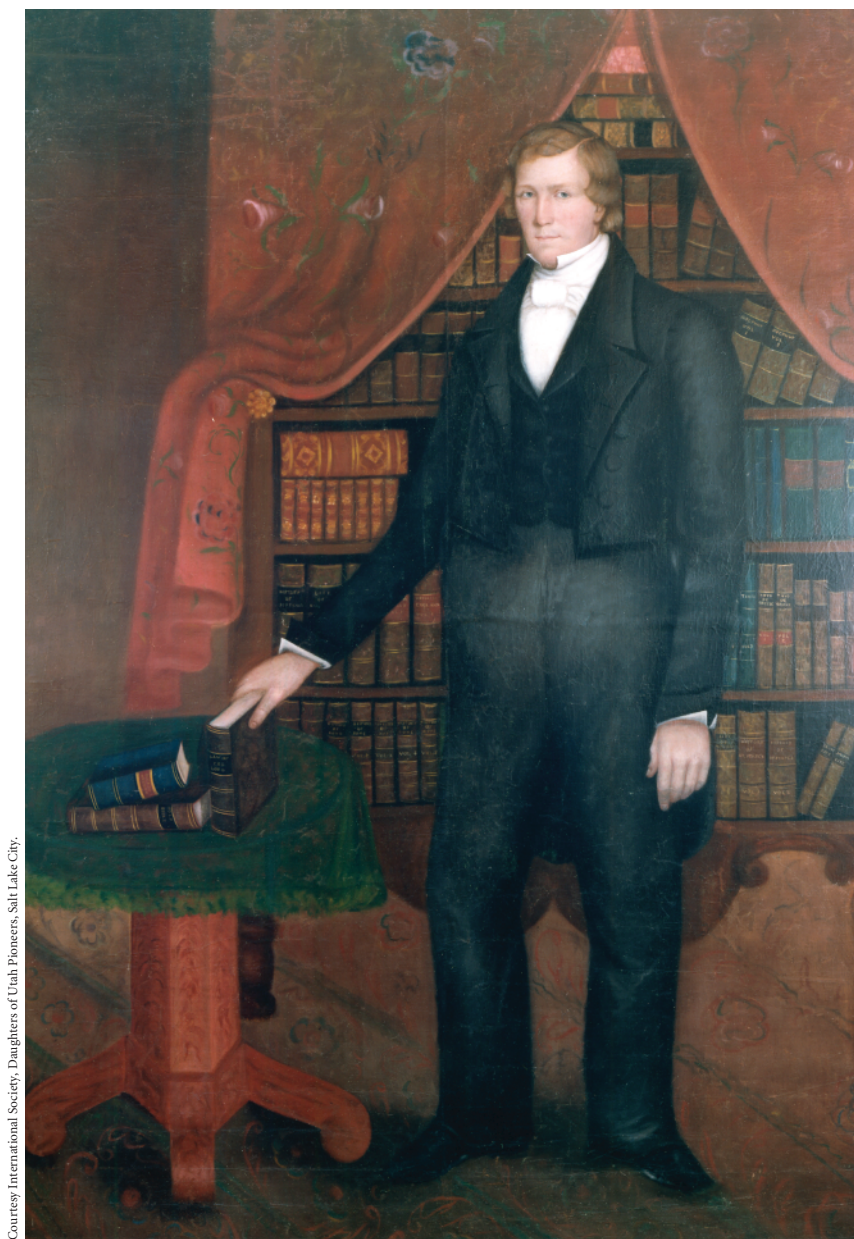
if it is found that you have previously *sent up* of your gold or your silver, or your substance, the tythings [*sic*] and consecrations which are required of you, for this building, you will find your names, tithings, and consecrations written in the Book of the Law of the Lord, to be kept in the Temple, as a witness in your favor, showing that you are a proprietor in that building, and are entitled to your share of the privileges thereunto belonging.¹²

Additionally, this volume also contained some of Joseph Smith’s personal journal entries; in August 1842, the Prophet Joseph wrote:

Hyrum, thy name shall be written in the book of the law of the Lord, for those who come after to look upon, that they may pattern after thy works.¹³

Later that month, on August 22, 1842, Joseph wrote:

There is a numerous host of faithful souls, whose names I could wish to record in the Book of the Law of the Lord; but time and chance would



Courtesy International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

FIG. 1. *Delivering the Law of the Lord*, by Selah Van Sickle (1809–ca. 1880). Oil on canvas, 84" x 59½", 1845.

fail. I will mention, therefore, only a few of them, as emblematical of those who are too numerous to be written.¹⁴

“The Book of the Law of the Lord” was thus an important record of the faithful. It also served as a sacred text: at times revelations to the Prophet Joseph Smith were recorded in it and read in conference.¹⁵

As the faithful Saints entered the celestial room, their eyes would focus on the face of Brigham Young and then travel down to the book he held. They could feel assured that, because their names were written in the “The Book of the Law of the Lord,” they had “a right to all the promised blessings, ordinances, oracles, and endowments which will not only benefit them, but their posterity to the latest generation.”¹⁶ The book symbolized the beginning of the fulfillment of all the glorious covenants they had made in the temple of the Lord.

A second reason to commission such a commanding portrait was to remind Church members of the importance of relying on the President of the Twelve Apostles to lead them. After Joseph Smith’s martyrdom, Sidney Rigdon, James J. Strang, William Smith, and Lyman Wight claimed revelations and authority to lead the Church. These men opposed Brigham Young and quickly gathered small groups of followers.¹⁷ The life-sized portrait sent a powerful message that Joseph Smith’s personal record book had passed to the hands of Brigham Young and only Brigham Young had the authority to *deliver* the law of the Lord to the Church. Those who remembered this lesson from the Nauvoo Temple continued their spiritual and temporal journey, following the westward path made by their leaders. Those who forgot or ignored it left the Church and wandered on other roads.

Portraits of Apostles. Also on the prominent east wall of the celestial room, positioned to the left of the Brigham Young portrait, was a painting of Heber C. Kimball. On the right side of the President was a painting of Willard Richards. On the same wall hung paintings of Apostles John Taylor, Orson Hyde, and George A. Smith.¹⁸ This grouping communicated a message of unity and leadership as if to proclaim, “Here are your guides. Follow them. They know the path to the celestial kingdom.”

Portraits of Prominent Married Couples. Paintings of priesthood leaders and their wives were begun as early as January 1845. Eventually, portraits of Leonora A. Taylor (wife of Apostle John Taylor, whose painting is mentioned above), Patriarch John Smith¹⁹ (fig. 2) and Clarissa Smith,²⁰ Sarah Pea Rich and Brigadier General Charles C. Rich (figs. 3 and 4), and Bishop George Miller and Mary Catherine Miller graced the walls of the celestial room.²¹ Although the portraits of each couple were not displayed

side by side, the portraits of the Millers and Riches were grouped, suggesting that at least those images might have been commissioned to serve as a symbol of the eternal nature of the marriage covenant. (The portraits of John Smith and Clarissa Smith may have been borrowed for the same purpose.) In May 1843, the Prophet had announced that a couple could attain the highest degree of the celestial kingdom only if they entered “the new and everlasting covenant of marriage” (D&C 131:1–4). Two months later, a revelation was recorded that declared, “If a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me nor by

my word, and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world and she with him, their covenant and marriage are not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world” (D&C 132:15). Temple sealings of husbands and wives were the crowning completion to the sacred ordinances performed in the Nauvoo Temple.

Borrowed Portraits. Many of the portraits that hung in the celestial room were borrowed from Nauvoo citizens. In nineteenth-century America, it was fashionable to have a “likeness” painted. Serving this custom were Yankee artists who lived like peddlers, moving from city to city, from the East Coast to the western wilderness, selling their portraits at a reasonable cost.²² Portrait painting was considered a skill, like carpentry, and the artist seldom signed his or her name to the picture. For this reason, it is often difficult to identify the artist or the year in which a portrait was painted. However, thanks to these itinerant artists and other talented men and women who had established themselves in larger cities, the citizens of Nauvoo already owned some portraits that they could lend to the temple committee.

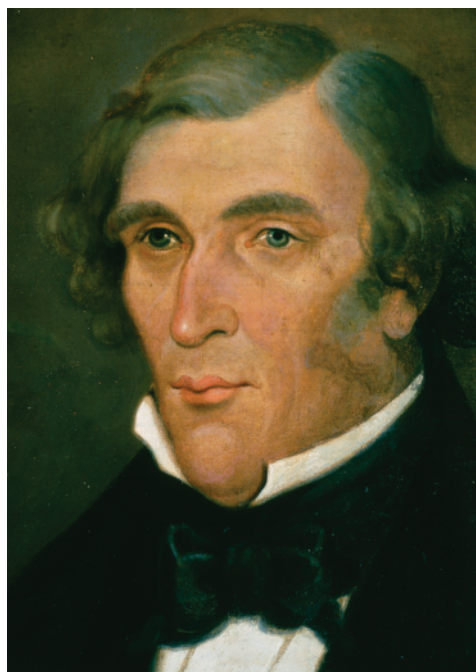


FIG. 2. *Patriarch John Smith*, artist unknown. Oil on canvas, 13" x 10", 1835.



Courtesy International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers

FIG. 3. *Sarah de Arman Pea Rich*, by William W. Major. Oil, 27½" x 21½", ca. 1842.



FIG. 4. *Charles Coulson Rich*, by William W. Major. Oil, 27½" x 21½", ca. 1842(?). Charles Rich is shown here holding a copy of the Book of Mormon.

A painting of William Cottier, a temple stonecutter, was loaned to the temple and hung in the celestial room.²³ A “handsome portrait” of Hyrum Smith, possibly loaned by his widow Mary Fielding Smith, was centered above a brass clock.²⁴ Two pictures of Apostle George A. Smith,²⁵ first cousin of the Prophet Joseph Smith, hung in the celestial room. Additional borrowed portraits included the previously mentioned portraits of Patriarch John Smith and Clarissa Smith (George A. Smith’s parents), as well as portraits of their children Caroline Smith and John L. Smith.²⁶

This high proportion of art from one branch of the Smith family may be due to the artistry of Bathsheba Bigler Smith (1822–1910), George A. Smith’s wife. In Nauvoo the twenty-three-year-old Bathsheba took art lessons from William Warner Major. “I am agoing to school to Br Major a Portrait painter from London,” she wrote her friend Phebe Carter Woodruff on April 13, 1845.²⁷ Bathsheba’s sketchbook shows hours of careful study and practice. She copied prints by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough, prints that Major brought with him from England.²⁸ One of her best pieces is a duplication of a portrait of poet Alexander Pope (fig. 5) by artist Jean-Baptiste Van Loo.²⁹ Certainly, Bathsheba is responsible for one of the two paintings of her husband, for

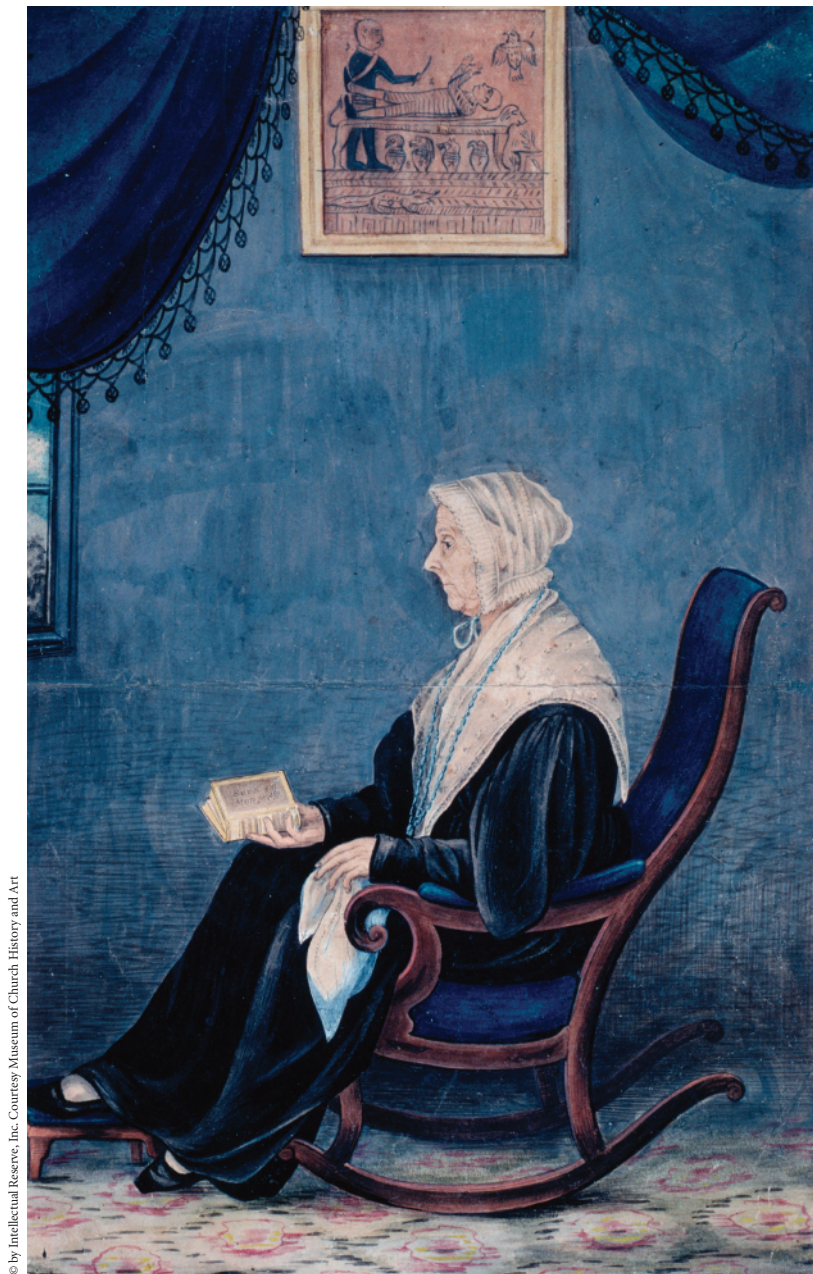
we know that when she went west she carefully packed in her wagon her own paintings of her husband, George’s parents, Joseph Smith, and Hyrum Smith.³⁰

Another member of the Smith family whose portrait hung in the celestial room was “Mother” Lucy Mack Smith³¹ (fig. 6). A portrait of Lucy was created in 1842 by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881), a convert to the Church from Lancashire, England.³² It is not known whether his was the one that hung in the temple. Lucy Smith was honored in the temple not only because she was the mother of the Prophet but also because she



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FIG. 5. *Sketch of Alexander Pope*, by Bathsheba Smith (1822–1910), study of a work by Jean Baptiste Van Loo (1684–1745). Pencil on paper (from her sketchbook), approx. 10" x 7", date unknown.



© by Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Courtesy Museum of Church History and Art

FIG. 6. *Lucy Mack Smith*, by Sutcliffe Maudsley (1809–1881). Ink, watercolor on paper, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ ", 1842. This portrait may have hung in the Nauvoo Temple. In this painting, Mother Smith is holding the Book of Mormon and is seated below a drawing of Facsimile 1 from the Book of Abraham.

helped apply some of the temple's decorative painting. The temple committee paid Lucy Smith on three different occasions. For one day's painting on July 22, 1845, she received one dollar and fifty cents and four pounds of paint, worth seventy-five cents.³³ Lucy Smith's wages were equal to those made by the men who painted the walls in the Nauvoo Temple,³⁴ and she received a take-home bonus of paint as well. Perhaps Brigham Young, who always felt tender toward Mother Smith, asked her for the honor of hanging her portrait in the temple.

Map of the City of Nauvoo

William Clayton mentioned that a "plot of the City of Nauvoo hangs on the West partition" of the celestial room.³⁵ Although there was an 1839 plat map of Commerce, the map displayed in the Nauvoo Temple was probably the more colorful 1842 Nauvoo map³⁶ (fig. 7). It was compiled by Gustavus Hills and printed in New York City by John Childs. Copies of the finished map were offered for sale at Brigham Young's home in May 1844.³⁷ This map includes a small inset of the Nauvoo Temple in the upper left-hand corner and a miniature full-length side-view inset of Joseph in his Nauvoo Legion uniform in the bottom left-hand corner. The small watercolor of Joseph was rendered by Sutcliffe Maudsley.³⁸ Joseph posed for this sketch on June 25, 1842; it was recorded in Joseph's journal that he "sat for the drawing of [his] profile to be placed on a lithograph of the city of Nauvoo on the city chart."³⁹ Maudsley, a Nauvoo resident from 1841, is credited with creating several profiles of Joseph Smith as well as sketching and hand coloring pictures of other Nauvoo citizens.⁴⁰ The map provided the only likeness of the Prophet in the celestial room, which may be one of the reasons the map was hung.

The Lack of a Framed Portrait of the Prophet Joseph Smith

The pictures of Lucy Mack Smith, Hyrum Smith, and other members of the Smith family conveyed even greater significance because a framed oil painting of Joseph Smith was conspicuously missing, if William Clayton's list of portraits in the temple is an accurate indication. Emma owned matching portraits of Joseph and herself, which hung in the Smith's Mansion House in Nauvoo.⁴¹ Glen Leonard, director of the Museum of Church History and Art suggests:

Because no portrait of Joseph Smith was hanging with the other oil paintings in the upper room of the Nauvoo Temple, we can assume that only one oil portrait of Joseph Smith existed at that time, the David Rogers

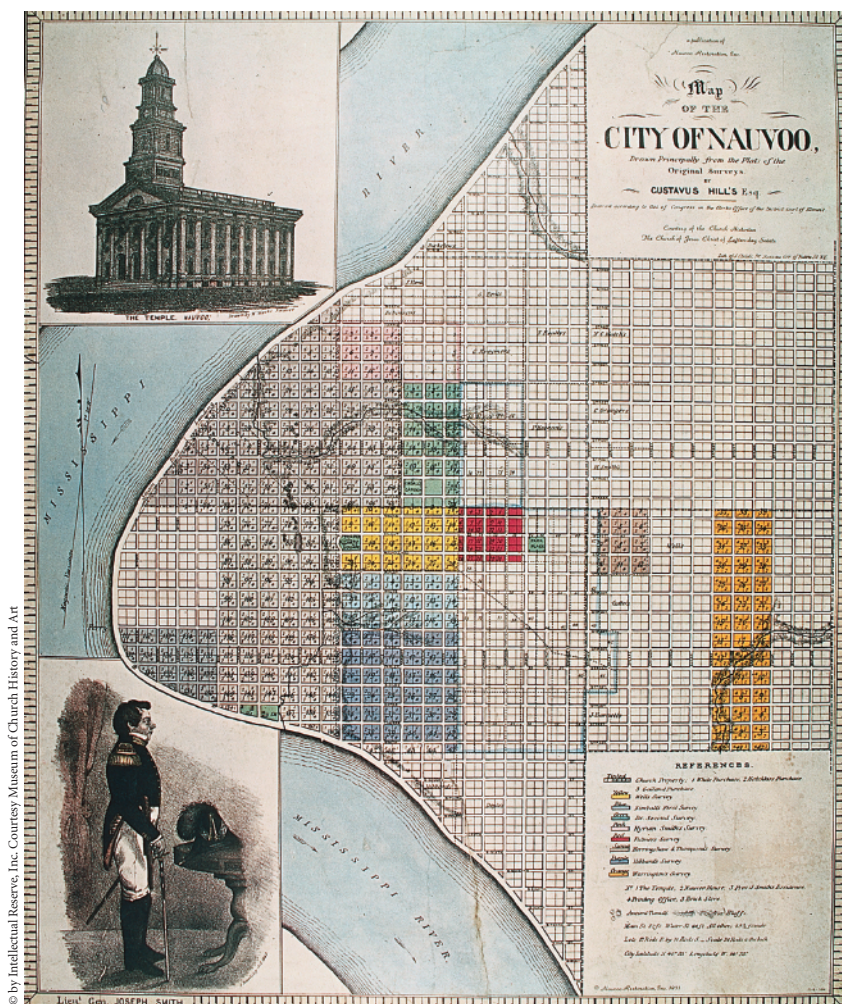


FIG. 7. *Plat Map of Nauvoo*, drawn by Gustavus Hills, printed by J. Childs, inset of Joseph Smith by Sutcliffe Maudsley. Paper print and printing plate, 26¼" x 22", ca. 1842. The inset provided the only image of Joseph Smith hung in the Celestial Room. The lack of a framed portrait has been addressed in the new Nauvoo Temple, where Gary Smith's portrait of the Prophet (see front cover) now hangs.

rendering done in 1842, and that Emma Smith, who owned it, either rejected an invitation to loan it or was not asked.⁴²

Joseph Smith's death had precipitated a conflict between Brigham Young and Emma Smith. Brigham felt that certain property and other items that had been in the possession of Joseph belonged to the Church. Emma disagreed. For example, when Willard Richards asked Emma for the new translation of the Bible, "she said she did not feel disposed to give it up at present."⁴³ It may be that she also did not feel disposed to lend the picture of Joseph to the temple.

The portraits of Smith family members may have confirmed in the minds of the Nauvoo faithful that even though Emma was estranged from the Church, many members of the Prophet's family looked upon the temple and Brigham Young's leadership with approval.

The Lack of Murals in the First Nauvoo Temple

Mural art was not used in the first Nauvoo Temple even though this art form was familiar to the Nauvoo membership. Panoramas, a kind of moving mural used for entertainment and education, were popular in both Europe and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Two hundred miles down the Mississippi River, the growing city of St. Louis boasted several major panoramists. In March 1841, artist John Banvard proclaimed that he had created the "largest pictures in the world" for display in the St. Louis Museum. His portrayals of Jerusalem and Venice "cover[ed] an extent of canvass exceeding 100 [1,000?] square feet" (brackets in original).⁴⁴ St. Louis was a common stopping place for those traveling to or from Nauvoo, so it is likely that the Saints were aware of such panoramas.

Shortly after Joseph and Hyrum Smith were martyred, June 27, 1844, Philo Dibble, an early convert and an entrepreneur, gathered a group of Nauvoo artists to record the tragic scene on canvas. Major was appointed lead artist, and the 128-square-foot painting was first exhibited on Friday, April 4, 1845.⁴⁵ Dibble charged twelve and a half cents to see the paintings and advertised that "those having 'the cash,' are particularly invited to attend."⁴⁶ During fall 1845, the same group of Nauvoo artists collaborated on a large scene of Joseph Smith addressing the Nauvoo Legion⁴⁷ (see fig. 8 for the preliminary study). Later, these canvases were rolled up and transported west. Dibble exhibited them at Winter Quarters and throughout Utah.⁴⁸

However, the existence of Nauvoo artists experienced in panoramas did not result in temple murals. One possible reason for not including mural art was the impending necessity for the Saints to leave Nauvoo and the temple. Symbolic wall murals would have been relinquished to the

enemies of the Church and become one more desecration to holy ordinances. Were the Saints to stay in Nauvoo and to complete the temple under less pressure, they might have incorporated murals. Certainly that is one assumption under which murals were created for the new Nauvoo Temple, according to Bruce R. Finlinson, manager of the temple interior design group: “We wanted to portray the Nauvoo temple as if the pioneers used it for ten years and had the opportunity to decorate it accordingly.”⁴⁹

A second reason for the lack of murals is that Brigham Young employed art as a means to fuse to the hearts of the Saints lessons that would aid the members as they moved west without those leaders who had apostatized and lead away splinter groups. Temple portraits of faithful Church members anchored in the minds of the Saints those whom they should follow as examples and leaders. Probably for these purposes, Brigham Young chose easily transportable framed portraits, not wall murals. In selecting portraits rather than other types of art, he also followed the precedent set almost a decade earlier in the Kirtland Temple, where portraits of Church leaders were displayed “for a time.”⁵⁰



FIG. 8. *General Joseph Smith Addressing the Nauvoo Legion*, by Robert Campbell (1810–1890). Ink, watercolor on paper, 11⁷/₈" x 16³/₄", 1845. William W. Major and other artists used this small, preliminary sketch in 1845 for a panorama painting of the Nauvoo Legion. Neither this preliminary sketch nor the subsequent mural hung in the Nauvoo Temple.

Nauvoo Temple Artists

William Warner Major and Selah Van Sickle, five years apart in age and a world apart in culture, figure prominently among the artists chosen to paint the Nauvoo Temple portraits.

William Warner Major. William Warner Major was born January 27, 1804, in St. James Parish, Bristol, England.⁵¹ His mother's family, the Warners, were established booksellers. His father, Richard Major, came from a family of book and music publishers.⁵² From 1811 to at least 1820, Richard Major owned a "cheap music warehouse" in various locations throughout London.⁵³ Each location was within walking distance of the art treasures of Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's Cathedral, Royal Academy at Somerset House, British Gallery, and Buckingham House (later Buckingham Palace) in London's wealthy West End. According to an 1819 travel book, exhibitions of London art "are uncommonly numerous."⁵⁴ Thus an opportunity to copy and learn was available to William from his early youth. He brought to America a copy of Sir Joshua Reynold's celebrated painting *The Infant Hercules Strangling the Serpents Sent by Hera*. He also packed at least one print by Thomas Gainsborough and portraits of Queen Caroline and King George IV.⁵⁵

In 1841, when the missionaries contacted William Major, he was already an established portrait painter. William, his brother Richard, his sister Elizabeth, and their spouses and children joined the Church in London in 1842.⁵⁶ After a successful mission to Newbury, Major was made the London Conference President.⁵⁷ In 1844, he immigrated to the United States with his wife, Sarah Coles, and their seven-year-old son, William Jr. Upon his arrival in Nauvoo, Major immediately became acquainted with the leadership of the Church.⁵⁸ Because the Mormons were consciously seeking "anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy,"⁵⁹ Major was able to add significantly to Mormon education and culture. Not only was he widely sought out to create "likenesses," but he contributed as an art teacher. As part of their lessons, students copied from the prints he brought from England.⁶⁰

Possibly the arrival of Major sparked the idea to place framed portraits of Church leaders and their wives in the temple. In January 1845, John Taylor sat for his likeness,⁶¹ and other Church leaders also employed Major as an artist.⁶² Willard Richards, a counselor to Brigham Young, and Richards's wife, Jennetta Richards, modeled for Major in the Seventies Hall beginning in spring 1845.⁶³

Selah Van Sickle. Selah Van Sickle had a more rustic background than Major. Van Sickle was born in New York in 1809, but his parents moved the

family to central Ohio in autumn 1817, when Selah was eight years old. John Waddell Van Sickle, Selah's first cousin, later described Selah as "a man of warm and generous feelings, and superior intellect."⁶⁴ Selah's biography specifically mentions his lack of college education and does not report any artistic instruction. Likely, he was one of a force of self-trained artists who were multiplying across America at that time. Whenever there was an opportunity to meet a professional artist, they gleaned whatever tips they could, but mostly they used their Yankee resourcefulness. Artists taught themselves by copying engravings from available books. Some were fortunate enough to obtain instruction books printed in America's eastern cities or in England.⁶⁵

Selah Van Sickle probably heard about Joseph Smith and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Ohio early in 1845. He arrived in Nauvoo about six months after Major, in spring 1845, with four small children and his pregnant wife, Mary Dunham.⁶⁶ Like Major, Selah Van Sickle was acquainted with the leaders of the Church. He fully participated in the culture and practices of the Mormons and was a religious man throughout his life.⁶⁷

Portrait Painters. The two professional artists soon formed an association. The *Nauvoo Neighbor* encouraged the citizens of Nauvoo to patronize this local talent. Under the title of "Fine Arts," this paragraph appeared on June 4, 1845: "We have two portrait painters in the city, Mr. Major and Mr. Van Sickle. They are both good workmen, and as the saints generally are 'men greatly wondered at,' it will be no more than justice to increase the wonderment by excellent *likenesses*."⁶⁸

During summer 1845, the joint studio of Major and Van Sickle was busy. Brigham Young commissioned Van Sickle to paint the portrait that served as the centerpiece of the celestial room. Among other projects, Van Sickle painted a life-sized portrait of a man and women strolling with a boy about seven years old. Unfortunately, the subjects of the painting have long ago been forgotten.⁶⁹ Heber C. Kimball and Orson Hyde posed for pictures that Major set in a group painting with Joseph and Hyrum Smith and other members of the Quorum of the Twelve in Nauvoo⁷⁰ (fig. 9). Major also began portraits of the Heber C. Kimball family and the Brigham Young family.⁷¹ During these sittings by Major and Van Sickle, the larger portraits for the Nauvoo Temple may have been created. Brigadier General Charles C. Rich, who held many positions of leadership in Nauvoo,⁷² and his wife, Sarah Pea Rich, posed for the British artist.⁷³ Their paintings hung in the Nauvoo Temple on the right and the left sides of the portrait of Hyrum Smith.⁷⁴

When it was time to decorate the temple, the portraits were moved from Major and Van Sickle's studio in the Seventies Hall, as Heber C. Kimball



FIG. 9. *Joseph Smith and His Friends* (left to right: Hyrum Smith, Willard Richards, Joseph Smith, Orson Pratt, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Hyde, Heber C. Kimball, and Brigham Young), by William W. Major (1804–1854). Oil on canvas, 23½" x 31½", 1843–1844. Portraits of Young, Hyde, Kimball, Richards, and Hyrum Smith hung in the celestial room of the Nauvoo Temple.

noted in his diary: "Sartaday the 6 [December 1845] . . . Returned back to the Temple, put up the Looking glasses, and Maps and potrats [portraits]. As William W. Majors brought som up from his chop [shop] to Adorn our room."⁷⁵

Major was paid over \$180 in goods (a wagon, yoke of oxen, cowbells, shoes, boots, socks, corn, oats, and flour) by the Nauvoo Temple Committee.⁷⁶ Although the ledger does not record what services Major rendered for this wage, it was probably for his artwork. There is no indication that he performed other duties for the Church in Nauvoo, and he was characterized by Brigham Young as a portrait painter.⁷⁷

The Nauvoo Temple Committee Daybook gives some indication of how much a portrait cost in Nauvoo. George Miller, the Second Bishop of the Church, and his wife, Mary Catherine Miller, paid for their portraits with a cow and a cord of wood from Temple Committee funds. These goods were worth about fourteen dollars.⁷⁸ In mid-nineteenth-century Illinois, individual portraits painted with oil on canvas cost from fifteen to twenty dollars.⁷⁹

Ironically, Van Sickle did not internalize the symbolism represented in his own painting of Brigham Young: he refused to follow the Church leaders west. After a year in Nauvoo, Van Sickle moved to Michigan and then to Ohio. There he painted “the Panorama of the Life of Christ, which was . . . highly praised by all who saw it.” During the rest of his life, he joined different religious groups including the Spiritualists, finally settling on what he regarded as the true “Cabalistic Philosophy.” He died in Michigan sometime after 1880.⁸⁰

When Van Sickle chose not to move with the Mormons, Major’s artistic talents became even more important to the Church. Crying babies, squirming children, proud mothers and fathers, elderly matriarchs and patriarchs, and Church authorities were subjects of portraits by the British professional. Indian chiefs living in Nebraska and the Utah Territory stood silently in front of his scrutinizing gaze and quick hand. He sketched the scenery while crossing the plains in 1848 and recorded on canvas pictures of early Utah settlements. He died October 2, 1854, while serving in the British Mission.⁸¹

Conclusion

In the final planning and commencement of temple ordinances, artwork was given the same detailed thought as the rest of the building. This care speaks highly of the pioneer’s efforts to cultivate beauty in their religious buildings. But the portraits were also chosen for their symbolism, including that of the commissioned paintings of several Church leaders and their spouses (table 1).

The early Saints’ emphasis on symbolic portraits continues in the new Nauvoo Temple, where the Nauvoo Temple interior design group imitated the original temple’s decor by hanging numerous portraits of pioneers. Some of the portraits are copies, some are originals moved from other Church locations, and some are portraits commissioned especially for the reconstructed Nauvoo Temple. The interior design group’s work in this area is not yet complete. As portraits that hung in the first Nauvoo Temple are identified, the group hopes to commission reproductions for the new temple.⁸²

Jill Major is a professional writer and researcher. She received a B.S. from Weber State University and a B.S. from the University of Utah. Currently, she is completing a biography of William Warner Major, which will be published by BYU Studies. The author would like to thank her husband, Kenneth A. Major, the great-great-grandson of Nauvoo Temple artist William Warner Major, for making this article possible.

TABLE 1
Artworks in the Celestial Room of the First Nauvoo Temple

Portrait	Artist	Location in Temple Celestial Room
Brigham Young <i>Delivering the Law of the Lord</i>	Selah Van Sickle	East wall
Orson Hyde	William W. Major?	"
Heber C. Kimball	William W. Major	"
Willard Richards	William W. Major	"
George A. Smith	unknown	"
John Taylor	William W. Major	"
L. N. Scovil	unknown—Major painted family group	East side of the first division of the arch
Bathsheba Bigler Smith	William W. Major?	"
George A. Smith (second portrait)	Bathsheba Smith?	"
John Smith, the Patriarch	unknown—possibly painted in Kirtland	"
Mother Lucy Smith	Sutcliffe Maudsley?	"
William Cottier	unknown	West side of the first division of the arch
Heber C. Kimball (second portrait)	unknown	"
Caroline Smith	unknown	"
John L. Smith	unknown	"
George Miller	William W. Major	East side of the second division
Mary Catherine Miller	William W. Major	"
Charles C. Rich	William W. Major	"
Sarah Pea Rich	William W. Major	"
Clarissa Smith	unknown	"
Hyrum Smith	unknown—possibly painted in Kirtland	"
Leonora Taylor	William W. Major? Engraving?	"
1842 Plot Map of Nauvoo (with inset of Joseph Smith)	Gustavus Hills (map), Sutcliffe Maudsley (inset)	West partition

1. Heber C. Kimball, *On a Potter's Wheel: The Diaries of Heber C. Kimball*, ed. Stanley B. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1987), 162, 165.
2. Heber C. Kimball, 1845–1846 Diary, December 11, 1845, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; William Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle: The Journals of William Clayton*, ed. George D. Smith (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1991), 206. This description is included in both books because William Clayton was the scribe for Heber C. Kimball's temple diary.
3. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.
4. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.
5. Widtsoe Family Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah. The location and the artist of the portrait are unknown.
6. Brigham Young, Office Files, July 7, 1845, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives. This portrait now hangs on the first floor in the lecture room of the Pioneer Memorial Museum, International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Pioneer Memorial Museum).
7. John W. Van Sickle, *A History of the Van Syckle Family, in the United States of America, Embracing a Full Biographical Sketch of the Author* (Springfield, Ohio: By the author, 1880), 208. The book was published while Selah Van Sickle was living.
8. Those portraits are of Jennetta Richards Richards (Pioneer Memorial Museum); Charles Coulson Rich (Pioneer Memorial Museum); James Ferguson (Pioneer Memorial Museum); and Rachel Burgess Fances (private collection).
9. It is certain that the Van Sickle portrait was the one displayed in the Nauvoo Temple because the recorded title matches the image's emphasis on this book.
- There is no record of payment for this portrait. Brigham Young often did not record the details of the money he withdrew from Temple Committee funds, so it is possible Van Sickle was paid in cash through one of these withdrawals. After ordinance work was completed in the Nauvoo Temple, Selah Van Sickle's portrait of Brigham Young was removed from its frame, rolled up, and transported to Salt Lake by covered wagon. Apparently it was not displayed again in the 1800s. The painting was placed in a cupboard in the Daughters of Utah Pioneers' former headquarters in the basement of the Utah Capitol. When the move was made to the present museum in 1950, Kate B. Carter, president of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers, discovered the painting and had it framed. It was identified by a descendant of Selah Van Sickle in 1971 because it was mentioned in Van Sickle's biographical sketch.
10. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 530. "The names of those who contributed [to the temple] were carefully recorded, together with the amount, and placed in the Book of the Law of the Lord, which is today in the First Presidency's vault in Salt Lake City." Leonard J. Arrington, "Mormon Women in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *BYU Studies* 27, no. 1 (1987): 72.
11. Mercy Thompson, Autobiographical Sketch, holograph, Church Archives, 8.
12. Brigham Young and others, "Baptism for the Dead: An Epistle of the Twelve to the Saints of the Last Days," *Times and Seasons* 3 (December 15, 1841): 626; italics in original.
13. 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), 5:108 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).
14. *History of the Church*, 5: 125.

15. R. B. Thompson, "Minutes of the General Conference," *Times and Seasons* 2 (April 15, 1841): 386.

16. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: History of His Life and Labors as Recorded in His Daily Journals*, ed. Matthias F. Cowley (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1964), 670.

17. Susan Easton Black, "Joseph Smith III and the 'Lost Sheep,'" in *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint History: Illinois*, ed. H. Dean Garrett (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Department of Church History and Doctrine, 1995), 55–56. Brigham Young held the office of President of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles until he was ordained President on the Church in December 1847.

18. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.

19. Museum of Church History and Art; Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206. John Smith was a brother of Joseph Smith Sr.

20. The location of Clarissa Smith's portrait is unknown.

21. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206. The portrait of Patriarch John Smith is on display at the Museum of Church History and Art. It was brought across the plains by George A. Smith and Bathsheba Smith. The portraits of Charles C. Rich and Sarah Pea Rich are in the Pioneer Memorial Museum. The locations of the other portraits are not known.

22. Betty I. Madden, *Art, Crafts, and Architecture in Early Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 83, 84.

23. Nauvoo Temple Records Ledgers, Book B, October 24, 1844; George D. Smith transcribed the name as William "Collier," but a search of the original holograph confirmed the name is "Cottier." Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.

24. Richard G. Oman and Robert O. Davis, *Images of Faith: Art of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1995), 6; Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206. The painting, a gift of Eldred Gee Smith, is located in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter Perry Special Collections).

25. The current locations of these paintings are unknown.

26. Locations of Caroline Smith and John L. Smith portraits are unknown. Lucy Mack Smith, *History of Joseph Smith by His Mother, Lucy Mack Smith* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1954), 352; Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.

27. Wilford Woodruff Collection, Church Archives. From a note by Bathsheba Smith appended to a letter written by George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff, April 13, 1845. The Woodruffs were serving a mission in England.

28. In her autobiography, Bathsheba Smith explains, "At Nauvoo I was privileged to study drawing and painting from an artist, Mr. Majors, who allowed us to draw from copies of Reynolds and Gainsborough." Bathsheba W. Smith, *The Autobiography of Bathsheba W. Smith*, ed. Alice Merrill Horne, 20, copy in possession of Harriet Horne Arrington, Salt Lake City.

29. Bathsheba Smith's Nauvoo Sketchbook, Museum of Church History and Art.

30. Harriet Horne Arrington, "Bathsheba Bigler Smith," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992) 3:1320–21.

31. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.

32. Oman and Davis, *Images of Faith*, 6.

33. Nauvoo Temple Building Committee Records, July 2, 1845; July 22, 1845; and September 12, 1845, Church Archives.

Lucy recorded in her history that in Palmyra, New York, she had “done considerable at painting oil-cloth coverings for tables, stands, etc.” Her business was so successful that she was able to purchase provisions and furniture. Smith, *History of Joseph Smith*, 63–64.

34. See, for example, Nauvoo Temple Building Committee Records, January 20, 1846, Church Archives.

35. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206.

36. Gustavus Hills, *Map of the City of Nauvoo Drawn Principally from the Plats of the Original Surveys* (ca. 1842; recopied, Nauvoo Restoration, 1971), copy located in Harold B. Lee Library; an original copy of the map is displayed at the Museum of Church History and Art.

37. Advertisement, Brigham Young, “Map of Nauvoo,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 1, 1844, 3; Hills, *Map of the City of Nauvoo*.

38. Glen M. Leonard, “Picturing the Nauvoo Legion,” *BYU Studies* 35, no. 2 (1995): 101, 132.

39. *History of the Church*, 5:44.

40. Leonard, “Picturing the Nauvoo Legion,” 96.

41. The matching portraits of Joseph and Emma were passed down through Emma’s family and are now owned by the Community of Christ, formerly the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

42. Glen M. Leonard, email to author, March 19, 2002.

43. *History of the Church*, 7:260.

44. John Francis McDermott, *The Lost Panoramas of the Mississippi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 12, 22.

45. Journal History of the Church, April 4, 1845, Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library. Juanita Brooks, ed., *On the Mormon Frontier: The Diary of Hosea Stout, 1844–1861*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 1:61–62, September 8, 10, 1845; Philo Dibble, “Brother Philo Dibble’s Sceneries, Museum, &c.” *Millennial Star* 11 (January 1, 1849): 11; Glen Leonard, “Picturing the Nauvoo Legion,” 95–136. The talents of the engraver and stone lithographer Robert Campbell and artist William Thomas were also employed. There are indications that Sutcliffe Maudsley and Selah Van Sickle may have helped in this immense undertaking.

46. Philo Dibble, “Will Be Exhibited,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, July 30, 1845, 3.

47. Brooks, *On the Mormon Frontier*, 1:61–62, September 8, 10, 1845; Dibble, “Brother Philo Dibble’s Sceneries,” 11; Leonard, “Picturing the Nauvoo Legion,” 111.

48. Louisa Barnes Pratt, *Journal and Autobiography*, February 21, 1860, Church Archives.

49. Bruce R. Finlinson, manager of Nauvoo Temple interior design group, conversation with author, May 28, 2002.

50. Oman and Davis, *Images of Faith*, 6.

51. St. James, Bristol, England, baptism records.

52. Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century* (London: Cassell, 1954), 224–5; Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 16 vols. (Urbana: University of

Illinois Press, 1984), 10:60–61; Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, ed., *The Dictionary of National Biography Founded in 1882 by George Smith*, 22 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 12:832; Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers, and Engravers: London, Provincial, Scottish, and Irish* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1900, 1967), 76; Ian Maxted, *The London Book Trade, 1775–1800: A Preliminary Checklist of Members* (Kent, England: William Dawson and Sons, 1977), 146; Bristol, England, Directories (1806, 1807, 1811), copy in author's possession. There are thirteen pieces of music published by "R. Major" listed in the Catalogue of Printed Music, British Library.

53. Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 224; Highfill, Burnim, and Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, 61; Maxted, *London Book Trade*, 146. From 1811 to 1818, this business was located at 43 Bedford Street on the Strand; from 1818 to 1820, it was located at 1 Clare Court, Drury Lane; and after 1820 it was located at 7 High Holborn.

54. Leigh, *New Picture of London*, 292.

55. Smith, *Autobiography of Bathsheba W. Smith*, 20; Bathsheba Smith's Nauvoo Sketchbook.

56. Theobald's Road Branch, Record of Members, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Marylebone Branch, Record of Members, Family History Library.

57. Newbury Branch, Record of Members, Family History Library; British Mission, Manuscript History and Historical Reports, January 10, 1844, Church Archives.

58. William H. Kimball and James Marsden, "Death of Elder William Warner Major," *Millennial Star*, 16 (November 4, 1854): 700.

59. Article of Faith 13; *History of the Church*, 4:541.

60. Note by Bathsheba Smith appended to George A. Smith to Wilford Woodruff; Bathsheba Smith, *Autobiography of Bathsheba W. Smith*, 20; Bathsheba Smith's Nauvoo Sketchbook.

61. Dean C. Jessee, ed., "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," *BYU Studies* 23, no. 3 (1983): 34, 39.

62. Kimball and Marsden, "Death of Elder William Warner Major," 700; Jessee, "The John Taylor Nauvoo Journal," 34, 39.

63. Willard Richards, Journal, July 15, 21, 28; August 13, 16, 1845, Church Archives.

64. Van Sickle, *The Genealogy of the Family of Ferdinandus Van Sycklin*, 208.

65. Madden, *Art, Crafts, and Architecture in Early Illinois*, 82–85.

66. Van Sickle, *The Genealogy of the Family of Ferdinandus Van Sycklin*, 207–8.

67. See High Priests of Nauvoo and Early Salt Lake, Church Archives; Nauvoo Temple Endowment Register, 1845–1846, Church Archives.

68. "Fine Arts," *Nauvoo Neighbor* 3, no. 5 (June 4, 1845): 2.

69. Pioneer Memorial Museum.

70. Museum of Church History and Art.

71. Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes in Nauvoo, and Incidents from H. C. Kimball's Journal," *Woman's Exponent* 12 (October 15, 1883): 74.

72. *History of the Church*, 4:12, 287, 295, 323, 414.

73. Pioneer Memorial Museum. This information is in the files of the International Society, Daughters of Utah Pioneers.

74. Clayton, *An Intimate Chronicle*, 206; Pioneer Memorial Museum.

75. Kimball, *On a Potter's Wheel*, 162, 165.

76. Nauvoo Temple Building Committee Records, 1846, Church Archives, show that Major made draws from temple-committee funds on March 11, 12; April 17, 23, 24, 25; May 7, 11, 14, 15, 23, 26, 29; June 4, 5, 13; July 3, 14, 20, 23; and December 25, 1846.

77. Leland R. Nelson, comp., *The Journal of Brigham: Brigham Young's Own Story in His Own Words* (Provo, Utah: Council Press, 1980), 190.

78. Nauvoo Temple Building Committee Records, August 14, 1845; February 13, 1846.

79. Madden, *Art, Crafts, and Architecture in Early Illinois*, 84.

80. Van Sickle, *The Genealogy of the Family of Ferdinandus Van Sycklin*, 208. The Spiritualists believed that spirits communicate with the world through séances.

81. Kimball and Marsden, "Death of Elder William Warner Major," 700.

82. Finlinson, conversation with author.

Moroni

If you bury a good book
will it come back to life
like a perennial?
Crack this book open
and watch the words fall out,
sowing themselves in your heart.

He has a different heart now,
different from the one
that cut its trails through his body
as if he were a prairie to be crossed,
different from the one that beat its toms
into the river of his people's blood.

He is a writer now. He wraps his words
in metal, scraping them through
his father's voice like a golden plow,
planting them in an empty nation.

If you hide a book will it
jump out and scare you?
He is a different man every day,
looking up from the hole where
he left himself and seeing no one.
He will walk who knows how long,
looking for soldiers on the horizon
as if for letters in a margin, until
a gust of loneliness cuts him
like a hollow tree into which
his bones will spill, white as pages.

And when he comes back an angel,
he will be a different man again,
but still good at hiding things.

—Michael Hicks

This poem won honorable mention in the
BYU Studies 2001 poetry contest.

Photograph of Children Traveling to the Salt Lake Temple Dedication, 1893

Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Marc Alain Bohn

In early 1893, the Latter-day Saints eagerly anticipated the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, the culmination of more than forty years of effort and struggle. To allow as many Saints as possible to participate, President Wilford Woodruff announced that a series of dedicatory sessions would be held. To accommodate the many Sunday School children who had “donated of their means to assist in building the Salt Lake Temple . . . and [had] expressed a desire to visit the Temple at its dedication,” the First Presidency set aside April 21 and 22 for the youth of the Church to visit the temple.¹ This photograph shows one ward’s children on their way to the dedication.

Historical Context of the Photograph

Wards and stakes were assigned sessions to attend the special dedication service for children. Three sessions were held on Friday, April 21, and two on Saturday, April 22. This photograph was taken of the Sugar House Ward youth aboard the Main Street train on their way to attend one of these sessions. At that time, the Sugar House Ward covered twenty-two square miles.² There is some ambiguity as to which day the Sugar House Ward actually attended, however. The photograph itself has “April 22nd” etched onto it, but the *Deseret Evening News* reports that the ward was scheduled to attend the third session on April 21.³

All children enrolled in Sunday School and under the age of sixteen, even those younger than eight, were invited to attend. Between nine and ten thousand Sunday School children attended the three dedicatory services on Friday,⁴ and just over four thousand attended the two sessions on Saturday.⁵ The *Deseret Evening News* records that “the little ones presented



Sunday School children from the Sugar House Ward traveling to the Salt Lake Temple dedication, April 21 or 22, 1893. These children were attending one of five special dedicatory sessions exclusively for Sunday School children up to sixteen years old. Even children under the age of eight were allowed to attend, as long as they were enrolled in Sunday



Courtesy Wallace B. Broberg and Richard Neitzel Holzapfel

School. President Wilford Woodruff scheduled these five sessions because so many children had donated money to help build the temple. Thirteen to fourteen hundred children attended the five sessions.

a beautiful and interesting picture today, as they filed into the Temple Block to be present at the dedication services in the Temple.”⁶

These dedicatory sessions provided priceless experiences for many who attended. LeGrand Richards, seven at the time, attended one of the special Sunday School sessions and credited his experience there for a vision of Wilford Woodruff he had later in life.⁷ Emmeline B. Wells reported that “the Sunday School children passing through the Temple and joining in the ‘hosannahs’ must have been a sight for angels to gaze upon, and undoubtedly myriads of them were present.”⁸

Provenance of the Photograph

This is a copy of the original oblong photograph mounted on card stock in the possession of the late Wallace B. Broberg. There were several damaged areas on the original (note the torn image with tape at the top of the photograph). Richard Neitzel Holzapfel made this photograph of the original during a visit to Broberg’s Salt Lake City home in 1995. Since Brother Broberg’s death, his family has been unable to locate the original.

Apparently the original photograph was taken by English convert Charles R. Savage (1832–1909). Although his name does not appear on the photograph, in the lower right-hand corner there is an inscription in his handwriting and his usual style: “Sugar House Ward Children Visiting the Salt Lake Temple April 22nd 1893.” Since the time the photograph was taken, someone has also written on the bottom; “[Ta]ken April 22, 1893. Sugar House Ward then extende[d] from 13 So to 27th So From 5th E. to the mountain in the east.” The original glass-plate negative of this photograph was probably destroyed in a fire at Savage’s studio in 1911.

Conclusion

This photograph is one of few known images of the special Sunday School dedicatory sessions. It is important not only for its rarity but also because it documents a time of transition in Church history. By 1893 the Church had grown in many ways beyond the struggles of the first pioneers. One example of the many changes that had occurred is that for the first time, the Church invited nonmembers to tour the temple before its dedication, perhaps a sign that the Saints no longer feared persecution.

The dedication of the Salt Lake Temple commemorated the sacrifices of the countless Saints who had given everything to see the gospel brought forth in their day. These children, a product of those sacrifices, were going to pay deference to the rich heritage they had been given.

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1. George Q. Cannon, George Goddard, and John Morgan, "To Sunday School Workers," *Deseret Evening News*, April 15, 1893, 5.
2. Sugar House Ward Manuscript History 1887, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.
3. George Q. Cannon, George Goddard, and John Morgan, "Sunday Schools at the Temple Dedication," *Deseret Evening News*, April 20, 1893, 5.
4. "Sunday School Children: A Host of Them Congregate at the Temple Today," *Deseret Evening News*, April 21, 1893, 1.
5. "Sunday Schools," *Deseret Evening News*, April 22, 1893, 8.
6. "Sunday School Children," *Deseret Evening News*, April 21, 1893, 1.
7. Lamont Richards, interview by Marc Bohn, Salt Lake City, May 4, 1978.
8. Emmeline B. Wells, "Temple Dedication," *Woman's Exponent* (April 15 and May 1, 1893): 156.



Courtesy Library of Congress Print and Photographs Department, Washington, D.C.

FIG. 1. The Kirtland Temple, ca. 1935, Habs Collection. In April 1834, just over a year after his conversion to the Church, Artemus Millet arrived in Kirtland to help with the building of the Kirtland Temple. In November 1835, he and Lorenzo Young began working on the exterior of the temple. Artemus's call to work on the Kirtland Temple is recorded in varying accounts written many years after the event occurred. Many of these accounts contain discrepancies. Some say that Artemus had full charge of all the cementing and plastering for the temple's interior and exterior, while others say that he supervised only the exterior. Despite such discrepancies, the accounts show that Artemus played an important role in constructing the Kirtland Temple.

The Conversion of Artemus Millet and His Call to Kirtland

Keith A. Erikson and Lloyd D. Newell

A frequently told story in Church history concerns the call of Artemus Millet to work on the Kirtland Temple.¹ With variations here and there, historians have related the story as follows: Joseph Smith, in the company of other brethren, is walking where the Kirtland Temple will be built. He wonders aloud who could superintend its construction, and Joseph Young (or Brigham Young or Lorenzo Young) recommends an acquaintance named Artemus Millet, who lives in Canada. The Prophet then sends Brigham Young to Canada to baptize Millet and bring him to Kirtland with one thousand dollars. Historians then relate that Brigham Young fulfilled his mission with exactness, baptizing Millet in January 1832 (or 1833). Millet sells the family farm, takes his family to Kirtland, and labors on the temple from the laying of the cornerstone to the project's completion, having full charge of the work. The differing details within the story depend upon the source cited by the historian—Millet's diary, autobiography, biography, or family records and histories.²

Our purpose in this article is to examine the existing sources on Millet's conversion and his call to Kirtland in order to identify the elements of the story that can be historically corroborated and to demonstrate that Artemus Millet's greatest legacies of faith are his conversion and his lifelong commitment to establishing Zion. While it is well established that Millet, a skilled mason, contributed significantly to the building of the Kirtland Temple (fig. 1), his life story has not been as thoroughly documented.³ We focus our analysis on the period between the April 1832 baptisms of Brigham and Joseph Young through the conversion of Artemus Millet, his call to work on the temple, and his April 1834 arrival in Kirtland.

We will first examine the accounts Millet made of his own life and then compare them with the contributions that Millet's son Joseph Millet Sr. made to the accounts. We next explore the complicated process of copying sources, noting the loss of original sources and the differences among surviving copies. Finally, we will juxtapose the accounts and the copies with known Church history events between April 1832 and April 1834. Following our analysis is an appendix with an annotated examination of the long-neglected holograph of Artemus Millet's own reminiscence (pages 106–15). While there are discrepancies between surviving accounts, Millet's first-hand account provides the clearest timeline of his conversion and call to Kirtland.

Artemus Millet's Own Words

Any discussion of the life of Artemus Millet must begin with his own accounts. Millet apparently kept a diary or journal during his life, but, shortly after his death, his papers were accidentally burned by a woman who was attempting to help clean up the house.⁴ Many of his personal genealogical records had already been lost during an earlier period of his life, between October 1841 and May 1843, when he was without a wife or a permanent place of residence.⁵

Explanation of Artemus Millet's Accounts. What has survived are two reminiscent accounts. The first account, which we will call the 1855 Reminiscence, is quite detailed (1,769 words) and was recorded sometime after 1855, when Artemus was approximately sixty-five years old.⁶ The second account, dictated for a "High Priest's Record Book" in 1872, is relatively short (313 words) and focuses primarily on genealogical events—Artemus's birth, marriages, baptism, mission, and moves. Written when Artemus was eighty-two years old, this account is frequently called "Genealogy of Artemus Millet," but we will refer to it as the 1872 Genealogy.⁷

There are three discrepancies between the two accounts, two regarding the years in which his first two wives died and one regarding the month in which he married his second wife. But confusion arises because there are several copies of both accounts catalogued together under two different titles in the archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City and under a single title in the L. Tom Perry Special Collections at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. One Church Archives copy is catalogued as "Reminiscences," and the other as "Autobiographical Sketches," though both have the same content. Furthermore, some copies of the 1872 Genealogy also bear the title "Record and Journal of Artemus Millet, Sen." Despite such confusion, it is upon the basis of these sources

that the life of Artemus Millet, as he recalled it, can be examined.

Artemus Millet's Life. Artemus Millet was born on September 11, 1790, in Westmoreland, Cheshire County, New Hampshire, to Ebenezer and Catherine Dryden Millet. He lived in several towns in Vermont and New York state. In 1824 he settled in Earnestown,⁸ Upper Canada (located twelve miles west of Kingston on the St. Lawrence River) with his wife, Ruth Grannis, and their family. Artemus worked for the Canadian government as a mason, a trade he had learned at age nineteen. A few years later, Ruth became ill with consumption, and she died in 1831. In January or February 1832, Millet married Susanna Peters.⁹

Millet's early life was characterized by masonry and mishap. While very young, he cut his foot with an ax. At age twelve he fell from a horse and broke his arm. He contracted a fever the next year and later fell from a barn and broke his side, both times fearing he would die. In 1822, a stone fell on Millet's head, fracturing his skull and laying him up for two months. Sometime between 1822 and 1829, Millet was "sick the most [part] of two years."¹⁰ In 1829, a large stone fell on his leg, and he again feared for his life.

Millet linked his continual masonry mishaps with his first evidence of the truthfulness of the latter-day work. He recalled that in 1831, he "took cold which settled in my breast, and I did not get over it until the next August, when I received a witness of the latter day work in a manifestation of the healing power."¹¹ In January 1833, Millet was baptized by Brigham Young. Millet recalled that "in the Summer [of 1833,] Br[other] Hyrum Smith wrote to me that it was the will of the Lord that I should go and work on the Temple in Kirtland."¹² Millet went to Kirtland as soon as he was able, but when he arrived in October, the work had been suspended. Returning to Canada, Artemus collected his debts, sold his property on credit, and brought his family to Kirtland, arriving in April 1834.

In Kirtland, Millet once again suffered masonry-related mishaps, but now as a member of the Church he relied on divine protection. In 1835, he appeared before a council meeting because he desired to return to Canada and hoped to do so in safety. When the council assured him that he would travel safely, Artemus set out by wagon for Canada. He crossed Lake Ontario by ship, and arrived in Kingston "at 12 o'clock at night, rainy, dark and cloudy weather." The inclement weather conditions made the disembarking difficult; Artemus lost his footing and fell into the twenty-foot deep icy cold water. Artemus later related that "numbers had fallen in," but the shoreline personnel "had never known of any one being taken out alive." Artemus recognized the hand of the Lord in this experience, for he recorded that "in falling I claimed the promise of the Saints."¹³

After completing his business in Canada, Millet returned to Kirtland

where he and Lorenzo D. Young contracted to do the exterior work on the temple for one thousand dollars. The pair began work on November 2, 1835, though Millet's injured leg continued to bother him.¹⁴ While working Millet came down with cholera; the administration of Joseph Smith Sr. and his brother John did not have "the desired effect." Millet recalled:

I suffered such excruciating pain that my groaning was heard at Joseph Smith, Junr's, a distance of 250 yards. I was afterwards told that when in agony I called out let Joseph Smith, Jun., come and lay hands on me and I shall be healed and I know it not knowing what I said. He pressed his way through the crowd (for the house was filled with people) and came forward and laying his hands on my head asked God the Father in the name of Jesus Christ to heal me; the vomiting and purging ceased and I began to mend from that very moment.¹⁵

After the temple was completed, Millet went on a mission with Oliver Granger.¹⁶ Financial difficulties in 1837 forced Millet back to Canada, but he failed to collect the debts owed him there. For the next few years, he worked on various masonry projects in Canada and Ohio before rejoining the Saints in Nauvoo in 1843. Millet worked on the Nauvoo Temple, but was "sick a considerable part of the time."¹⁷ He was again sick during summer 1846, and he eventually arrived in Salt Lake City in 1850. Brigham Young sent Millet to Manti. Millet continued to apply his masonry skills toward the establishment of various settlements throughout the southern part of the territory.

As Artemus Millet recalled the events, the process of his conversion and his call to Kirtland spanned nearly twenty months, beginning with a priesthood healing in August 1832 and continuing through his January 1833 baptism, a call to labor on the temple the following summer, and his eventual establishment in Kirtland in April 1834. Along the way, Millet experienced a barrage of physical difficulties, in spite of which he accepted the gospel and fulfilled his Church assignments. Looking back on his life, Millet saw an overarching theme of continual preservation. Millet's humility is evident. He never mentions any extraordinary efforts on the part of Church leaders to extend him special assignments, only that he did his best to fulfill them.

Joseph Millet's Version of Artemus's Conversion and Call

In addition to Artemus Millet's firsthand accounts of his conversion and his call to work on the Kirtland Temple, several others exist among the writings of his posterity. The earliest account comes from the papers of Artemus's son Joseph, who wrote after 1860:

The Prophet Joseph Smith[,] Joseph Young[,] and Brigham Young, were Standing upon the ground Where The Kirtland Temple was to be built. The Prophet said, who can we get to Superintend this work[?]

Joseph Young said I know a man that would be just the one and he is rich too. Who is he? [Asked the Prophet.] That is Brother Artemus Millet but he does not belong to the Church. The Prophet turned to Brother Brigham and said do you know this brother Artemus Millet? he said yes Sir. The Prophet said I give you a mission to go and baptise him and bring him here and tell him to bring a Thousand dollars with him.

They all 3 belonged to the Methodist Church before the Youngs joined the Church. That was why he called him brother[.] My Father was working on [a] big contract at the time in Canada.

The foregoing is true. I got it from ~~brother~~ President Brigham Young While I lived with him. I also got it from President Joseph Young, you know the part my Father took on the Kirtland Temple. I think if President Brigham Young had dictated his history it would have been mentioned. Artemus gave more than a thousand <dollars>.¹⁸

Unfortunately, this statement is undated, and there is no surviving copy in Joseph's hand.¹⁹ It contains details not found in extant accounts by Artemus Millet, such as a consultation on temple grounds, a charge to baptize Millet, and a request for financial assistance. In order to understand why Joseph Millet would relate this information, it is necessary to examine his life and his interest in verifying his father's role in building the Kirtland Temple.

Joseph Millet's Life. Joseph Millet was born to Artemus and Susanna Millet late in December 1832 in Earnestown, Upper Canada, one month before Artemus was baptized.²⁰ When Joseph was only fourteen, his life was threatened because he was a Mormon, and later his half brother Nelson who was not a member of the Church, offered him a wife and 140 acres if he would give up his missionary labors. On both occasions, Joseph remained devoted to his faith.

Joseph served a mission to Nova Scotia from 1852 to 1856, where he married Sarah Elizabeth Glines.²¹ After his mission, Joseph and his wife settled in Manti, near Artemus. Joseph accepted a call from Brigham Young to settle in Dixie, and father and son moved their families there in 1866. He lived his life committed to the gospel. Always seeking to serve others, Joseph was often an answer to the prayers of those he assisted.²² When Joseph's wife died in 1889, he moved in with his daughter Mary J. Millet Cox and her family. Joseph died on October 31, 1911. After his death, his son, Joseph Jr., paid this tribute to his father: "He lived a faithful life, was kind and benevolent to all, full of charity and sympathy, ever seeking who he might do good to the Poor & Fatherless, and to those in need."²³

Throughout his life, Joseph Millet was deeply interested in maintaining family ties and preserving his family history.²⁴ He lived either with or near his father for all but fourteen years of his life, being separated from him only from 1852 to 1866.²⁵ Joseph recalled that before he departed on his mission, “My Father [Artemus Millet] Blessed me and said that I would live to do his work for the dead in the Temple.”²⁶ On April 20, 1877, three of Artemus’s sons, including Joseph, went to the temple and were sealed to Artemus by Wilford Woodruff.²⁷

Besides performing temple work for his father, Joseph devoted significant time and effort verifying the events of his father’s conversion and his work on the Kirtland Temple. In the undated statement copied from Joseph’s papers, he indicated that he got his version of Artemus’s conversion and call “from ~~brother~~ President Brigham Young While I lived with him” in Salt Lake City.²⁸ According to Joseph’s diary, he “lived in President Youngs house near where the Temple is now” from 1859 to 1860.²⁹ Joseph had close contact with President Young on other occasions as well. He traveled with him in May 1851, stopped in for a visit during summer 1851, and traded with him in July 1863.³⁰ Joseph’s call to settle in Dixie came from President Young in January 1866, at Artemus’s request.³¹ Thus, Joseph Millet had several opportunities to hear Brigham Young’s version of Artemus’s conversion to the Church and call to Kirtland.

In 1882, the Sunday School, under the direction of George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency, published Lorenzo Young’s account of Artemus Millet’s call to Kirtland. Nearly fifty years had elapsed since the events at Kirtland, and Lorenzo recalled that after the temple had been enclosed in summer 1835, a meeting was held “to consult about its completion.” At this meeting

the Prophet desired that a hard finish be put on its outside walls. None of the masons who had worked on the building knew how to do it. Looking around on those present his eyes rested on Lorenzo and he said, “Brother Lorenzo, I want you to take hold and put this hard finish on the walls. Will you do it?” “Yes,” [Lorenzo] replied, “I will try.”³²

Lorenzo relates that the following day he went to Cleveland, where he met a “young man” who was looking for work. He hired him on the spot and took him to Kirtland, and they worked together on the temple.³³ While the 1882 published account does not mention this “young man” by name, Lorenzo later identified him as Artemus Millet.³⁴

Unfortunately, Lorenzo Young’s account of Artemus’s call to work on the Kirtland Temple includes several discrepancies to known facts. Lorenzo recalled that he hired a “young man” to help him carry out the Prophet’s charge, but in 1835 forty-five-year-old Artemus was seventeen years older

than twenty-eight-year-old Lorenzo. And while Lorenzo correctly remembered taking the contract in November 1835 with Artemus to finish the exterior of the building, he apparently forgot that *both* he and Artemus had been praised and blessed for their work on the temple the previous March.³⁵ Lorenzo's account was taken down nearly fifty years after the events in question, and this distance appears to have conflated the timing of events in his mind.

Correcting the Lorenzo Young Account. Lorenzo Young's account of Artemus Millet's call to Kirtland likely caught the attention of Joseph Millet. If so, like any faithful descendant, Joseph would have wanted to correct this account. Because the principal characters in the story—Artemus Millet, Brigham Young, and Joseph Young—had all passed away and because published histories of the Church were not easily accessible, Joseph sought out secondary substantiation.³⁶ In possible response to Lorenzo's story, he sought for affidavits that would show that his father had been in Kirtland before November 1835.

Benjamin F. Johnson and Edson Barney certified to Joseph in June 1885 that they "were personally acquainted with the construction of the Kirtland Temple from the laying of the corner stones to its completion." According to them, "Artemus Millet did have the full superintendency and charge of all of the plastering and sementing [*sic*] of the Building both outside and inside." Their statement was endorsed by John H. Ballard.³⁷ The next month, Lisander Gee affirmed that Artemus "had the entire Charge of the Plastering of the outside of the Building making marter [*sic*] and all. While Jacob Bump had charge of inside. They were two distinct and seperate Jobs."³⁸

These four recollections, like that of Lorenzo Young, were made nearly fifty years after the events occurred, but they were most likely significant to Joseph Millet for reasons other than timing.³⁹ At first glance, they do not seem to verify the details of Artemus's conversion and call, but they affirm that Artemus played an important role in the construction of the Kirtland Temple. If, as the affidavits state, Artemus had "full superintendency"⁴⁰ of the building project, Joseph Smith must have had a great deal of faith in his skill as a mason, and it makes sense that the Prophet would take great pains to call him to the work. After all, the Prophet would not send Brigham Young to baptize a day laborer.

In any case, the central theme of Lorenzo Young's story—the Prophet seeking for a mason while on the temple grounds and asking who could do the job—is similar to the account eventually attributed to Joseph Millet by his children. With every good intention, perhaps Joseph Millet modified Lorenzo Young's story to conform to what he knew of his father's account, taking the best from both.

Having lived close to his father for most of his life, Joseph was particularly qualified to provide additional insight into events of his father's life and character. Clearly, he added details not found in the firsthand accounts of Artemus's experiences. Although not an eyewitness to the events in question (he was less than a month old when Artemus was baptized, and the temple was dedicated shortly after Joseph's third birthday), it is likely Artemus and Joseph, father and son, spent considerable time conversing about family events, and perhaps Artemus's conversion and call to Kirtland. For these reasons, Joseph's account may well be accurate. First generation relatives, like Joseph Millet, had the advantage of personal interactions, whereas historians are at the mercy of documents.

Interestingly, in the extant historical accounts, Joseph never says that he got his information from his father, though it is likely that Artemus shared his experience with his children many times. Why did Joseph not cite his father instead of citing Brigham and Joseph Young? Did Joseph's interest in the story arise only after Lorenzo Young published his account or was the story so well known that Joseph felt no need to document it until after his father was gone? These unanswered questions make it difficult to reconcile the statement copied from Joseph's papers with Artemus's 1855 reminiscence. What is certain, however, is that, a half century after Artemus's conversion and his call to Kirtland, his son supplied additional information to the story—information that is not found in existing accounts made by Artemus himself.

Copies and Condensed Versions of Artemus Millet's Story

After Joseph Millet's death, the stories of Artemus's conversion and his call to Kirtland continued to be told. Over the next fifty years, however, the primary sources by Artemus, Joseph Millet, and Lorenzo Young were condensed and combined into copies that included more information but compressed the timeline of events into an increasingly shorter period of time. And, while the copies were maintained, the originals were lost in almost every case.

Mary Millet Cox's Copies and Transcriptions. Nearly twenty-five years after Joseph Millet's death, his daughter Mary J. Millet Cox made at least five copies of Artemus's 1855 Reminiscence.⁴¹ As is common in family history records, Mary corrected punctuation, omitted sentences, miswrote dates, and added information that she thought could clarify Artemus's words.⁴² But by July 11, 1936, she no longer knew where the original 1855 Reminiscence was.⁴³ The original 1855 Reminiscence ended up in the Church Archives, but, of all the possible sources for this story, it is the only

original holograph to survive.⁴⁴ In addition, Mary made at least four copies of Artemus's 1872 Genealogy and three copies of Joseph Millet Sr.'s statement about Artemus's conversion and call.

Joseph Millet Jr. and the 1872 Genealogy. Mary was not the only one of Joseph's children who preserved the family history. Beginning in 1927, her brother, Joseph Millet Jr., began to copy Artemus's 1872 Genealogy.⁴⁵ Yet, in so doing, he loosely united statements from Artemus's 1872 Genealogy, the affidavits collected by his father, and other unidentified sources. Joseph Jr.'s earliest copy of Artemus's 1872 Genealogy is marked by various corrections as well as a tendency to switch between first and third person references to Artemus. In this copy, Joseph Jr. reports that Artemus was baptized in 1833 and that Brigham Young announced a mission for him on that occasion.⁴⁶ On a later, more polished copy, Joseph Jr. states that Artemus's baptism occurred in 1834, and this time he added details about a consultation in Kirtland and a charge for Brigham Young to baptize Artemus. Joseph Jr. wrote that Artemus went directly to Kirtland, where he met the Prophet and immediately began work on the temple, supervising the work from the laying of the cornerstones to the completion of the project.⁴⁷

In addition to the apparent blending of sources and the errors of transcription, Joseph Jr.'s "copy" of Artemus's own words displays various internal inconsistencies as well as several contradictions between his version and Artemus's own account. The voice still switches from first to third person. At one point, Brigham Young announces the "mission" for Artemus before Artemus is baptized, while in the next paragraph Brigham waits until after Millet's baptism to extend the call. Joseph Jr. also expands the narrative of Artemus's conversion, adding that "Previous to this, Artemus new nothing of this Church." Unfortunately, this idea directly contradicts Artemus's testimony that he received a witness of the truthfulness of the gospel by way of a healing at least four months before his baptism.⁴⁸

But perhaps the most interesting error lies in the fact that somewhere along the line Lorenzo Young got into Joseph Millet Jr.'s copy as the person on the temple grounds who recommended Artemus Millet to the Prophet.⁴⁹ As mentioned earlier, Lorenzo Young had remembered Artemus as an unemployed youth anxious for work, yet in Joseph Millet Jr.'s second copy Lorenzo had become the initiator of the Prophet's charge to Brigham Young to seek Millet out. Although Lorenzo had been baptized in 1832, he did not arrive in Kirtland until April 1834, the same time that Artemus arrived with his family.⁵⁰

The errors that arose in Joseph Millet Jr.'s copies of Artemus's 1872 Genealogy are highlighted by their discrepancy with his sister's work.

Mary's transcriptions of Artemus's writings make no mention of a "mission," Lorenzo Young, or a consultation on temple grounds.⁵¹ It seems improbable that Mary, who was so alert for information about Artemus's role in building the temple, would have left out such vital information.

A more plausible explanation is that Joseph Jr. added the information to his copy. Over time, Joseph Jr.'s copies of the 1872 Genealogy have been widely accepted as Artemus's own account, while Mary's more accurate transcriptions have been neglected. Thus, during the first decades of the twentieth century, the primary sources for Millet's conversion and his call to Kirtland were expanded and blended through a gradual process of transmission and transcription. The addition of detail often contradicts what Artemus himself wrote, and the twenty-month conversion process he describes has been compressed into a single occasion in which he learned of the Church, was baptized, was called to Kirtland, and left immediately to fulfill his calling. The gradual distillation of detail that eventually occupied a century was by no means nefarious. Over time, the well-intended acts of retelling and recopying the story resulted in a compressed story that has been widely circulated in histories of the Church in Kirtland.

The Youngs: Missions, Mormonism, and the Kirtland Temple

The history of Artemus Millet's conversion is intertwined with the conversion and missionary activities of the Young brothers. Revolutionary War veteran John Young and Abigail (Nabby) Howe raised eleven children, four of whom—Joseph, Phineas, Brigham, and Lorenzo (fig. 2)—would be directly involved in Millet's conversion and his work in Kirtland.⁵² Before joining the Church, the Young brothers had each accepted Reformed Methodism. Brigham noted that by 1823 he had become "serious and religiously inclined."⁵³ In 1824, Phineas received his license to preach Methodism publicly.⁵⁴ In 1828, the Young family (which had been separated by children marrying and moving away) began to settle in Mendon County, New York. They worked together, "opened a house for preaching," and fanned each other's faith.⁵⁵ But they yearned to know more. Joseph wrote, "I was anxious about this period, to know something of the future existence, beyond this mortal life and labored for the knowledge of it incessantly."⁵⁶ In 1830, Brigham, Joseph, and Phineas Young each encountered the Book of Mormon in his own way.⁵⁷

In August 1830, Joseph and Phineas traveled to Canada to preach Reformed Methodism in Earnestown, Loborough, and Kingston, although Phineas "could think of but little except the Book of Mormon."⁵⁸ It is possible that Artemus heard the two preach at this time. After returning from



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FIG. 2. Lorenzo Dow, Brigham, Phineas, Joseph, and John Young, September 13, 1866. Before converting to the Church, the Youngs belonged to the Reformed Methodist Church. With the exception of John, all of the Young brothers figure prominently in the stories and accounts of Artemus Millet's conversion to the Church and call to Kirtland. Photograph by Charles R. Savage.

Canada, the Young brothers visited an organized branch of the Church in Columbia, Pennsylvania, where Phineas was baptized on April 5, 1832, and Joseph, the next day.⁵⁹ A little over a week later, in Mendon, Brigham was also baptized.⁶⁰

During summer 1832, the Young brothers set out to preach their new-found faith. Brigham and Joseph went first to surrounding areas, preaching the gospel in Genesee, Avon, and Lyonstown, New York.⁶¹ Later that summer, while Brigham remained in New York, Joseph and Phineas set out on their familiar preaching circuits in New York and Canada.⁶² They arrived in Earnestown just as the annual Methodist Reformed Church conference was coming to a close. Phineas had preached at the conference the previous year as a Methodist circuit preacher and was acquainted with most of the participants. Joseph and Phineas attended the Methodist meeting on the Sabbath, at the close of which Phineas "begged the privilege of preaching in their meeting-house at five the same evening, which they very reluctantly granted."⁶³ That first meeting was the start of a successful six-week stay:

Here thousands flocked to hear the strange news; even so that the houses could not contain the multitude, and we had to repair to the groves.

Hundreds were searching the scriptures to see if these things were so. Many were partly convinced, and some were wholly, so, when we left.⁶⁴

During this visit, the first branch in Canada was established at Earnestown.⁶⁵ Although the missionaries do not specifically mention administrations to the sick, it was possible during their visit that Artemus was healed and received a testimony of the gospel.⁶⁶

The Youngs in Kirtland. After a successful summer of preaching, Joseph Young joined Brigham and their friend Heber C. Kimball and set out for Kirtland, where they visited with the Prophet. According to Brigham, the trio left for Kirtland in September 1832 and returned home in October.⁶⁷ However, Joseph Smith remembered the visit as being “about the 8th of November.”⁶⁸ In either case, the visit has been much heralded, as it was the first meeting of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, the first time the Prophet heard the gift of tongues, and the occasion for a prophecy that Brigham would one day preside over the Church.⁶⁹ This visit is also significant to the Artemus Millet story because it was the only time that the Youngs and Joseph Smith were in Kirtland together before Millet’s baptism. Thus, it is the only time when a consultation between the Prophet and any of the Young brothers about temple construction could have occurred.

The Youngs stayed in Kirtland for “about one week,” but surviving accounts of their visit mention little about discussions they had with the Prophet. Brigham noted that they “held meetings nearly every night” and “conversed together upon the things of the kingdom” and that “the blessings of the Lord were extensively upon us.”⁷⁰ Heber C. Kimball called the visit “a precious season.”⁷¹ Joseph Smith mentioned only Brigham’s manifestation of the gift of tongues,⁷² and Joseph Young’s account does not mention the visit at all.⁷³

The existing sources are vague in their descriptions of discussion content during the Youngs’ visit. None of them mention a charge to baptize the prospective supervisor of a temple construction project. There are additional circumstances, however, that can help establish the probability or improbability of such a discussion.

The Lack of Temple-Building Plans in Fall 1832. The first question is whether the Prophet was thinking about building a temple in Kirtland in fall 1832. Temples are mentioned in the Book of Mormon and in revelations from at least December 1830.⁷⁴ In January 1831, when the Saints were commanded to gather in Ohio they were told by the Lord that “there I will give unto you my law; and there you shall be endowed with power from on high” (D&C 38:32).⁷⁵ On September 22 and 23, 1832, Joseph Smith received a revelation directing that the city New Jerusalem should be built “beginning at

the temple lot, which is appointed by the finger of the Lord, in the western boundaries of the State of Missouri” (D&C 84:3).⁷⁶

These references may suggest that the Prophet was actively making specific arrangements for temple construction in Kirtland in November 1832. However, the command to build a temple in Kirtland was given to the Prophet on December 27, 1832, when he was instructed to “establish a house, even a house of prayer, a house of fasting, a house of faith, a house of learning, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God” (D&C 88:119).⁷⁷ This was at least one month *after* Brigham and Joseph Young left Kirtland.

But even this revelation may not have motivated the Prophet to seek out a supervisor for the project; six months later, in June 1833, the Lord rebuked the Saints for their tardiness and neglect in constructing the temple.⁷⁸ Elder James E. Talmage connected this delay to the September 1832 revelation to build a temple in Independence, writing that “perhaps because their eyes were directed too steadily toward the ‘center place,’ and because the people were prone to contemplate too absorbedly the glory of the future to the neglect of then present duties, compliance with the requirement to proceed at once with the erection of a temple was not prompt.”⁷⁹ Whatever the reason for delay, it appears unlikely that Joseph Smith was concerned with details of an imminent construction project in Kirtland in early November 1832.

Brigham Young’s 1833 Missions to Canada. After their visit in Kirtland, Brigham and Joseph Young headed home to New York and began preparations for a mission to Canada. Taking advantage of improved travel conditions, the Youngs crossed over to Kingston in late December 1832. Brigham records that they preached for “about one month,” baptizing forty-five people and establishing the West Loughborough Branch, among others.⁸⁰ Though Brigham Young does not specifically mention baptizing Millet, his account corroborates Artemus’s recollection that he was baptized in January 1833.⁸¹ In February 1833, Brigham and Joseph Young returned home to Mendon, New York, where Brigham joined Heber C. Kimball and preached “in the neighboring country.” Brigham returned to Canada again in April.⁸² On the way, Brigham visited Lyonstown, Theresa, and Indian River Falls and preached in Ogdensburgh, Kingston, Earnestown, and West Loughborough. He did not return to Kirtland until July 1833.⁸³

Commencement of Work on the Kirtland Temple. While Brigham was away preaching, work began on the Kirtland Temple. On May 4, 1833, a conference was held “to take into consideration the necessity of building a schoolhouse, for the accommodation of the Elders, who should come

together to receive instruction preparatory for their missions, and ministry.” Hyrum Smith, Jared Carter, and Reynolds Cahoon were appointed to form a building committee to raise funds for the project.⁸⁴ Two days later, the Prophet received a revelation commanding the Saints to lay out a stake in Kirtland, “beginning at my house.” The revelation specified the dimensions of the building and confirmed the selected building committee (D&C 94:1, 2–15).

Despite these organizational advances, physical work on the temple did not commence until June 1833. On June 1, the Lord chastised the Saints, “for ye have sinned against me a very grievous sin, in that ye have not considered the great commandment in all things, that I have given you concerning the building of my house” (D&C 95:3). The Lord repeated the dimensions and revealed that the house would be used both as a place of worship and as a meeting place for the School of the Prophets (D&C 95).

That very day, the building committee sent out a circular letter requesting that all of the Saints “make every possible exertion to aid temporally, as well as spiritually, in this great work that the Lord is beginning, and is about to accomplish.”⁸⁵ The temple site was formally selected,⁸⁶ and, on June 5, Hyrum Smith and Reynolds Cahoon broke ground and began digging the foundation trenches, while George A. Smith hauled the first load of stone from the quarry.⁸⁷ The following day a conference was held to counsel the building committee, and it was agreed that the committee should proceed “immediately to commence building the house; or to obtaining materials, stone, brick, lumber, etc., for the same.”⁸⁸

Summer 1833 was a time of increased action toward building the temple. Artemus’s account fits squarely into this setting, as he recalls that “in the Summer Br[other] Hyrum Smith wrote to me that it was the will of the Lord that I should go and work on the Temple in Kirtland.”⁸⁹ Brigham Young returned to Kirtland in July 1833, perhaps providing the opportunity for a consultation and a decision to invite Millet to Kirtland.⁹⁰ It seems appropriate that the building committee would contact Millet and that they would do so at this time.

Unfortunately, the letter from Hyrum Smith appears to have been lost. Perhaps it was among the genealogical papers that Artemus lost between 1841 and 1843 or among the papers burned in 1874. If someday discovered, this letter could shed light on Artemus’s version of the story. It could have been written as a follow up to Brigham Young’s January 1833 visit or as an introduction and invitation to Millet. Or it could tell a different story altogether. Hyrum Smith’s diary makes no mention of his letter writing, and, as far as known records show, neither Jared Carter nor Reynolds Cahoon kept a diary during summer 1833.⁹¹

Work on the temple steadily progressed throughout summer 1833. Brigham Young arrived ten days before the cornerstones were laid on July 23, 1833, but Millet's name is not mentioned in connection with any of the temple-building events that summer.⁹² As fall approached, work slowed and was eventually suspended. On October 5, 1833, the Prophet left on a mission to Canada; five days later it was decided that "the building of the Temple should be discontinued during the winter for want of materials" and that preparations should be made to recommence in the spring.⁹³ Artemus must have arrived in Kirtland after October 10, for he recalls that "When I went the work was suspended, and I returned [to Canada,] sold out on credit and took my family in April 1834 to Kirtland."⁹⁴

Uncertainties and Affirmations

This analysis has identified several key elements concerning the oft-told story of Artemus Millet's conversion and subsequent call to Kirtland. First and foremost, Millet asserts that his baptism did not occur upon his first exposure to the gospel. His witness came after a priesthood manifestation in August 1832, and he was baptized by Brigham Young in January 1833. Secondly, the command to build a temple in Kirtland came one month after Brigham Young left Kirtland, and the exact site for the temple was not selected until four months after Millet was baptized. Third, it is appropriate for Millet's call to work on the project to have come through the building committee, the established channel for such an assignment. Fourth, it is apparent that Lorenzo Young was not involved in Millet's initial call to Kirtland.

The Ambiguity of the Thousand Dollar Contribution. One ambiguous element of this story is that Artemus brought one thousand dollars with him to Kirtland. Artemus does not mention the thousand dollars, and the only source for the story is his son Joseph. This detail is difficult to verify as there was no "accounts receivable" record book in Kirtland.⁹⁵ On March 7, 1835, Joseph Smith blessed Reynolds Cahoon, Jacob Bump, and Artemus Millet "with the blessings of heaven and a right in the house of the Lord in Kirtland, agreeable to the labor they had performed thereon, and the means they had contributed."⁹⁶ The "means" contributed by Millet and the others could refer to a monetary donation or to labor, tools, or a substantial contribution of time. Whether it refers specifically to a one-thousand-dollar donation is difficult to determine.

Outside of family sources, Millet is not usually mentioned in lists of temple donors.⁹⁷ While there is no record of a one-thousand-dollar contribution by Millet, there is a reference to Artemus Millet and Lorenzo Young

receiving one thousand dollars for their work on the exterior of the temple.⁹⁸ At first glance, it seems strange that Millet might have contributed the sum only to be paid it in return. On the other hand, this scenario is possible because the early period of construction occurred during a period of financial strain when money was desperately needed. Two years later, when the exterior work was contracted and completed, the Church would have had sufficient means to repay a loan of one thousand dollars.

Primary Sources Considered. While several elements of the story remain uncertain, it is important to distinguish the story's elements from its sources. There is evidence that corroborates Artemus's account, and circumstances that draw the account attributed to Joseph Millet Sr. into question. However, there is no evidence that suggests that Artemus's account can be exclusively affirmed or that Joseph's should be entirely dismissed. It is significant, however, that the existing account by Artemus, as well as those of Brigham and Joseph Young, do not mention an extraordinary call or a singular conversion, call, and departure-for-Kirtland event.

Having examined the uncertain elements of Millet's history, we conclude by asserting that there is much about the life of Artemus Millet that can be historically and faithfully affirmed. We have carefully examined his call to Kirtland, focusing on the period from 1832 to 1834, and showed that the best source for this period is, in fact, Millet's own account. It is certain that he accepted the gospel and was baptized by Brigham Young. His testimony and commitment are amply demonstrated by his willingness to take his family to Kirtland to assist in the Lord's work. Likewise, it is well established that he played a significant role in building the Kirtland Temple.

In March 1835, when the Prophet praised all "who had distinguished themselves thus far by consecrating to the upbuilding of the House of the Lord, as well as laboring thereon," Millet was among those honored. Sidney Rigdon was "appointed to lay on hands and bestow blessings in the name of the Lord," and Artemus was one of the number "who were blessed in consequence of their labor on the house of the Lord in Kirtland."⁹⁹

Perhaps the greatest lesson to be learned from the life of Artemus Millet is that he accepted the gospel and lived faithful to its teachings throughout his life. The years in Kirtland were filled with apostasy and disillusionment, spiritual maladies that afflicted even the highest councils of the Church. It is discouraging that those who stood with the Prophet and experienced miraculous manifestations of divine power could fall away. At the same time, it is inspiring that Artemus Millet and so many others could withstand such turbulent times. In truth, the history of the Church is not simply about great men and women and their miraculous experiences; it is also the history of ordinary people who accept the gospel with uncommon

steadfastness and remain faithful in upholding the kingdom of God throughout their lives.¹⁰⁰

Artemus Millet not only followed the Prophet Joseph by moving to Kirtland and Nauvoo, but he also followed Joseph's successor, Brigham Young, to Salt Lake City and obeyed Brigham's call to settle in Dixie. Artemus remained faithful throughout his life and lived to be eighty-four years old. He "passed Peacefully away" on November 19, 1874, "with a satisfied expression on his face." Millet's grandson noted that Artemus had died "clean from any bad habits or profane language or foul expressions, prepared to meet those loved ones who had preceded him on that Journey in early life, and to meet the Prophets and apostles he had been so intimately associated with."¹⁰¹ The story of Artemus Millet is the story of a life frequently spared and faithfully lived.

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The authors would like to thank Robert L. Millet, Larry C. Porter, and Paul Peterson for reading this article and making many helpful suggestions.

1. Artemus Millet's name has appeared with various spellings, but we have spelled it in the text of this article as he wrote it in his 1855 account of his life. This account is catalogued as Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," [ca. 1855], holograph, 3, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. This document is printed in full as an appendix to this article.

2. The earliest published account of the story is in George Francis Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millett from Chertsey, Surreyshire, England to Dorchester, Massachusetts. And His Wife Mary Greenoway* (Mesa, Ariz.: By the author, 1959), 109–18. See also Daniel G. Millett, "The Temple Builder," *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, August 30, 1975, 16; Eugene England, "Brigham Young as a Missionary," *New Era* 7 (November 1977): 30–37; Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), 37; Milton V. Backman Jr., *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 150–51; Roger D. Launius, *The Kirtland Temple: A Historical Narrative* (Independence, Mo.: Herald Publishing House, 1986), 55; Karl Ricks Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland: Eyewitness Accounts* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989), 15–16; Truman G. Madsen, *Joseph Smith: The Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 58; C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 38; Elwin Clark Robison, *The First Mormon Temple: Design, Construction,*

and *Historic Context of the Kirtland Temple* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997), 48, 99; Craig K. Manscill, "Artemus Millet," in *Encyclopedia of Latter-day Saint History*, ed. Arnold K. Garr, Donald Q. Cannon, and Richard O. Cowan (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2000), 753–54; and *Church History in the Fullness of Times: The History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000), 164.

3. The most extensive treatment of Artemus Millet's work on the Kirtland Temple is Robison, *First Mormon Temple*, 33–52. Robison draws from Millet's accounts to recreate a detailed, though at times somewhat speculative, story. He notes the discrepancies among sources, but a thorough examination of primary and family sources fell outside the range of his history. There are many parts of Millet's life that deserve a more complete analysis, such as his career in Canada, his work in Ohio after the completion of the Kirtland Temple, the gathering of his children to Nauvoo, and his work on the Nauvoo Temple and building projects in Utah. Nevertheless, they are beyond the scope of this article.

4. Artemus's grandson explained, "Grand Fathers records were destroyed (burned) in Scipio, just after his death, by a woman who went to help clean up the house. Aunt Anna (as we called her[]), tried to stop her, but spoke too late. The flames had devoured them." Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island, 1927," microfilm of holograph, 5, Church Archives. There is also a copy of part of it with variations in the M. Wilford Poulson Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections). "Aunt Anna" was Artemus's wife Ann Stout.

5. See Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences."

6. Artemus Millet's 1855 Reminiscence is the primary source for his life story, as it is both his only remaining holograph as well as the only original source among family records. In addition to the original, there are several copies archived in various repositories. Artemus Millet's granddaughter Mary J. Millett Cox made at least three transcriptions. The first transcription, made on July 9, 1934, is found in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book" [ca. 1850–1947], holograph, 21–22, Church Archives. The second transcription, made on October 26–27, 1934, is in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 29–31. The third transcription, made on April 2, 1935, is in Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," along with Artemus's holograph. In addition to the transcripts of the original, Cox made at least two typescripts of the third transcription. The first typescript, made on July 11, 1936, is filed as Artemus Millett, "Autobiographical Sketches," holograph, Church Archives. The second typescript, made in September 1936, was sent to her cousin George Francis Millett and later archived as Artemus Millett, "Autobiographies, 1855–1861," Perry Special Collections. This second typescript was also published by George Millett in 1959, in *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millett*, 109–13. On the transcription Cox provided to George Millett in September 1936, she stated that she no longer knew where the original was. Because of the significance of the 1855 Reminiscence and because various errors crept in throughout the copying process, we include an analysis of the original as an appendix to this article.

7. Artemus Millet's 1872 Genealogy was recorded by William Faucett in a "High Priest's Record" book in Spring Valley, Nevada, on February 16, 1872. The "High Priest's Record" cannot be located, but a copy was made by Rosa Jarvis in

St. George, Utah, on December 18, 1906. The Jarvis copy is also missing, but Cox made at least two transcriptions of it. One undated copy is cataloged with Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences" and another made between October 1934 and February 1935 is in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 32–33. Cox also made two typescripts. One dated September 2, 1936, is in Church Archives (Artemus Millett, "Autobiographical Sketches," typescript, Church Archives). The other she sent to George Millett in September 1936. It is now catalogued with the reminiscences in Artemus Millett, "Autobiographies, 1855–1861," Perry Special Collections.

Working independently of Mary, her brother Joseph Millet Jr. made two transcriptions of the 1872 Genealogy, which both appear in Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millett on C[ape] B[reton] Island," pages 1–2 and 70–71 respectively. The first transcription was made on March 8, 1927, while the second is undated and has no name. The second transcription, on pages 70–71, has also been duplicated and is catalogued as Millet Family, "Papers" [1850–1914], microfilm of holograph, Church Archives. There are several significant discrepancies between Mary's and Joseph Jr.'s copies that will be discussed in greater detail. These sources collectively are what we call 1872 Genealogy.

8. Although various spellings have been printed, we have chosen to spell the town's name "Earnestown."

9. Susanna was born October 19, 1804, in Earnestown. See Joseph Millet Jr., "Joseph Millett on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 1.

10. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 2–4.

11. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 4. The Mary J. M. Cox typescript gives the impression that Artemus became ill in 1830 and that his manifestation occurred in 1831. See the accompanying documentary analysis for more information.

12. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 4.

13. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 5–6. In July 1835, Brigham Young and William E. McLellin visited Brother Millet in Canada on their way to the British Isles. See *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, ed. Jan Shippy and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1994), 189.

14. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 6. See also Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–1992), 2:75. Mary J. M. Cox recalled hearing her father and brother say that, during the course of construction, Artemus also fell off the top of the Kirtland Temple and broke his shoulder blade. See Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 28.

15. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 7.

16. See Artemus Millet, 1872 Genealogy.

17. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 7.

18. Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 24.

19. Mary J. M. Cox, daughter of Joseph Millet Sr., copied the statement from her father's papers into his "Record Book." Joseph Millet Sr. began the "Record Book" in Cedar City, Utah, on January 17, 1908, when he was seventy-five years old. He copied information about the Millet family beginning from 1532, but, by the time he died in 1911, he had filled only twenty-one pages, ending with the history of Artemus's father, Ebenezer. Cox continued the work, beginning with the life of Artemus Millet. After making a copy in the "Record Book," Cox made a more polished copy that is catalogued as Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Statement regarding Artemus Millet," [undated], holograph, Church Archives. Both copies, though catalogued

under Joseph Millet Sr.'s name, were made and signed by Cox. The statement first appeared in print in George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millett*, 110–11. Since Cox sent George copies of Artemus's 1855 Reminiscence and 1872 Genealogy, it is likely that she also supplied him with a copy of Joseph's statement.

20. Biographical information about Joseph Millet Sr. is taken from copies of his diary. Like nearly all of the other sources for this article, Joseph's diary has not been preserved in his own hand. Mary Cox made a copy in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 40–97, between November 1935 and August 1936, and Joseph Millet Jr. made a copy in "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island." Portions of an unidentified copy of the diary were published in Eugene England, "Without Purse or Scrip: A 19-Year-Old Missionary in 1853," *New Era* 5 (July 1975): 20–29. Because all of the copies have different pagination, we refer to them collectively simply as Joseph Millet Sr., Diary, with no page numbers given.

21. For information on Sarah Elizabeth Glines, see *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 3:2015.

22. One of Joseph Sr.'s experiences in helping a man named Newton Hall in answer to Brother Hall's prayer has been shared once by Elder Boyd K. Packer and twice by President Thomas S. Monson in general conference. See Boyd K. Packer, "A Tribute to the Rank and File of the Church," *Ensign* 10 (May 1980): 63; Thomas S. Monson, "The Service That Counts," *Ensign* 19 (November 1989): 46; and Thomas S. Monson, "Gifts," *Ensign* 23 (May 1993): 61.

23. See Joseph Millet Sr., Diary.

24. Sadly, Joseph Sr. did not have all the facts of his own history. Among the genealogical records lost by Artemus between 1841 and 1843 was the exact date of Joseph's birth, and Joseph never knew if he was born on December 22, 1832 or 1833. Joseph Millet Sr., Diary.

25. Father and son and their families moved together to Dixie (1866), Spring Valley (1868), and Scipio (1872).

26. Joseph Millet Sr., Diary, as copied in Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 5.

27. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 7:346, April 20, 1877.

28. Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 24.

29. Joseph Millet Sr., Diary. Joseph does not give the month of his arrival in 1859, but he states that he left in March 1860.

30. Joseph Millet Sr., Diary.

31. A copy of Brigham Young's letter to Joseph Millet is found at the end of Millet Family, "Papers."

32. "Lorenzo Dow Young's Narrative," in *Fragments of Experience, Sixth Book of the Faith Promoting Series* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882), 43.

33. "Lorenzo Dow Young's Narrative," 43.

34. Artemus Millet's name is given in James A. Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 14 (1946): 44. Neither "Lorenzo Dow Young's Narrative" nor the "Biography" gives a date for the meeting, but it is recorded between events dated March 8, 1835, and November 2, 1835. Brigham Young gave his brother's history in "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star* 25 (June 27, 1863): 406–8. In 1946, the *Utah Historical Quarterly* devoted an entire

volume to Lorenzo Dow Young (vol. 14). Celebrating the centennial of Utah settlement, the editors printed both Lorenzo's biography (25–132) and his diary (133–71). The biography was written by Lorenzo Young's nephew James A. Little, who interviewed Lorenzo in the 1880s. While the periodical's editors noted that the account is "uncritical, prolix, and naïve" and that Little was less concerned with historical minutiae than in recording the life of "a saint of the Restored Gospel," they felt that because it told a good story and gave significant place to women, it deserved reprinting. Brigham Young and Little tell much the same story, though Little's account is off by a year. Thus, Little records that the Youngs were baptized in 1831, instead of 1832, and the error is carried through the discussion of the time period in question. This discrepancy is perhaps the result of Lorenzo Young's telling a story of events that were separated from him by over fifty years.

35. See 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), 2:205–7 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

36. Artemus Millet died November 19, 1874, Brigham Young on August 29, 1877, and Joseph Young on July 16, 1881. Joseph Smith's *History of the Church*, sometimes referred to as the *Documentary History of the Church*, was published serially in the *Times and Seasons* (1839–46) and in the *Deseret News* (1852–57). It was not available in its current seven-volume format until 1932. See Howard C. Searle, "History of the Church (History of Joseph Smith)," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:647–48.

37. The original letters are in "Statement, 1885 Jun 22," Church Archives. Included is an interesting note by Elder Franklin D. Richards, dated July 28, 1899, which indicates that Joseph Millet Sr. wanted to obtain the originals but Richards felt they should be kept in the Historian's Office. Copies of the letters are in Millet Family, "Papers."

38. Lisander Gee to Joseph Millet, July 18, 1885, in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 34.

39. Similar efforts to seek out corroboration continued for another fifty years as Joseph Millet Jr. and Mary Cox remained alert for opportunities to verify Artemus's role in building the Kirtland Temple. Joseph Millet Jr. received a January 19, 1914, letter from Benjamin Johnson's nephew, Nephi Johnson, confirming that he, too, had heard his uncle mention Artemus in connection with the temple. The letter is included in Millet Family, "Papers." In 1934, Mary J. M. Cox added her testimony that she had heard older members of the Church talk about the plaster on the Kirtland Temple. She recorded her witness in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 28.

40. In 1828, Noah Webster defined "superintendence" and "superintendency" as "the act of superintending; care and oversight for the purpose of direction, and with authority to direct." *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828). He gives examples that directly link the word to building or construction projects, although "in some reformed churches" a superintendent was also "an ecclesiastical superior." Usage of "superintendence" remained the same in 1877. William G. Webster and William A. Wheeler, *A High-School Dictionary of the English Language*, abridged (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, 1877), 293. In *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 51, Leonard Arrington reported that Brigham Young superintended the "painting and finishing of the temple."

41. Cox recalled that she had sat upon Artemus's knee "manny a time and he told me storys and sang me songs." Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 28. The earliest copy made by Cox is the 1855 Reminiscence that appears in Joseph Millet [Sr.], "Record Book," 21–22. In this copy, she integrated information, such as that Joseph Young confirmed Artemus and that Artemus blessed his son Joseph, from her copy of Artemus's 1872 Genealogy, other copies noted in note 6.

42. A detailed analysis of Cox's additions, deletions, and "corrections" to Artemus's 1855 Reminiscence is found in the footnotes of the documentary analysis in the accompanying appendix.

43. See Mary J. Millett Cox to George F. Millett, July 11, 1936, a brief note appended to the typescript copy of Artemus Millet's reminiscence. The letter is archived with Artemus Millett, "Autobiographies," Perry Special Collections.

44. Other vital original records that are missing include Artemus's 1872 Genealogy, the diary of Joseph Millet Sr., and a statement in his hand regarding his father's call to Kirtland.

45. See Joseph Millett [Jr.], "Reminiscences and Diary," [1881–1931], microfilm of holograph, Church Archives.

46. The first attempt, dated March 8, 1927, is recorded in Joseph Millett [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 1–2. Joseph Jr. prefaced his copy with the affirmation that this was Artemus's 1872 Genealogy as copied from the missing "High Priest's Record" book. However, the blending of facts and accounts is quite apparent, as this version switches from Artemus telling the story in first person to being addressed in third person and back again. Several crossed out passages and various parentheses heighten the confusion. The account reads as follows, with punctuation as in original:

I, Artemus Millet, was Born Sept, 11, 1790. in the Town of west morland & county of Cheshire, State of New Hampshire, U.S.A. my Fathers name was Ebenezer, and my Mothers Name was Catherine Dryden Millet. when 4 years of age, I moved with my Parents to the State of Vermont, and in May 17. 1815 I Married Miss Ruth Grannis. in 1817. I moved with my wife to Olney. Oswego Co, N.Y. in 1824. we moved to the Town of Ernest Upper Canada. And in ~~June~~ <March> 1832<1> my wife Ruth died, leaving ~~seven~~ <six or 5> children, namely Calista <she died at 4 years of age>, Nelson, Emily, Mariah, George Jefferson, and Hyrum. (Artemus was buisly Engaged ~~at this time~~ doing Contract work for the Brittish Government, building stone Bridges and Culverts and had a servent Girl working for them by the name of Susannah Peters, who remained with them. allso his wifes Mother (Grandma Grannis) and Prior to Ruths death. She requested Artemus, that, if she died, he would Marry Susanah as She knew She would be good and kind to her children. So Subsequently after her death, it was agreed with "Grandma" Grannis & Susan that they should get married. Grandma said, "I know of no one I would rather have to care for Ruths children & take her place than Susannah.") and Artemus says: and on the 15. of ~~February~~ <January> 1832 I married Susannah Peters. I was Baptized in to the church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by Elder Brigham Young, and confirmed a member by Elder Joseph Young. (in Canada in <January> 1834.) and Brigham anounced

that he had a mission for me. That the Prophet Joseph wanted me to go to Kirtland Ohio and take charge of the mason work on the Temple as they were going to build a Temple there. So I closed out my business there and in <April> 18[original numbers scribbled out] <34> I moved to Kirtland Ohio. and worked on the Temple from the laying of the corner Stones, untill ~~the~~ its completion, and I did have the full suprentendency of the Building. & had charge of the Plastering and cementing of the Building, both inside and out. (Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 1)

47. The second attempt is in Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 70–71, and is merely a polished version of the account that appears on pages 1–2 of the same source. Furthermore, it has been duplicated and archived separately as Millet Family, "Papers," despite being an exact copy. This undated account reads:

As copied from his Biography he says: after giving date of birth & etc,

"My Fathers name was Ebeneazer. and my mothers name was Catherine Dryden Millet. Daughter of Artemus Dryden Esquire when four years of age I moved with my Parents to the State of Vermont" here they resided untill 1815. & he says "May 17. 1815 I married miss Ruth Grannis, & in 1817 I moved with my wife to Olney Oswego county N.Y. & in 1824 we moved to the Town of Ernest upper Canada. & in January 1832 my wife Ruth died. leaving seven children, namely: Colista, Nelson, Emily, Mariah, George Jefferson & Hyrum Golden Millet."

Artemus was buisily engaged at this time in doing contract work for the Brittish Government, building stone bridges and Culverts, a traded he had previously learned & became very skillful in. they had a servant girl working for them by the name of Susannah Peters who was very industrious & trust worthy, and prior to Ruths death she requested Artemus that if she died for him to marry Susannah. So conesquently after her death it was agreed with Ruths mother and Susannah that she should marry Artemus. "Granma Grannis" said "I know of no one more capable of takeing care of Ruths Children than Susannah. So Artemus says, "on the 15th of february 1832 I married Susanah Peters. I was Baptised in to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints by Elder Brigham Young and confirmed a member by Elder Joseph Young. in Canada." & Previous to this, Artemus new nothing of this Church but Brigham Young was given a special mission to go to Canada and baptise bro, Artemus Millet "by the Prophet Joseph Smith." which call resulted from a consultation held at Kirtland respecting the building of the Tempel there, and as to who they could get that was capable of taking charge of the work. When Elder Lorenzo Young exclaimed to the Prophet "I know the very man who is capable of doing this work." "who is he?" asked the Prophet. "Lorenzo replied "it is Artemus Millet!" The Prophet turned to Brigham and said "I give you a mission to go to Canada and Baptise Brother Artemus Millet, and bring him here. tell him to bring a thousand dollars with him.

Artemus was much surprised when Brigham announced his mission to him and asked "what kind of a Church is that?" then Brigham explained the Principles of the Gospel to him and he accepted and was Baptised <in 1834> and after this ordinance was Performed Brigham informed that he had a mission for him. what is it? asked Artemus. and Brigham replied that the Prophet Joseph wants you to go to Kirtland Ohio and take charge of the construction work of a Temple they are going to build there. Artemus had 36 scotch masons working under him at the time, and he turned the work over to them to finish, left his family in Canada and went to Kirtland, met the Prophet & Patriarch and others of the authorities and immediately work began on the Temple. Artemus helped in the selection of the stone for the building, located a suitable quarry of stone, which when first taken from the ground was soft and easy to work so they hewed it out with axes, and piled the rock up to dry in the sun & harden. after which they were put into the building. after getting the work well under way Artemus left the work in charge of Jacob Bump and Reynolds Kahoon and returned to Canada "for my family" & says "I settled up my business in Canada & in 1834 I moved with my family to Kirtland Ohio. and worked on the Temple from the laying of the foundation to its completion. and I did have the full superintendency of the building, and Plastering both inside and out and I did invent the cement & plaster that was put on that building and superintended the mixing of the ingredients, and was assisted in this labor by Jacob Bump, Reynolds Kahoon and many others a young man by the name of Carr did much of the inside plastering with Jacob Bump while I did the plastering outside. I was ordained an Elder and Received my Endowments in this Holy Temple after it had been dedicated ~~ap~~ or opened for that purpose.

It is quite evident that this account is a composite of Artemus Millet's 1855 Reminiscences, Artemus Millet's 1872 Genealogy, the statement attributed to Joseph Millet Sr., the letters of affidavits, and the "J. Millet on Cape B[reton] Island" account on pages 1-2.

48. Compare with Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 4.

49. Lorenzo's name appears only in Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 70-71; and Millet Family, "Papers," 70-71.

50. Lorenzo Young was baptized in Mendon, New York, and shortly thereafter started for Jackson County with his family. They traveled to Olean Point, the head of navigation on the Alleghany River. There they were joined by Phineas Young and six other families. The group built some boats and floated three hundred miles downriver to Pittsburgh, arriving by at least October 1832. *Journal History of the Church*, December 31, 1833, Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Lorenzo had been ordained an elder by Phineas, and he began to raise up a branch in Pittsburgh. *Journal History of the Church*, December 31, 1832, 2. In April 1833, Lorenzo returned to New York and later brought his father back to Pittsburgh with him. In late summer or early fall 1833, Lorenzo, Phineas, and their father continued toward Jackson County, traveling down the Ohio River. Lorenzo's wife became sick, and the family stopped indefinitely in Beardstown, Ohio, while Phineas and his father, John Young, went

on to East Liverpool. Lorenzo later purchased a boat and continued to West Union, Columbiana County, Ohio, where the family stayed for the winter. See Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 390, 406–8; and Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," 35–44. This seems to make it impossible for Lorenzo to have been present in June 1833 when the first load of rock was hauled to the temple. This story is also mentioned in the 1882 "Lorenzo Dow Young's Narrative," and Little, "Biography of Lorenzo Dow Young," 44–45. The earliest mention of Lorenzo Young in Kirtland in *History of the Church* is in August 1834 (2:149).

51. Cox's typescript of Artemus's 1872 Genealogy reads:

I Artemus Millet was born September 11, 1790, in the town of Westmoreland, County of Cheshire, State of New Hampshire. My father's name was Ebenezer and my mother's name was Catherine Dryden. I moved to Vermont with my parents when four years old. And in May 17, 1815, I was married to Ruth Grannis. In 1817 moved to Olney, Oswego County, New York. In 1824 moved to the town of Earnest, Upper Canada. My wife died in January, 1832. I married Susanna Peterson 15th of Feb., 1832.

I was baptized by Elder Brigham Young and confirmed by Elder Joseph Young. I moved to Kirtland, Ohio, in 1834. I worked on the Temple as mason until the work was done. I was then ordained an Elder and got my endowments. In 1836 I went on a mission with Elder Oliver Granger and labored in Highland County, Ohio. At the breaking up of Kirtland I moved back to Canada in 1838. My wife died in 1841.

In April, 1843, I arrived in Nauvoo and in May the same year I married my third wife Elmira Prichard (or Widow Oaks). And in 1845 I was ordained a High Priest by Noah Packard. I remained in Nauvoo until the Saints left, 1846. I worked as a mason on the Nauvoo Temple and again got endowments in the Nauvoo Temple. And from Nauvoo I moved to Iowa where my third wife died. I then married Mary Hamlet (Widow Nancy Leamaster) and moved to Council Bluffs in 1848. And moved to Salt Lake City in 1850 and settled by council in Manti, where I acted as president of the High Council for about five years. In 1861 I moved to Gunnison, Sevier Co. In 1858 I married Ann Stout. I volunteered to come to the Dixie Mission. I settled in Shonesburgh, and I now reside in Spring Valley, Nevada. (Millet, "Autobiographical Sketches")

52. See Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*. A good history of the Young family is found in Leonard J. Arrington, Susan Arrington Madsen, and Emily Madsen Jones, *Mothers of the Prophets*, rev. ed. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 2001), 29–39. Their children were Nancy (born August 6, 1786), Fanny (November 8, 1787), Rhoda (September 10, 1789), John Jr. (May 22, 1791), Nabby (April 23, 1793), Susannah (June 7, 1795), Joseph (April 7, 1797), Phineas (February 16, 1799), Brigham (June 1, 1801), Louisa (September 25, 1804), and Lorenzo Dow (October 19, 1807).

53. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844*, ed. Elden Jay Watson (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), 1. Brigham Young gives significant detail about the history of his brothers in Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," which appeared in the *Millennial Star* in 1863–64.

For a summary of Church Historical Department holdings and a discussion of Brigham's personal writings, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Writings of Brigham Young," *Western Historical Quarterly* 4 (July 1973): 273–94.

54. "Life History of Phineas Howe Young," Church Archives. Phineas Young's history was printed in Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 326–28, 360–61, 374–76, 390–92, 406. John Young Jr. became a licensed preacher in 1825, and Rhoda married John P. Greene, also a Methodist circuit preacher. See Young, "History of Brigham Young," 310.

55. Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 327.

56. Joseph Young, "Diary," 5–6, Perry Special Collections.

57. In April 1830, Samuel Smith gave Phineas a copy of the Book of Mormon, which he read in one week before lending it to his father and his sister Fanny. Samuel Smith also left a copy at the home of John P. and Rhoda Young Greene. This copy was read by Brigham Young and introduced to Joseph Young. Phineas and Joseph met Solomon Chamberlain at Lyons Township, New York, on their way to Canada in August 1830. Chamberlain told them of the necessity of baptism into the Church. See Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 310, 360–61, 374–75, 424.

58. Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 374. Phineas preached and defended the enchanting new book, telling people about it as often as permitted. He records, "I still continued to preach, trying to tie Mormonism to Methodism, for more than a year, when I found that they had no connection and could not be united, and that I must leave the one and cleave to the other." Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 375.

59. The Columbia branch had been organized sometime during 1831. See *Journal History of the Church*, December 31, 1831, 3. In fall 1831, Elders Alpheus Gifford, Elial Strong, and others preached in Mendon, New York. Brigham was convinced at this time by their preaching. By January 1832, Phineas had returned from Canada, and he, Brigham, and Heber C. Kimball made the trip to Pennsylvania to see the Church in action. They "spent some time with the few Saints that were there, and became more and more convinced of the truth of 'Mormonism.'" They returned home, "preaching the gospel by the way." *Journal History of the Church*, January 31, 1832, 1. Upon their return, Brigham followed his brother Joseph to Canada and shared the newfound faith with his brother-in-law John P. Greene. Brigham and Joseph arrived home in New York in March, whereupon Phineas, Joseph, and John Sr. went to Pennsylvania. See *Journal History of the Church*, April 6, 1832; Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 375–76; Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 1–2; and Orson F. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball* (Salt Lake City: Stevens and Wallace, 1945), 18–20.

60. See *Journal History of the Church*, April 14, 1832; and Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 2–3. Brigham was baptized by Eleazer Miller. Shortly thereafter, a branch was organized in Mendon.

61. They were accompanied by Heber C. Kimball. See *Journal History of the Church*, April 14, 1832; Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 3; and Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 22–26.

62. They were accompanied by Eleazer Miller, Elial Strong, Enos Curtis, and an unidentified elder. Richard E. Bennett suggests that proximity and ease of travel encouraged these missionaries to preach in Canada. He also argues that similarities

between Mormonism and Methodism, as well as well-known preaching routes, influenced their choice of preaching sites. Richard E. Bennett, "A Study of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Upper Canada" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1975). See also Melvin S. Tagg, *A History of the Mormon Church in Canada* (Lethbridge, Alberta: Lethbridge Herald, 1968); Larry C. Porter, "Beginnings of the Restoration: Canada, An 'Effectual Door' to the British Isles," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987*, ed. V. Ben Bloxam, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1987), 3–43; Richard E. Bennett, "'Plucking not Planting:' Mormonism in Eastern Canada, 1830–1850," in *The Mormon Presence in Canada*, ed. Brigham Y. Card and others (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 19–34.

63. Journal History of the Church, June 30, 1832; Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 376.

64. Eleazer Miller and Elial Strong, Journal History of the Church, March 19, 1833, 2.

65. Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 376; Journal History of the Church, April 6, 1832; March 19, 1833.

66. Millet does not give the name of the person who healed him in August 1832. Nevertheless, he could have met Joseph Young at this time.

67. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 3, 5.

68. *History of the Church*, 1:295.

69. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 4–5; *History of the Church*, 1:295–97.

70. Brigham Young, "History of Brigham Young," 439; Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 4–5.

71. Whitney, *Life of Heber C. Kimball*, 28.

72. See *History of the Church*, 1:296–97. Joseph Smith's "Ohio Journal" began after this visit on November 27, 1832. Unfortunately, there is a gap in the journal from December 6, 1832, to October 4, 1833, making it difficult to obtain Joseph Smith's perspective on the Millet story. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:1–37.

73. Joseph Young's diary passes over the trip to Kirtland. He mentions his baptism in April 1832 and then jumps to his role in preaching to healing and baptizing his brother John Jr. See Joseph Young, *Diary*.

74. Nephi built a temple in the land of Nephi (2 Ne. 5:16), King Benjamin taught at a temple in Zarahemla (Mosiah 1:18; 2:1, 5–7), and Jesus Christ appeared at a temple in Bountiful (3 Ne. 11:1). Doctrine & Covenants 36:8 was received in December 1830 (*History of the Church*, 1:131). In February 1831, the Prophet was instructed to purchase lands for a temple in Jackson County, which land he dedicated on August 3, 1831. See Doctrine and Covenants 42:35–36; 57:1–5; *History of the Church*, 1:148–54, 1:189–90, 199.

75. Doctrine and Covenants section 38 was received January 2, 1831. See also *History of the Church*, 1:140–43.

76. See also *History of the Church*, 1:287–95.

77. See also *History of the Church*, 1:302–12; and Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 128. The most recent authorized history states that on this day "the Saints first learned of the Lord's command to build a temple." *Our Heritage: A Brief History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day*

Saints (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1996), 33. See also *Church History in the Fullness of Times*, 162; Richard O. Cowan, *Temples to Dot the Earth* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), chapter 2, page 21–43; Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland*, 155. Allen and Leonard accept the date but also recognize the promise of Doctrine and Covenants 38. Allen and Leonard, *Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 108–9.

78. The rebuke, recorded in Doctrine and Covenants 95, was received June 1, 1833. *History of the Church*, 1:350–52. An important function of this house was its designation as the meeting place for the School of the Prophets. The Saints first mobilized toward the establishment of this school to the neglect of the construction of the house.

79. James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 95. See especially the first half of chapter 5, “Modern Day Temples—the Temples at Kirtland and Nauvoo,” pages 92–102. Talmage was not the only early Church historian to recognize the cause of this delay. Joseph Fielding Smith links Doctrine and Covenants 88 exclusively with the School of the Prophets in *Essentials in Church History* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1953), 148–51. B. H. Roberts dates the “first steps” of the temple construction as May 4, 1833. B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Provo, Utah: Corporation of the President, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1965), 1:310.

80. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 5. Millet’s branch in West Loughborough had about twenty members.

81. On other occasions, Brigham Young did mention the names of people he baptized and converts who traveled with him. See Brigham Young, “History of Brigham Young,” 440. Artemus Millet could not have been baptized in January 1832, since he certainly could not have been baptized before Brigham Young.

82. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 6.

83. Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 6.

84. *History of the Church*, 1:342–343.

85. *History of the Church*, 1:349–50.

86. See Robison, *First Mormon Temple*, 150. Robison has compiled a useful documented chronology of the Kirtland Temple in his appendix, 149–65.

87. See *History of the Church*, 1:353. Journal History of the Church, June 5, 1833, states that Joseph and Hyrum Smith, Brigham and Lorenzo Young, and Reynolds Cahoon assisted in hauling rock to the temple site. However, both *History of the Church*, 1:388, and Brigham Young, *Manuscript History of Brigham Young*, 6, show that Brigham was in Canada at the time and did not return to Kirtland until July. Journal History of the Church, July 13, 1833, 2, also records his return on July 13, 1833.

88. *History of the Church*, 1:353–54; Journal History of the Church, June 6, 1833.

89. Artemus Millett, “Reminiscences,” 4.

90. In the Daughters of Utah Pioneers Library in Salt Lake City, there are twelve different histories of Artemus Millet’s life submitted by various descendants, the most recent submitted in 2000. Millet’s great granddaughter, Mary Delilah Millet Davis (1880–1966), oldest child of Alma Millet Jr., prepared a history of Artemus Millet in 1959 and states that the consultation occurred after the July 1833 cornerstone laying.

91. Hyrum Smith, "Diary," [December 1831–February 1835], typescript, Church Archives; Jared Carter, "Journal," [January 1831–January 1833], holograph, Church Archives; Reynolds Cahoon, "Diary," [1831–32], holograph, Church Archives.

92. See Journal History of the Church, July 23, 1833; and *History of the Church*, 1:400. See also Journal History of the Church, June–August 1833.

93. See Journal History of the Church, October 10, 1833.

94. Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," 4.

95. Robison pointed out that the practice of the united order, the common exchange of goods at the Prophet's store, and poor documentation complicate attempts to sort out where temple financing actually came from. Robison, *First Mormon Temple*, 99–100.

96. *History of the Church*, 2:207.

97. John Tanner and Vienna Jacques are frequently mentioned. See Anderson, *Joseph Smith's Kirtland*, 163–66; Launius, *Kirtland Temple*, 50–52; and Robison, *First Mormon Temple*, 99. Robison and Anderson mention Artemus Millet, but only Robison clarifies that family sources are the only ones that indicate Artemus's donation.

98. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 1:132; 2:75.

99. *History of the Church*, 2:205–7. Artemus Millet received the blessing along with Jacob Bump and the building committee—Hyrum Smith, Reynolds Cahoon, and Jared Carter. This reference to Millet in Kirtland in March 1835 is further evidence in contradiction of Lorenzo Young's claim that he picked Millet up in November 1835. Ironically, Lorenzo Young was also among those blessed on this occasion.

100. While relating an experience about Joseph Millet Sr., Elder Boyd K. Packer commented that "whenever we seek for true testimony we come, finally, to ordinary men and women and children." Packer, "Tribute to the Rank and File of the Church," 63.

101. Joseph Millet [Jr.], "J. Millet on C[ape] B[reton] Island," 4.

Appendix

Of the possible first-person accounts of Artemus Millet's life, only one undated reminiscence, made sometime after 1855, remains extant.¹ Millet was at least sixty-five years old when he wrote the reminiscence that covers his life up until 1855. The account provides significant insight into Millet's life and is the best account from which to draw information about him.

Millet's reminiscence is written in blue ink on both sides of four sheets of now-worn blue paper measuring 8" x 12 1/8". The pages are folded in half twice, and the document is especially worn along the folds and faded along the edges. Due to the presence of several holes, the document has been treated to ensure its preservation.² Before undergoing preservation the document was microfilmed.³

Archivists know nothing about the document's provenance. After Millet recorded his reminiscence, the document must have been passed down through his posterity. Millet's granddaughter Mary J. Millett Cox encountered the document in Short Creek, Arizona, and made a handwritten copy of it on April 2, 1935, but by July 1936 she no longer knew where the original was. Her handwritten copy is archived with Millet's and is very helpful for filling in holes and faded spots that now exist in the original. However, hers is not an exact transcription. She corrected punctuation, misread several words and dates, ignored faded spots and holes, and omitted at least one crossed out passage. She also added information to her copy that does not appear in the original Millet holograph. For example, she titled pages 1–4 as "Artemus Millet's Record," and pages 5–8 as "Journal of Artemus, Sen., written by himself," though no such indication appears on the original. She also added other details that she may possibly have gleaned from other sources. One possible source of additional information is Artemus Millet's 1872 Genealogy. Mary Cox's handwritten copy of this Genealogy is also archived with the Millet reminiscence in his own hand, and the Cox handwritten copy thereof.

1. The extant firsthand account is one of three documents catalogued as Artemus Millett, "Reminiscences," [ca. 1855], holograph, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

2. The document has been treated with Crompton's heat set tissue, a process activated with tacking iron and reversible if carefully worked off with a cotton swab application of alcohol and water. The tissue adheres to the odd pages of the document.

3. Unfortunately the document was microfilmed out of order. The pages appear in the following order: 6, 5, 3, 4, 7, 8, 1, 2. Also, pages 5 and 6 are labeled 8 and 7, respectively.

We have noted in the footnotes where the 1872 Genealogy gives different or additional information and have likewise noted discrepancies with the Cox handwritten copy. All spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained as they appear in the original manuscript. Where the original is unclear, current usage is given. Insertions in the text are enclosed in angle brackets < > at the place of insertion. Material that is crossed out in the original is retained with ~~strikeouts~~. Editorial insertions and comments are enclosed in brackets []. Where holes or faded ink have rendered the document unintelligible, the missing words are indicated by [—].

ARTEMUS MILLET'S 1855 REMINISCENCE

[1] Artemus Millet, Son of Ebenezer and Catharine Millet,⁴ born in Westmorland, Cheshire Co. New Hampshire—Sept^{br} 11th 1790. when I was 4 years old my Father moved to Brooklyn in Vermont where we resided until the Fall after I was 10 years old when we went to Stockbridge in Vermont. When Young I was very unfortunate in cutting my feet⁵ with the ax, when I was twelve years old I fell from a hors[e] and broke my right arm, when 13 I had a long and dangerous sickness, Fever, by which my life was despaired of—My father died of apoplexy at the age of 74 on the 22nd of November. After I attained my 17th year [—] responsibility of taking care

4. Ebenezer Millet was born in 1731 in Beverly, Massachusetts, to Nathaniel and Elizabeth Millet. Ebenezer fought in the battles of Louisburg and Quebec under General James Wolfe during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), losing the use of one arm in the fighting. During the American Revolution, he worked as a recruiter and was known as the one-armed soldier. Ebenezer married Mary Wheeler (born April 12, 1743, in Worcester, Massachusetts) on April 6, 1761. They had six children: Nathaniel (born 1761), Thomas (unknown), Hannah (c. 1765), Elizabeth (c. 1767), Mary (c. 1773), and Lydia (unknown). After Mary Wheeler died, Ebenezer married Catharine Dryden in January 1775.

Catharine [Catherine in Cox] Dryden was born May 1751 in Beverly, Massachusetts, to Artemus Dryden, Esquire, and his wife. The couple had nine children: Polly or Mary (born December 1775 in Holden, Mass.), Sarah (July 11, 1777, Holden, Mass.), Samuel (June 14, 1779, Woodstock, Vt.), Leaffe (Woodstock, Vt.), William August (February 25, 1781, Walpole, N.H.), Luke (c. 1783, Walpole, N.H.), Catherine (c. 1785, Walpole, N.H.), Susanna (c. 1787), and Artemus (September 11, 1790). Ebenezer died on November 22, 1806, at Stockbridge, Windsor County, Vermont, and Catharine died on May 14, 1814. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 49–53.

The handwritten Cox copy includes Catharine's maiden name, which Artemus Millet gave in his 1872 "Genealogy."

5. The handwritten Cox copy rendered "feet" as "foot."

of my Mother and two Sisters⁶ fell upon me. The following July I fell from a Barn and broke my side, and was taken up for dead—when I was nineteen I let out our farm and went to Shelbourn, Vt. to learn mason work. at twenty years of age went to Louisville N Y: where I employed myself Lumbering on the St. Lawrence [River]. the next year, I returned to Stockbridge ~~paid~~ sold our farm and removed to Shelbourne with my Mother and one Sister, the other⁷ being married in my absence. the next Summer my Brother⁸ his wife and child and my [2] Mother and Sister were taken sick, two of them died viz my unmarried Sister⁹ and my Brother's oldest daughter,—

When I moved to Shelburn I gave up my Mother & Sister with all their property to my Brother. I then went to Mason work and continued laying stone for about two years during which time I accumulated \$500; when I became a huckster¹⁰ for the Army during the War¹¹ and lost every thing— On the 17th May, 1815 I married a young woman named Ruth Grannis,¹² daughter of Levi and Pir [hole in original text] Grannis of Milton, Vt. [—]¹³ Lake Champlain. where I also saw the Battle fought in Sept. 1814¹⁴—In

6. Polly and Sarah were at least thirty years old by this time, and both lived long enough to marry. This reference is most likely to the youngest two sisters: Catherine and Susanna who would have been twenty-two and twenty years old, respectively.

7. Artemus's sister Catherine married Van Volkenbury. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 50.

8. George Millett identifies this brother as William. William married Fanny Townsend (September 15, 1778–May 21, 1866), daughter of John and Eunice Townsend. The couple bore no children but adopted nineteen orphans. William died June 29, 1856, in Stockbridge, Vermont. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 50, 105.

9. Susanna died in 1812. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 50.

10. In 1828, Noah Webster traced the word *huckster* from the Danish *hocken*, which meant “to take on the back, and to signify primarily a pedlar, one that carries goods on his back.” In other words, “a retailer of small articles, of provisions, nuts, &c.” As a verb, the word meant “to deal in small articles, or in petty bargains.” *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828).

11. The War of 1812.

12. Ruth Grannis was born in 1796 to Levi and Priscilla Grannis. She died March 20, 1831, in Earnestown, Upper Canada. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 107.

13. This missing sentence falls right along the primary central fold, and the document is especially faded and worn. The Cox handwritten copy inserts in this place “I then moved to Drawland.”

March 1816 we had a daughter¹⁵ born in Milton [Vermont]—I followed masoning during the Summer. Next fall we moved into Volney, Oswego Co. N Y, and took up a Farm there—continued Mason trade, building bridges, laying foundations, &c., for six years—. about 1822, in Sept. I was stoning a well when the man [who] was attending on me let a Stone fall on my head and fractured my skull, which laid me up two months—Then not being able to pay for my land it was taken from Me, and I moved to Gravelly Point [3] in N.Y. State, where I followed mason work again—took a piece of land on Long Island the next Spring and worked in the State, built a large Stone Brewery; was ~~take~~ sick the most of two years; My acquaintance¹⁶ administered to our wants, brought us many comforts of life and let us have hands to help us to work—

I kept a Genealogical chart of my family which I lost after we left Kirtland on our way to Nauvoo, in consequence probably of not having a wife to take care of things—but during the six years alluded to we had three more children born—Nelson, about 18 months younger [than] Calista, and two girls, Emily and Maria.¹⁷ Calista died at the age of four years—. I was recommended to do a certain job of work for a British Officer in Canada¹⁸ where my work increased as my acquaintance increased and I put up Building after building built chimneys laid foundations &c, until it seemed I was to become a permanent resident and I became a citizen and bought a farm. We had two boys born, named George and Hyrum also a still born Son.¹⁹ My wife was taken sick of consumption and after lingering²⁰ [4] two years died in Ernestown, U[pper] C[anada]: in March,

14. The Battle of Lake Champlain was decisive, and the American victory was a turning point in the War of 1812. Despite British superiority, an American naval force secured a victory at Plattsburgh Bay in Lake Champlain. The victory severed the British waterborne supply lines and forced British troops to retreat back into Canada. For more information, see J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983). The Cox handwritten copy inaccurately transcribed the year as “1815.”

15. Calista, who died in 1820. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 107.

16. There is no further information to verify the identity of this person.

17. All three were born in Olney, New York: Nelson (born 1818), married Augusta Bumps; Emily (born 1820), married William Henry McDonald; and Maria (born 1822). See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 107.

18. In 1872, Artemus Millet added that this occurred in 1824.

19. George Jefferson (born September 14, 1825) married Pricilla Randall, Hiram Grannis (1827) married Mary. The stillbirth occurred in 1823. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 107.

1831²¹—. In January 1832²² I married Susannah Petters daughter of Joseph and Jemima Peters, of Ernistown, and in Dec 22 following we had a son named Joseph—. I omitted to state that in June 1829 I was building a large stone house for Joseph Peters and fell through the scaffolding²³ and a large Stone fell on my leg and bruised my leg so that my life was despaired of in 1830 built two large flouring Mills three Stories high beside considerable other work and in [—]²⁴ I took cold which settled in my breast, and I did not get over it until the next August, when I received a witness of the latter day work in a manifestation of the healing power— In January 1833 I was baptized by Brigham Young²⁵ in Loughborough U[pper] C[anada] in the Summer Br. Hyrum Smith wrote to me that it was the will of the Lord that I should go and work on the Temple in Kirtland when I went the work was suspended,²⁶ and I returned sold out on credit and took my family in April 1834 to Kirtland, & in Sept^{br} (fig. 3) my Son Alma²⁷ was born there, on September 22nd and I worked on the Temple.²⁸

20. The Cox handwritten copy reads “suffering.”

21. In 1872, Artemus Millet recalled this date as being January 1832.

22. In 1872, Artemus Millet recalled this date as being February 15, 1832.

23. The phrase “and fell through the scaffolding” is omitted in the Cox handwritten copy.

24. This crucial spot is faded and worn. The Cox handwritten copy does not indicate that something is missing, and therefore infers that Artemus Millet took sick in 1830. What is most likely missing is at least the year 1831 and perhaps even a month. Thus, “the next August” would be 1832—the time when the first Mormon elders preached in Upper Canada. For further details of this mission, see the accompanying article.

25. The Cox handwritten copy adds that Artemus was confirmed by Joseph Young, information she likely gathered from Artemus’s 1872 Genealogy.

26. Work on the Kirtland Temple was suspended on October 10, 1833. See *Journal History of the Church*, October 10, 1833.

27. Alma (born September 22, 1834) married Harriet Sylvania Beal on May 12, 1855, and her sister Eunice Amy Beal on September 24, 1862. He died April 21, 1886. See Susan Easton Black, comp., *Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1989), 31:112–15.

28. The Cox handwritten copy adds that Artemus was ordained an elder, received his endowments, and, in 1836, served a mission with Oliver Granger to Highland County, Ohio. Artemus supplied this information in the 1872 Genealogy.

[5] In May, 1835,²⁹ I called a [—]³⁰ to know if I should go to Canada and return safe³¹— it was sanctioned by the congregation— I started in my own wagon and proceeded as far as Niagara Falls then I went on board the Ship Great Britain the[n] we landed in Kingston at 12 o'clock at night, rainy, dark and cloudy weather— Men with lanterns came on board <from the office [—]³²> to escort the passengers off the ship and I tried to follow one, missed my footing and fell into the water where it was 20 feet deep, I had never learned to swim, but falling near the wharf I caught hold of the logs in a hole and claimed the promise of the people as I was following a light I pitched off the wharf and in falling, , before I reached the water I claimed the promise of the people and by Some means I found myself clinging on where there was a hole in the logs of which the wharf was built³³ and as I was following one of the lights, in trying to get beside the man, I missed my footing and was pitched off the wharf about 10 feet above the

29. The Cox handwritten copy renders the year 1833. The top of the five is both faded and torn, but the lower portion more closely resembles a five than a three. Corroboration for this date comes from William E. McLellin, who noted that Brother Millet gave him money on July 7, 1835, while McLellin and Brigham Young were traveling in Canada. See William E. McLellin, *The Journals of William E. McLellin*, ed. Jan Shippis and John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 189. For the context of this mission, see also Larry C. Porter, "Beginnings of the Restoration: Canada, an 'Effectual Door,' to the British Isles," in *Truth Will Prevail: The Rise of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the British Isles, 1837–1987*, ed. V. Ben Bloxham, James R. Moss, and Larry C. Porter (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1987), 3–43.

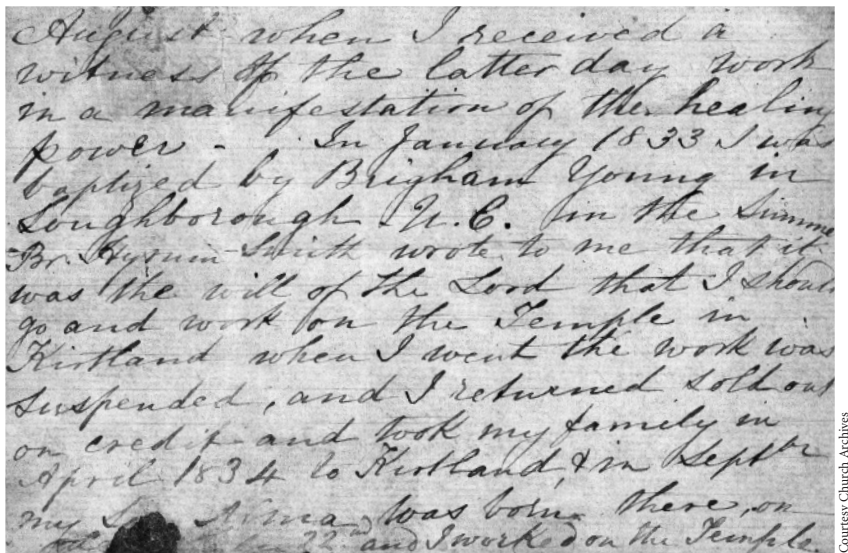
30. The Cox handwritten copy renders this phrase twice: first as "I was called before a council meeting," and then as "I was called before the meeting." Such councils were not uncommon. For example, when a council of elders convened on July 13, 1833, James Lake "desired to know [from them] the will of the Lord, whether he should proceed on to Zion, or remain in Kirtland." *Journal History of the Church*, July 13, 1833.

31. The Cox handwritten copy renders "safe" as "in safety."

32. The Cox handwritten copy renders the missing word as "house."

33. If one thing stands out about Millet in this account it is that he had a strong conviction that his life had been preserved on many occasions. This miraculous event is the only portion of the reminiscence that Millet crossed out and reworked. Millet made three attempts to write this story before he was satisfied with it.

Both crossed-out versions were included in the Cox handwritten copy but were not perpetuated in typed copy. That he made three attempts when recording this experience underscores Artemus's conviction that his life was preserved on many occasions.



August when I received a
 witness of the latter day work
 in a manifestation of the healing
 power. In January 1833 I was
 baptized by Brigham Young in
 Loughborough U.C. in the Summer
 Br. Hyrum Smith wrote to me that it
 was the will of the Lord that I should
 go and work on the Temple in
 Kirtland when I went the work was
 suspended, and I returned without
 on credit and took my family in
 April 1834 to Kirtland, in Sept
 my son Anna was born there, on
 Oct 22 and I worked on the Temple.

Courtesy Church Archives

FIG. 3. Excerpt from Artemus Millet's 1855 Reminiscence. In this portion, Artemus describes his introduction and conversion to the gospel, as well as his call to and arrival in Kirtland.

water which was 20 feet deep. When I fell I had my trunk with me which perhaps helped to save me from sinking, for I was not wet more than to my waist, in falling I claimed the promise of the Saints and although I was thrown off a distance [6] to save myself, I found I had caught on to a hole in the wharf and while in this position there was a cry that a man had fallen off the wharf and the bystanders were so much alarmed that they did not dare to proffer assistance—I called out to them not to be frightened for I was not. Still it was some time before they became sufficiently calm and collect in their minds to conclude to help me, then I told them first to take my trunk, and then to help me out, when we got to the hotel it was quite the topic of conversation amongst passengers and citizens the <calmness>³⁴ of the man who had fallen into the water, and were astonished as they said that numbers had fallen in but they had never known of any one being taken out alive.

34. The word “calmness” is written in black ink over a previous word in handwriting different than Artemus’s.

I collected in my debts, sold my property on credit, and returned to Kirtland, where I <continued> working on the Temple as much as could, my leg being occasionally troublesome—. My son Artemus³⁵ was born on June 14, 1836, and in the Fall [of 1835] I undertook to put the cement on the Kirtland Temple, in company with Br. L[orenzo] D[ow] Young our contract was for \$1000. I was taken sick with cholera and we sent for Joseph Smith, Sen., and John his brother, who said the sickness was not unto death, did not [—] [7] [—] they administered it had not the desired effect, they repeated it [again but] without effect—. I suffered such excruciating pain that my groaning was heard at Joseph Smith, Jun^r's, a distance of 250 yards. I was afterwards told that when in agony I called out let Joseph Smith, Jun., come and lay hands on me and I shall be healed and I know it not knowing what I said. He pressed his way through the crowd; (for the house was filled with people) and came forward and laying his hands on my head asked God the Father in the name of Jesus Christ to heal me; the vomiting and purging ceased and I began to mend from that very moment— When Kirtland Bank broke I went again to Canada <to collect debts, failed, so I went> and worked two Seasons on arched bridges for government. I was overseer a part of the time—. In Nov 1839, my son William³⁶ was born, and my wife died in Oct. 1841—. In 1842 I went back to Kirtland, leaving my children ~~who would not come along~~³⁷ <not being able to take them with me>. I worked at mason work at Chagrin Falls in the Summer, and started for Nauvoo in the Fall, but did not arrive there until April 5th, 1843, just in time for conference—about the end of April³⁸ I was married to the Widow Oakes³⁹ by Brigham Young. I worked on the

35. Artemus Jr. was born June 15, 1836, married Nancy Jane Beal (October 22, 1846–February 23, 1921) on October 11, 1865, and died October 31, 1902. See Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing, 1913), 2:1040; *Pioneer Women of Faith and Fortitude*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1998), 3:2014–15.

36. William, born November 16, 1839, in Earnestown, died about eighteen miles west of Mt. Vernon, Ohio, in 1841. See George Millett, *Ancestors and Descendants of Thomas Millet*, 107.

37. This crossed-out section was not perpetuated in the Cox handwritten copy.

38. In 1872, Artemus Millet incorrectly recalled this month as May.

39. In 1872, Artemus Millet identified his wife as Elmira Prichard. Catherine Almira Prichard was born in 1792 in New Haven, Connecticut, to Reuben Prichard and Sarah Bottsford. She married Selah Oaks (born 1790) and the couple had nine children. They apparently accepted the gospel in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, and later Selah went to Tennessee while Catherine and the children gathered to Missouri. Catherine

Nauvoo Temple more or less for two years, was sick a considerable part of the time.⁴⁰ The Pioneers started for the Bluff. [8] [—] I was sick all Summer on the prairie near Bonaparte—. My wife was taken sick and I had her taken up on Fox River, Iowa, where she died in October [1846]—. The next October [1847] I married Triphenia Booth, Sister to Brigham Young's first wife after living with me a year, she left me at Council Point—. ⁴¹ In March 11th, 1849, I was <married> to Nancy [Hamlet] Lemaster⁴² in Kanesville, by Orson Hyde, ~~then~~ went to Missouri in April and worked for an outfit, returned to Kanesville in July for my family and took them to Missouri where I continued working until <8th> June <1850> when we started from Oregon. My son Liberty⁴³ was born Sept. 22nd, 1850, 11 miles this side Fort Bridger at 4 o'clock in the morning—. We arrived in G[reat] S[alt] L[ake] City on 2nd Oct—. Next day I went to see Brigham, who told me I must go to Manti, and after working four weeks on his barn, I left for San Pete. Br. John Smith⁴⁴ blessed my son Liberty when he was four weeks

married Millet on April 20, 1843, and she died October 1846. While Millet and Oaks were not sealed in life, they were sealed in the Endowment House on October 18, 1867. Her history is reconstructed in Dallin Harris Oaks, "Biographical Sketch of Selah and Catherine Almira Prichard Oaks," 1978, holograph, Church Archives.

40. In 1872, Artemus Millet added that he was ordained a High Priest by Noah Packard in 1845, and that he again received his endowments.

41. Perthenia Works was born June 23, 1811, in Aurelius, Cayuga, New York, to Asa Works and Abigail Marks. She married Lorenzo Dow Booth (born October 13, 1807), and they had seven children between March 1831 and September 1847. Perthenia and Lorenzo separated early in 1847, and she married Artemus in October of that year. It is not known why she left Artemus the next year, but she remained in the Midwest and died on December 6, 1893, in Pleasanton, Iowa. In 1872, Artemus Millet made no mention of this marriage. Perthenia's older sister, Miriam Angeline Works, was Brigham Young's first wife.

42. Nancy Hamlet was born April 15, 1805, in Salisbury, North Carolina, to Jesse Hamlet and Sally Gatewood. About 1836 she married Richard Lemaster (1796–1845). After Lemaster's death, she married Millet on March 11, 1849, in Kanesville, Iowa. After Millet's death, Nancy married Andrew Morton Humbleton on December 5, 1883, in St. George, Utah. She died on December 2, 1898, in Castle Dale, Utah.

43. Liberty was born September 22, 1850, and died August 13, 1930, in Napa, California. He married Sarah Ann McMeechin.

44. John Smith was ordained a high priest (June 3, 1833) and sustained an assistant counselor to Joseph Smith (September 3, 1837). President Smith was released upon the death of the Prophet and ordained Patriarch to the Church on January 1, 1849. He served until his death on May 23, 1854, in Salt Lake City. See 1999–2000 *Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1998), 55.

old and ordained him a High Priest—. We arrived in Manti Nov 18th, 1850—. In 1852 built a stone house for B[righam] Young <and superintended the building of the little fort>. In 1853 Bishop [John] Lowry⁴⁵ appointed me overseer over the Tithing House in the little Stone Fort and In 1855 he put me in Superintendent of the Council House. I labored m[ason] on the Fort Wall in 1854 & '55.⁴⁶

45. John Lowry was born August 10, 1799, in Nashville, Tennessee, to William Lowry and Polly Norris. He served as bishop of the Salt Lake City Second Ward from 1849–1850 and bishop of the Manti Ward from 1850–1855. He died January 7, 1867. See Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 4:623.

46 . In 1872, Artemus Millet added that he spent five years as president of the Manti High Council. In 1858 he married Ann Stout, and in 1861 they moved to Gunnison, Sevier County, Utah. They later moved to the Dixie region of Southern Utah; Shonesburg, Utah; and Spring Valley, Nevada, where Millet recorded his 1872 Genealogy. He died November 19, 1872, in Scipio, Utah.

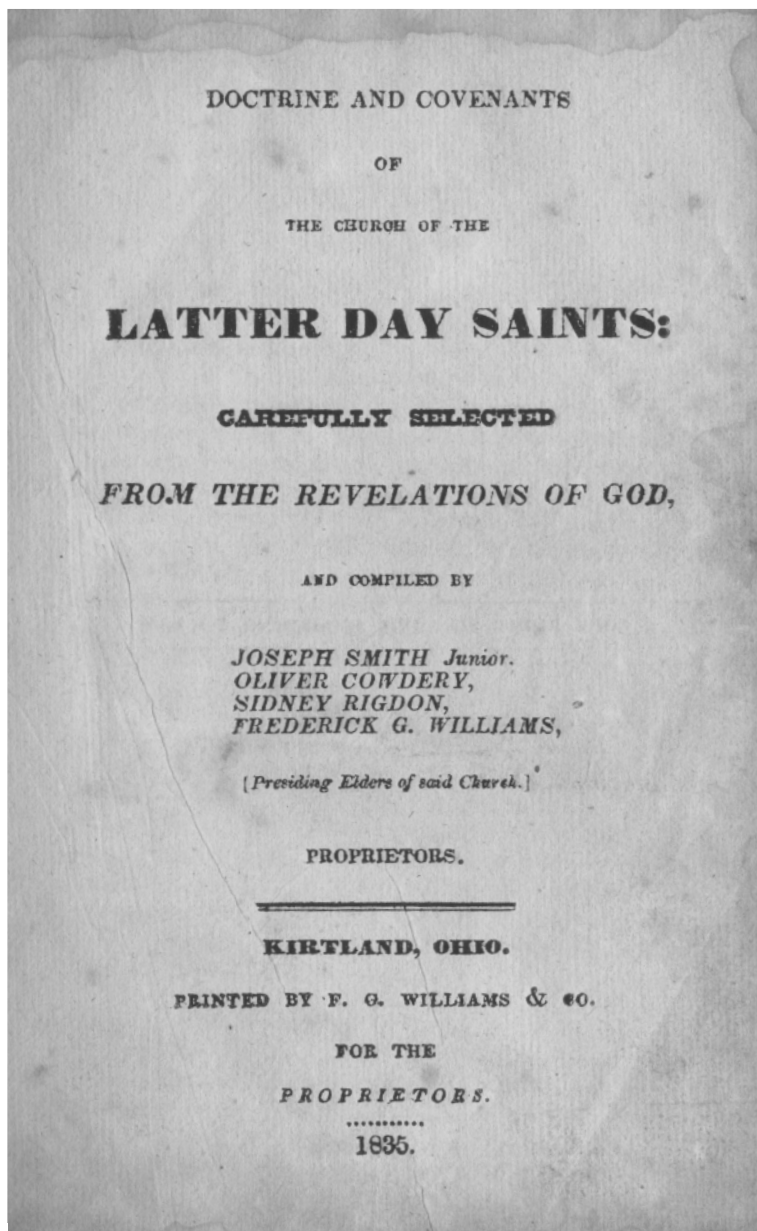


FIG. 1. The title page of the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. The name of the Church varied until 1838 (D&C 115:4). Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams are listed as compilers of this edition. They or persons working closely with them compiled the references analyzed and reprinted in this article. These references help us understand what the compilers found noteworthy in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants.

More Than an Index

The First Reference Guide to the Doctrine and Covenants as a Window into Early Mormonism

Grant Underwood

When the Doctrine and Covenants came off the press in Kirtland, Ohio, in September 1835, readers found two reference tools in the back of the book. The first, a three-page section titled “Index,” is really more of a table of contents. It lists sequentially the seven lectures “of faith” and the 102 sections of “Part Second” found in that original edition, citing the page number where each begins. Then follows “Contents,” also somewhat mislabeled. As seen in the appendix below, “Contents” looks like an index in that it is organized alphabetically. However, entries within each letter grouping are not alphabetized; they are arranged sequentially in the order in which they appear in the book. And there is only one reference for each entry.¹ In this way, “Contents” resembles a table of contents, although alphabetized.

Significantly, “Contents” is the only reference guide or finding aid to the Doctrine and Covenants known to have been prepared in the 1830s. Its authorship is uncertain, but its sponsorship is clear and important. “Contents” was prepared under the direction of the Doctrine and Covenants compilation committee, which consisted of Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams (fig. 1).²

Preparing such a guide is a selective, interpretive act. Studying it today offers a window into the mental world of the people involved in its preparation and publication. Which passages of the Doctrine and Covenants stand out as most noteworthy in “Contents”? Where the wording of an entry summarizes or restates textual content rather than merely excerpts it, what does that tell us about how the Doctrine and Covenants was being interpreted? What general observations can be made about Latter-day

Saint interests and emphases in the 1830s from an analysis of these entries? How does a close examination of “Contents” confirm or counter the findings of other studies of early Mormonism? The great value of “Contents” lies in the fact that it provides more than seven hundred authentic First Presidency–approved (if not authored) glimpses of what seemed noteworthy and significant to them about these revelations in the mid-1830s. The sheer quantity of these entries probably matches the combined total of Doctrine and Covenants interpretations from all other surviving 1830s sources. Accordingly, this article encourages historians to use “Contents” as an important interpretive source that offers an illuminating glimpse into these early understandings.

The Philosophy of a History of Interpretation

As a realm of scriptural study, history of interpretation is distinct from textual criticism. While textual criticism focuses on the preservation and transmission of the text,³ a history of interpretation broadens the inquiry to ask how the text has been read over time. In the spirit of Nephi “lik[en] all scriptures” to his people (1 Ne. 19:23), it assumes that scriptural texts may well have many applications and meanings. Those who study literature have long emphasized that “meaning is not something embedded in a text to be extracted ‘like a nut from its shell,’ but is rather ‘an experience one has in the course of reading.’”⁴ In this literary sense, meaning is a creation of the reader in collaboration with the text. We “see” in a text what our interpretive principles and the Spirit allow or direct us to notice and understand in our specific situation.

In this light, it cannot be assumed that what a modern Saint understands by a given passage in the Doctrine and Covenants is necessarily what his or her counterpart in the 1830s or even 1930s would have understood by those same words. A classic example would be the modern interpretation of Doctrine and Covenants 59:6, “thou shalt not . . . kill, nor do anything like unto it,” which sees this as an injunction against abortion. That interpretation is not documented prior to the second half of the twentieth century, when the issue of abortion became more prominent.

It is also important to recognize that differing interpretations do not merely reflect changing personal views or circumstances. To one degree or another, there is always a communal quality to interpretation. Of some of these “communities” of thought we may be cognizant. Others, deeper in nature and even embedded in the very structure of our language, elude our consciousness but constrain our interpretations just the same. Discernible interpretive communities may be large-scale and institution-wide such as

Latter-day Saint versus Community of Christ (RLDS) perspectives. Or they may be in-house, such as schools of thought or generational differences within the broader tradition. Since The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is partly shaped through interpretations of its foundational texts, to pursue interpretive history is to help illuminate the development of a religion's beliefs and behaviors. This enables us to better discern the line-upon-line manner in which truth has been revealed.

Thematic Coverage in “Contents”

In an overall sense, the entries in “Contents” seem to fall into four broad categories: (a) entries that draw attention to priesthood and church government; (b) entries that highlight specific directives to the brethren; (c) entries on general exhortations about godly living; and (d) entries that can be loosely classified as doctrinal or theological. The number in each category is roughly the same. If one is inclined to view the entries in the first three categories as all having to do with church regulation, then roughly 70 percent of the entries draw attention to what the Lord would have his church *do*, institutionally or individually, as distinguished from what he would have them believe. Theologians would say that orthopraxis (right practice) received greater emphasis in the 1830s than orthodoxy (right doctrine).

This observation is supported by several early expressions about the value and objectives of the Doctrine and Covenants. On September 24, 1834, when the high council in Kirtland appointed a committee—the First Presidency—to prepare this book, they commissioned them to “arrange the items of doctrine of Jesus Christ, for the *government* of his church of the Latter Day Saints.”⁵ Similarly, at the general assembly convened eleven months later to examine and approve the finished compilation, “President John Smith arose and testified his joy that we have at length received the long wished for document to govern the church in righteousness and bring the Elders to see eye to eye.” Representatives from all the assembled priesthood quorums and governing councils were requested to offer their feelings about the book. The teachers quorum representative, Erastus Babitt, stated that “he received it at the time, as coming from God, and that he was willing to be governed by the *rules* contained in the book.”⁶ In their preface to the volume, the Presidency explained, “The second part [the compilation of revelations, the first part being the “Lectures on Faith”] contains items or principles for the *regulation* of the church, as taken from the revelations which have been given since its organization, as well as from former ones.”⁷ These statements make clear that the first Doctrine and Covenants functioned primarily, but not exclusively, as an 1830s counterpart to the *Church Handbook of Instructions* today.

Quantitative Analysis of “Contents”

The compilers’ emphasis on church governance matters is confirmed statistically. Table 1 shows the priority of place given to major revelations on priesthood and church government, namely sections currently numbered 20, 84, 86, 102, and 107. In the 1835 edition, these five sections were positioned among the first seven in the Doctrine and Covenants. Their nonchronological placement in the front suggests that the First Presidency compilers wished to draw special attention to them.

Table 2 highlights the sections with the most “Contents” entries by raw scores, and table 3 attempts a more proportional comparison by ranking the ratios of entries to verses (using the modern versification) in each section.⁸ Either way, the main sections on priesthood occupy prominent positions. The largest number of entries for any section was forty-nine (see table 2, data on section 107). Section 107 also had the second-highest ratio (0.49) of references to verses.⁹ By contrast, the similarly sized section 76, the vision of the three degrees of glory—one of the most purely doctrinal

TABLE 1
The First Seven Sections
in the 1835 Edition of the
Doctrine and Covenants

1835 Sec. No.	Title in the 1835 Index	1981 Sec. No.
1	Preface to the Command- ments	1
2	Articles and Covenants	20
3	Priesthood	107
4	Revelation of September 22–23, 1832	84
5	Minutes of the High Council	102
6	Parable of the Wheat &c.	86
7	Revelation Called the “Olive Leaf”	88

TABLE 2
The Twelve Most
Frequently Refer-
enced Sections

1981 Sec. No.	No. of Entries in “Contents”
107 *	49
88*	47
20*	35
84*	33
42	23
63	17
45	17
102*	16
1*	15
6	15
10	15
101	15

* These sections also appear in
table 1.

TABLE 3

The Ten Most Referenced Sections by Ratio of Entries to Modern Number of Verses

1981 Sec. No.	No. of Entries in "Contents"	No. of 1981 Verses	Ratio of Entries to Verses
134	13	12	1.08
107*	49	100	0.49
102*	16	34	0.47
20*	35	84	0.42
6	15	37	0.41
11	12	30	0.40
1*	15	39	0.38
24	7	19	0.37
86*	4	11	0.36
88*	47	141	0.33

* These sections also appear in table 1.

revelations—received only 0.09 references per verse.¹⁰ These data indicate that in the 1830s, the Doctrine and Covenants was prized more as a handbook on church government than as a source book for theology.

Qualitative Analysis

A shift from quantitative to qualitative analysis brings us to an examination of the wording of "Contents" entries. Each of the four thematic categories will be sampled to show how this unassuming document opens windows of historical understanding for modern readers.

Priesthood and Church Government References. "Contents" references dealing with priesthood and church government shed light on or are relevant to questions asked by Mormon historians about 1830s perceptions and practices. For instance, consider the discussion over whether the designations in the "Articles and Covenants" (section 20) of Joseph Smith as "first elder of this church" and Oliver Cowdery as "second elder" are best understood as two ecclesiastical titles or simply as a reference to chronology.¹¹ This passage is referenced in "Contents" with the words "Two first elders." The placement of the word "two" in front of "first," as well as the plural "elders," makes it clear that "Contents" understood Joseph and Oliver both as "first elders." There cannot be two firsts in a sequential sense,

but if “first” is understood as “chief” or “presiding,” as in the expression “First Presidency,” then the entry “Two first elders” makes perfect sense. Moreover, in the text of the revelation, the word “elder,” especially as followed by the phrase “of the [this] church,” seems to reflect the common Christian usage of ecclesiastical leader or officer. Hence the phrase “first elder(s)” was not an attempt to identify the first two men ordained to the office of elder within the Melchizedek priesthood but rather to point to Joseph and Oliver as the two “presiding officers” of the newly organized church.¹²

Similarly revealing is how “Contents,” prepared just months after the first Twelve were called in 1835, uses the word “apostle.” Both in the text of the Doctrine and Covenants, as well as in “Contents,” the word “apostle” connotes function more than position. In the September 1832 revelation “On Priesthood” to Joseph Smith and “six elders,”¹³ the Lord declares, “As I said unto mine apostles, even so I say unto you, for you are mine apostles” (D&C 84:63). “Contents” references this passage with the words “Elders called as the ancient apostles.” In the common English of Joseph Smith’s day as well as in the New Testament, the word “apostle,” based on the Greek verb *apostello* (to send), could refer to anyone sent or deputized to conduct important business: a messenger, an envoy, or a missionary, as well as one of the apostles as such.¹⁴ Thus, elders could be referred to as apostles. In 1837, John Taylor reflected this broader apostle-as-missionary meaning of this term when he wrote to a friend in England: “You ask what is the number of the apostles. There are twelve that are ordained to go to the nations, and there are many others, no definite number.”¹⁵ With the passage of time, however, and especially after the Twelve returned from their successful mission to England in 1840–41, Joseph Smith called them “to stand in their place next to the first presidency” and taught the deeper significance of the holy apostleship.¹⁶ Eventually the term “apostle” came to refer almost exclusively to men who had been ordained to that particular office in the Melchizedek Priesthood; but in 1835 a “Contents” entry worded “Duty of apostles and elders” accurately referred to a paragraph listing the duties of an elder (D&C 20:38–44), reflecting the fact that in the Church’s earliest years these two terms were often synonymous.¹⁷

Elsewhere, “Contents” reflects word usages that have not been discussed by historians. In entries such as “Authority of the standing councils at the stakes” and “Authority of the standing council at Zion,” modern Latter-day Saints are reminded that the terms “stakes” and “Zion” did not have overlapping meanings in the 1830s. “Zion” generally referred not to the whole Church but to the revealed gathering place near Independence, Missouri, and to the Saints who inhabited it. “Other places . . . called stakes,” outposts

from the main tent of Zion, were also to be appointed as authorized gathering centers for the Saints (D&C 101:21). In 1832, for instance, the Lord “consecrated the land of Shinehah [Kirtland] . . . for a stake *to* Zion” (D&C 82:13, italics added), and Kirtland was called “the city of the stake of Zion” (D&C 94:1). The two separate “orders” created in 1834 from the original, churchwide “united order” were known as “the United Order of the Stake of Zion, the City of Shinehah [Kirtland]” and “the United Order of the City of Zion [Missouri]” (D&C 104:48). Thus, Zion and the Church’s stakes were not coterminous in the early years. A stake *of* Zion did not originally mean a stake *within* Zion.

Likewise, one encounters in “Contents” the expression “confirming the church(es).” Today one speaks of confirming *members* of the Church, but not of confirming *a*, or *the*, Church. “Church” is used almost exclusively to refer to the overall organization, not, as it was in the New Testament and occasionally in the early years of this dispensation, to its constituent congregations. Yet the Lord told Joseph to confirm “the church at Colesville” (D&C 26:1), which reflects the idea of the church as a “congregation,” consistent with contemporaneous English and New Testament usages.

References to Situation-Specific Instructions. Many references in “Contents” draw attention to matters of contemporary and local importance. Often, “Contents” will repeat an exact phrase from the revelation that would have been more readily understood by people at that time. For example, the reference “Continue the work of translation” points to the work on the Joseph Smith Translation of the Bible. The entry “Buy lands for the present” directs readers to the revelation given to those who moved from New York in early 1831. The entries “Commandment to the first laborers” and “Children of Zion reproved” must have seemed more personal to readers in 1835 than they do today. Examples could be multiplied.

Some entries remind modern readers of matters that were important then but are almost entirely lost from the collective consciousness today. For example, one entry cryptically reads, “Oliver returns”: readers are sent to Doctrine and Covenants 37:3, in which the Saints are told to “assemble together at the Ohio, against the time that my servant Oliver Cowdery shall return unto them.” Forgotten today is the fact that in response to the fall 1830 revelations directing the Saints to gather “in unto one place” (D&C 29:8) and indicating that it would be “on the borders by the Lamanites” (D&C 28:9), Oliver had previously been dispatched to Missouri to “rear up a pillar as a witness where the Temple of God shall be built, in the glorious New Jerusalem.”¹⁸ At the time Doctrine and Covenants 37 was received, Oliver’s return from this assignment to select a suitable spot was seen as a crucial prerequisite to launching the promised gathering to Zion.

In section 104, certain real estate is allocated to the Prophet Joseph Smith with the proviso “I have reserved an inheritance for his father, for his support” (D&C 104:45). Though Joseph Smith Sr. is clearly secondary to his son in the passage, the compilers’ only entry for this paragraph is “Inheritance for his father.” Presumably, local attitudes and circumstances in 1835 justified a reminder that the Prophet’s father “shall be reckoned in the house of my servant Joseph Smith, Jun.”

More examples include “Children of Zion upbraided,” which targets an isolated passage in which the Lord commands that the “brethren in Zion” be “upbraided” for “their rebellion against you at the time I sent you” (D&C 84:76), meaning the Prophet’s spring 1832 visit to Missouri;¹⁹ the entry “Brother’s garment, &c.” relates to the passage “thou shalt not take thy brother’s garment; thou shalt pay for that which thou shalt receive of thy brother” (D&C 42:54), which provided a corrective to the attitudes reported by John Whitmer in his description of the communal “Family” living on Isaac Morley’s property:

The disciples had all things common, and were going to destruction very fast as to temporal things; for they considered from reading the scripture that what belonged to a brother, belonged to any of the brethren. Therefore they would take each others [*sic*] clothes and other property and use it without leave which brought on confusion and disappointment.²⁰

Entries Targeting Exhortations to Godly Living. A third category of “Contents” entries refers readers to various hortatory passages. Examples of such entries include “Do good” (which sends readers to D&C 11:12), “Pray unto the Lord” (D&C 65:4), “Give heed” (D&C 12:9), “Gird up your loins” (D&C 106:5), “Go forth and preach” (D&C 44:3), “Repent speedily” (D&C 63:15), “Sin no more” (D&C 82:7), “Humble yourselves” (D&C 67:10), “Keep my commandments” (D&C 42:1), and “Live by every word” (D&C 98:11). The generic form of most of these entries implies that these references were understood as stating widely applicable principles. Presumably, the general orientation of “Contents” is disclosed in the entry “What I say unto one I say unto all” (D&C 92:1).

Of course, even though the revelations had been published for all the world to see, a sense of personal ownership may still have hovered around some of its passages, since nearly everyone mentioned in the Doctrine and Covenants was still alive in 1835. The entry “Arise and be baptized,” for instance, references an invitation that was originally extended to James Covill (D&C 39:10). The entry “Call upon the inhabitants of the earth” cites words spoken to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon as they were sent on a brief mission to combat the adverse effects of the publication of the Ezra Booth letters (D&C 71:4). And the entry “Bosom shall burn” cites

the explanation offered to Oliver Cowdery for how the translation process should have worked (D&C 9:8). Even the entry “What I say unto one I say unto all,” a phrase originally spoken to Frederick G. Williams at the time he was admitted to the “united order,” could be read as highlighting the interchangeability of counsel among the various members of the united order rather than as announcing the wider applicability of God’s word to all readers. Further study of the overall history of Doctrine and Covenants interpretation will likely help us understand how and when the book came to be read more as a devotional volume for personal guidance than as a historical document or a handbook for church government.

Doctrinal Entries. As a reference guide to significant doctrinal passages in the Doctrine and Covenants, “Contents” is somewhat of a disappointment. It appears that mining the book’s theological insights was not a primary objective for “Contents.” To be sure, its compilers drew attention to some points of doctrine in entries such as “Eternal punishment” (D&C 19:11) and “Earth [to be] crowned with the celestial glory” (D&C 88:14–20). Occasionally, “Contents” moves beyond its usual style of merely excerpting a phrase from the revelation and offers something approaching an interpretation as, for instance, with the entry “No knowledge no repentance,” which cites the passage “I say unto you, that whoso having knowledge, have I not commanded to repent? And he that hath no understanding, it remaineth in me to do according as it is written” (D&C 29:49–50).

More noticeable, however, is what is overlooked. Absent are entries to such now-popular passages as “whether by mine own voice or by the voice of my servants, it is the same” (D&C 1:38); “if ye have desires to serve God ye are called to the work” (D&C 4:3); “if they would not repent they must suffer even as I” (D&C 19:17); “I, the Lord, am bound when ye do what I say” (D&C 82:10); and “the glory of God is intelligence” (D&C 93:36).

On the other hand, the millenarian character of early Mormonism plainly shows through in “Contents.”²¹ A sample of such eschatological entries includes: “Great day shall come” (D&C 34:9); “I come quickly” (D&C 88:126); “Millenial [*sic*] shall come” (D&C 43:27–33); “Vengeance cometh speedily upon the ungodly” (D&C 97:22); “Field ready to be burned” (D&C 31:4); “Mine when I come to make up my jewels” (D&C 101:3); “Signs in the heavens” (D&C 88:87); “Ruler when I come” (D&C 41:4); and “Signs of his coming” (D&C 45:39–44). Not only are major prophetic sections, such as section 45, amply cited, but in some places unusual detail is provided. For instance, in that portion of the Olive Leaf (D&C 88) which deals with the end times, a separate entry is made for the events of each of the seven trumpets: “Trump second,” “Trump third,” and so on to “Trump seventh” (D&C 88:93–107), where a single reference to the sounding of the

seven might have been sufficient. The compilers even drew attention to the fact that, following the sequence of events associated with the sounding of each trump, the trumps would sound again to “reveal the secret acts of men” (D&C 88:108–10) a thousand years at a time (“First angel again sound his trump”). For the overall minority of entries that can be classified as theological, the branch of theology known as eschatology is clearly the best represented.

Conclusion

In dealing with the more than seven hundred references in “Contents,” this study has painted its portrait with only the broadest of strokes. It seems clear on several grounds that “Contents” reflects a high concern about matters pertaining to priesthood and church government and the expectation that readers would use the Doctrine and Covenants to delineate Church policies and procedures. This observation reminds modern readers of what distinguished early Mormons from those of other faiths. People who had broken away from other churches because they saw those churches as the works of men prized revelations from God that directed church government. The ordinances and orders of the Church were tangible evidence of the divine sponsorship of the church they had joined. Of course, they cared about doctrine too, but even within the Church, in that first generation, the Bible was still the prime arena for theological reflection and elaboration.²² Usage patterns would change over the years, but to the degree that other early sources corroborate the orientation of “Contents,” it seems that during the lifetime of the Prophet Joseph Smith the most-used portions of the Doctrine and Covenants were its numerous instructions on how to govern both the affairs of the Church and the lives of individual Saints and to prepare the Saints for the future state of rewards and punishments.

In the end, a comprehensive history of Doctrine and Covenants interpretation would require attention to a great variety of source materials over the entire sweep of this dispensation. Diaries and discourses, treatises and tomes, periodicals and pamphlets would all need to be carefully consulted. So, too, would overlooked but illuminating sources such as the 1835 “Contents.” This article plows but a single furrow in an immense and fascinating field of study waiting to be thoroughly cultivated. It does so in hopes of stimulating others to search out all the inspired and inspiring ways in which the Doctrine and Covenants has been understood over the years. That work would stand as an appropriate act of gratitude as well as a valuable contribution to learning.

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1. Entries may occasionally be worded the same, but they always reference separate paragraphs. For example, the phrase “Keep my commandments” is used five times as an entry, each referring the reader to a different Doctrine and Covenants paragraph.

2. Oliver Cowdery and Orson Hyde, “General Assembly,” *Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of the Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams, 1835), 255; 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), 2:165, 243 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

3. For the Doctrine and Covenants, such studies include: Robert J. Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants, Volumes I–III” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1974; reprinted on CD, Provo, Utah: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Latter-day Saint History and BYU Studies, 2001); Richard P. Howard, *Restoration Scriptures: A Study of Their Textual Development*, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1969; 1995); Melvin Joseph Petersen, “A Study of the Nature of and the Significance of the Changes in the Revelations as Found in a Comparison of the *Book of Commandments* and Subsequent Editions of the *Doctrine and Covenants*” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955).

4. Stephen D. Moore, “Negative Hermeneutics, Insubstantial Texts: Stanley Fish and the Biblical Interpreter,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 54 (winter 1986): 708. He is quoting Jane P. Tompkins, introduction to *Reader-Response Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), xvi–xvii.

5. Cowdery and Hyde, “General Assembly,” 255, italics added; *History of the Church*, 2:165.

6. Kirtland High Council, Minutes, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives), 103, 105; italics added. The account in this source offers more detail of the proceedings of the August 17, 1835, general assembly than the account in *History of the Church*.

7. “Preface,” *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835), iii, italics added.

8. So that the results would not be skewed, sections with ten verses or less have been disregarded.

9. For the ratio of references to verses I have used the number of verses in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants.

10. Other evidence shows that section 76 was little discussed among the Saints in the 1830s. See Grant Underwood, “‘Saved or Damned’: Tracing a Persistent Protestantism in Early Mormon Thought,” *BYU Studies* 25, no. 3 (1985): 85–103. Nevertheless, the lower number of entries may reflect the longer paragraphs in this section and the tendency in the “Contents” to have only one entry per paragraph.

11. The view that these titles were intended to communicate chronology seems to derive from the way the manuscript history of Joseph Smith was worded. In it John the Baptist tells Joseph and Oliver that the Melchizedek Priesthood would “in

due time be conferred on [them]. And that [Joseph] should be called the first Elder of the Church and [Oliver] the second.” Dean C. Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 1:291. See also *History of the Church*, 1:40–41.

Gregory A. Prince has noted that in the opening paragraph of “Articles and Covenants” (printed prior to the publication of the Doctrine and Covenants) both Joseph and Oliver were simply designated “an elder of this church” rather than “first” and “second” elders. Gregory A. Prince, *Power from on High: The Development of Mormon Priesthood* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1995), 21. In the very next paragraph of “Articles and Covenants,” however, the phrase “first elder” is found, and in all surviving manuscripts of the revelation received on the day the Church was organized, Oliver is reminded that he is “an elder under [Joseph’s] hand, he being the first unto you” (D&C 21:11). Indeed, the earliest surviving ministerial licenses in the Church, signed for John Whitmer, Christian Whitmer, and Joseph Smith Sr. at the June 1830 conference, carry the titles “first elder” and “second elder” after Joseph’s and Oliver’s names, respectively. Thus, the relative position between the two was clear from the beginning and was not an 1835 invention, and the 1835 wording change in the first paragraph of “Articles and Covenants” simply conformed with these earlier usages.

12. That “first elder” was understood to mean chief ecclesiastical officer of the Church is further corroborated by a notation made by Oliver Cowdery at the time he recopied the patriarchal blessing book of Joseph Smith Sr., which, incidentally, was very near the time Cowdery was working on the Doctrine and Covenants and possibly helping to prepare “Contents.” Apparently desiring to underscore the fact that the Patriarch father did not take precedence over the Prophet son, Cowdery wrote that “although his father laid hands upon and blessed the fatherless, thereby securing the blessings of the Lord unto them and their posterity, *he was not the first elder*, because God called upon his son Joseph and ordained him to this power and delivered to him the keys of the Kingdom.” Oliver Cowdery, Minutes in Joseph Smith, Sr., Patriarchal Blessing Book, vol. 1, 8, 1835, cited in Irene M. Bates and E. Gary Smith, *Lost Legacy: The Mormon Office of Presiding Patriarch* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 42, photocopy of original in possession of Bates and Smith, italics added by Bates and Smith.

13. The quoted portion of this revelation was actually received the next day in the presence of “eleven high Priests save one.” “Kirtland Revelation Book,” Church Archives, 24.

14. See “Bible Dictionary,” in *Holy Bible* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), 612, s.v. “apostle”; Noah Webster’s *First Edition of an American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828; Anaheim: Foundation for American Christian Education, 1967); and Francis H. Agnew, “The Origin of the NT Apostle-Concept: A Review of Research,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105 (March 1986): 75–96.

15. John Taylor, “Communications,” *Messenger and Advocate* 3 (June 1837): 514.

16. “Conference Minutes,” *Times and Seasons* 2 (September 1, 1841): 521; *History of the Church*, 4:403.

17. On the developing role of the Twelve, see T. Edgar Lyon, “Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve,” in *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History*,

ed. F. Mark McKiernan and others (Lawrence, Kans.: Coronado, 1973), 167–206; Ronald K. Esplin, “The Emergence of Brigham Young and the Twelve to Mormon Leadership, 1830–1841” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1981); and William G. Hartley, “‘Upon You My Fellow Servants’: Restoration of the Priesthood,” in *The Prophet Joseph: Essays on the Life and Mission of Joseph Smith*, ed. Larry C. Porter and Susan Easton Black (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 49–72.

18. Oliver Cowdery, as cited in “Mormonism No. 8–9,” by Ezra Booth, *Ohio Star*, December 8, 1831, p. 1, col. 1.

19. This instruction was taken seriously enough that shortly after the revelation was received, a council of high priests appointed Orson Hyde and Hyrum Smith to draft a letter of reprimand to the brethren in Zion. *History of the Church*, 1:317–21.

20. F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., *An Early Latter Day Saint History: The Book of John Whitmer Kept by Commandment* (Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1980), 37. Levi W. Hancock remembered a visit to the “Family” during which a brother “came to me and took my watch out of my pocket and walked off as though it was his. I thought he would bring it back soon but was disappointed as he sold it. I asked him what he meant by selling my watch. ‘Oh, said he, I though[t] it was all in the family.’ I told him I did not like such family doing and I would not bear it.” Levi W. Hancock, *The Levi Hancock Journal*, typescript, 28, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

21. See Grant Underwood, *The Millenarian World of Early Mormonism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

22. See Gordon Irving, “The Mormons and the Bible in the 1830s,” *BYU Studies* 13, no. 4 (1973): 473–88; Grant Underwood, “Joseph Smith’s Use of the Old Testament,” in *The Old Testament and the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Randall Book, 1986), 381–413; and Philip L. Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Appendix

What follows is a reproduction of the entries in “Contents,” as printed in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants (fig. 2). The corresponding 1981 edition sections and verses have been added on the right. “Contents” is like an alphabetical index in that entries are grouped according to their first letter, but the entries under each letter are arranged according to section number, not alphabetical order. Thus, if the user is interested in “Melchizedek priesthood,” for instance, one must read through all the “M” entries to make sure that none are missed.

CONTENTS.

[The arrangement of the Lectures supercedes the necessity of
any other reference than the Index.]

PART SECOND.

A	<i>Sec.</i>	<i>Par.</i>
Aaronic or lesser priesthood an appendage, &c.	3	8
Authority of the standing councils at the stakes,	3	14
—— of the standing council at Zion	3	15
Adam blessed his posterity in Adam-ondi-Ahman,	3	28
Adam prophesied concerning his posterity,	5	29
Authority of bishops,	3	32
Appeal from the bishop's council to the high council,	3	35
Appendages of the high priesthood,	4	5
Appeal to the seat of the first presidency,	5	11
Another comforter,	7	1
All things of God,	7	10
All kingdoms receive of the Lord's presence,	7	14
Arm of mercy atoned	10	1
Adam transgressed,	10	11
Authority necessary to preach,	13	4
Adulterers cast out,	13	7
Ask God for wisdom,	13	18
All gifts to some,	16	8
All things done in the name of Christ,	16	9
Abominations in the church,	17	2
Ask the Father,	17	7
After much tribulation cometh the blessing,	18	2
Assemble to Zion, &c.	20	8
Agent unto the disciples,	20	12
An ensample, &c.	23	4
Assist to translate,	35	1
Altered those words,	36	1
Arise and be baptized,	59	1
All things done according to law,	62	1
—— grain for man,	80	1

FIG. 2. The first page of "Contents" in the 1835 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. In this edition, sections were ordered differently than they are today and were broken into paragraphs rather than verses.

CONTENTS.

(The arrangement of the Lectures [on Faith, in Part First] supercedes the necessity of any other reference than the Index.)

PART SECOND

A	1835		1981	
	Edition		Edition	
	<u>Sec.</u>	<u>Par.</u>	<u>Sec.</u>	<u>Vs.</u>
Aaronic or lesser priesthood an appendage, &c.	3	8	107	13–17
Authority of the standing councils at the stakes,	3	14	107	36
——— of the standing council at Zion	3	15	107	37
Adam blessed his posterity in Adam-ondi-Ahman,	3	28	107	53–55
Adam prophesied concerning his posterity,	5 ^a	29	107	56–57
Authority of bishops,	3	32	107	68–73
Appeal from the bishop's council to the high council,	3	35	107	78–80
Appendages of the high priesthood,	4	5	84	29–30
Appeal to the seat of the first presidency,	5	11	102	24–27
Another comforter,	7	1	88	1–3
All things of God,	7	10	88	39–41
All kingdoms receive of the Lord's presence,	7	14	88	56–60
Arm of mercy atoned	10	1	29	1–3
Adam transgressed,	10	11	29	40–41
Authority necessary to preach,	13	4	42	11
Adulterers cast out,	13	7	42	19–28
Ask God for wisdom,	13	18	42	63–69
All gifts to some,	16	8	46	28–30
All things done in the name of Christ,	16	9	46	31–33
Abominations in the church,	17	2	50	4–6
Ask the Father,	17	7	50	31–36
After much tribulation cometh the blessing,	18	2	58	3–4
Assemble to Zion, &c.	20	8	63	24–31
Agent unto the disciples,	20	12	63	42–46
An ensample, &c.	23	4 ^b	51	13–17
Assist to translate,	35	1	9	1–2
Altered those words,	36	5	10	29
Arise and be baptized,	59	3	39	7–11
All things done according to law,	62	3	44	6
— grain for man,	80	2	89	10–15
Axe is laid at the root of the tree,	81	2	97	3–9
Agency of man,	82	5	93	29–35
Alam, and others,	86	4	82	11–19
Account to bishop in Zion,	87 ^c	3	72	9–15
Apocrypha not translated,	92	1	91	1–6
Angel flying through heaven,	100	4	133	36–45

^a This is a typographic error in the 1835 edition: it should be section 3, not section 5. Paragraph 29 of section 3 in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants discusses this topic; Section 5 contains only 15 paragraphs.

^b This is a reference mistake. The paragraph is really number 5, and the word in both the 1835 and 1981 versions is “example” rather than “ensample.”

^c Typographic error; it should be section 89. The paragraph is in fact 3, and it corresponds with 1981 section 72 as noted above.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
B				
Baptism necessary,	2	7	20	37
Bishop to sit in judgment,	3	33	107	74–75
Bishops who are literal descendants of Aaron to sit in judgment in certain cases,	3	34	107	76–77
Be faithful,	8	16	6	34–37
Bearing my name,	9	5	24	10–12
Baptize by water,	11	2	35	3–6
Bishop received consecrations,	13	9	42	32
Brother's garment, &c.	13	14	42	53–55
Behold ye are little children,	17	9 ^d	50	37–46
Blessed is he that keepeth my commandments,	18	1	58	1–2
Bear record by the way,	18	14	58	59–60
Blessed are they, &c.	19	1	59	1–4
By blood, law, &c.	20	8	63	24–31
Blood of Ephraim,	21	7	64	34–39
Bishop tried, &c.	22	3	68	22–24
Bishop appoint a storehouse,	23	4	51	13–17
Book of commandments,,	25	2	67	4–9
Buy land, in all the regions,	27	2	57	6
Be patient,	35	2	9	3–6
Bosom shall burn,	35	3	9	7–9
Be faithful,	35	5	9	13–14
Blessing upon this land,	36	11	10	49–51
Build up churches to get gain,	36	13	10	53–56
—— upon my rock,	37	11	11	23–27
Bring forth the gospel from among the Gentiles,	39	5	14	9–11
—— souls unto me,	41	3	16	6
Bearing my name,	46	3	21	9–12
Build up my church, &c.	52	2	30	5–8
Be patient in afflictions,	53	3	31	6–9
Book of Mormon, &c.	55	3	33	12–18
Baptism of fire,	59	2	39	5–6
Bring forth Zion,	59	4	39	12–15
Buy lands for the present,	64	1	48	1–3
Better for him that he was drowned,	67	1	54	1–6
Blessed are the poor,	69	6	56	18–20
Be of good cheer little children,	71	6	61	33–39
Bishop search diligently,	84	6	90	19–27
Brethren of Zion,	84	3	90	6–10
Beware of those judgments,	86	1	82	1–6
Blessings of the promise made to the fathers,	96	2	96	6–9
Builed the earth as a handy work,	98	2	104	10–18

C

Cammandments given to proclaim to the world,	1	4	1	17–23
———— shall all be fulfilled	1	8	1	38–39
Certificates and licences for priests, teachers, and deacons,	2	15	20	64
Children to be blest,	2	20	20	70

^d Typographic error; it should be paragraph 8.

	1835 Ed.	1981 Ed.
Certificates to be given,	2 27	20 84
Cainan ordained by Adam,	3 21	107 45
Choosing bishops,	3 32	107 68–73
Calling and authority of John,	4 4	84 23–28
Confirmation of the high priesthood,	4 6	84 31–42
Children of Zion reproved,	4 8	84 54–59
——— of Zion upbraided,	4 12	84 74–76
Cleansing feet with water,	4 16	84 89–99
Council abroad called only on difficult matters,	5 12	102 28–29
Christ, the Light of the world,	7 2	88 4–10
Come unto the Lord,	7 16	88 62–65
Call a solemn assembly,	7 19	88 69–72
Commandment to the first laborers,	7 20	88 73–75
Cease to do evil, &c.	7 37	88 121–22
Confirming the churches,	9 4	24 7–9
Commandments are spiritual,	10 9	29 34–35
Christ the Son of God,	11 1	35 1–2
Church in every region,	13 3	42 8–10
Consecration for various purposes,	13 10	42 33–36
Christ's words to his ancient apostles,	15 3	45 18–25
Confirmation meetings,	16 3	46 6–7
Commandment to them,	26 2	70 6–8
Continue the work of translation,	29 2	73 3–6
Course is one eternal round,	30 1	3 1–2
Commandment is strict,	30 3	3 5–8
Children of men stirred up, &c.	43 2	18 6–8
Contend against no church save one, &c.	43 4	18 16–25
Covet not thy neighbor's wife;	44 3	19 25–27
Conduct thyself wisely,	44 6	19 38–41
Continue in the spirit of meekness,	48 4	25 14–16
Confirm the church, &c.	49 1	26 1–2
Call faithful laborers,	59 5	39 16–22
Conference next held in Missouri,	66(1) ^e 1	52 1–2
Called and chosen,	68 1	55 1–3
Chastened for your sins, that you might be one,	71 2	61 7–13
Commit not adultery,	74 5	66 9–13
Committee to build houses,	83 4	94 13–16
Consecrated unto me,	84 7	90 28–31
Constitutional law, &c.	85 2	98 4–7
Certificate from the elders,	89 5	72 24–26
Call upon the inhabitants of the earth,	90 2	71 2–11
Chastisement prepares for deliverance,	95 1	95 1–7
Claim and hold claim,	97 13	101 96–101
City of the saints,	98 6	104 34–38
Crowned with glory in Zion,	100 3	133 16–35

^e There are two sections 66 in the 1835 edition, due to a printing error. The order of the sections is 64, 65, 66, 66, 68, and so on. Whether it is the first or the second section 66 is noted in the adjacent parenthesis. 66(1) corresponds with 1981 section 52, and 66(2) corresponds with 1981 section 53.

D	1835 Ed.	1981 Ed.
Duty of apostles and elders,	2 8	20 38–44
Deacon's duty,	2 11	20 53–59
Directions for ordaining presiding elders, bishops, high counsellors, and high priests,	2 17	20 67
Duty of members on sacrament,	2 18 ^f	20 68–69 ^g
Dealing with transgressors,	2 25	20 80
Divisions of the priesthood,	3 2	107 5–6
Duty of the presiding deacons,	3 38	107 85
Duty of the presiding teacher,	3 39	107 86
Duty of the presiding priest of the priesthood of Aaron,	3 40	107 87–88
Duty of the president of the elders,	3 41	107 89–90
Duty of the president of the high priesthood,	3 42	107 91–92
Distinction of the righteous and wicked,	4 7	84 43–53
Directions to those who preach,	4 14	84 81–85
——— and promises to those who preach,	4 15	84 86–88
——— to the elders,	4 18	84 103–4
——— to the strong,	4 19	84 105–6
——— to the lesser priesthood	4 20	84 107–8
——— for the high priests, elders, and lesser priests,	4 24 ^h	84 111
Duties of deacons and teachers,	4 24 ⁱ	84 111
Duty of N. K. Whitney,	4 22 ^j	84 112–16
Duty of the twelve counsellors,	5 7	102 12
Distinction between high council and travelling high council,	5 13	102 30–32
Do no more to you than to me,	8 14	6 29–31
Dead come forth,	10 3	29 12–13
Devil thrust down to hell,	10 10	29 36–39
Desolations upon Babylon,	11 3	35 7–8
Dealing with adulterers and thieves &c.	13 22	42 80–87
Dealing according to offences,	13 23	42 88–93
Day of redemption,	15 3	45 18–25
Desolating sickness shall cover the earth,	15 4	45 26–33
Diversities of operations,	16 6	46 15–16
Directions to Martin Harris,	18 8	58 38–39
Dedicate this land,	18 13	58 57–58
Discern by the Spirit,	20 11	63 41
Direction to organize this people,	23 1	51 1–6
Divide the saints their inheritance,	27 3	57 7
Director trampled on,	30 5	3 12–15
Desired a witness,	32 1	5 1–4
Do good,	37 6	11 12
Drink with Moroni, Elias, John, &c.	50 2	27 5–11
Delight to bless,	61 1	41 1–3

^f Typographic error; it should be paragraph 19.

^g Verse 68 in the 1981 edition is composed of both paragraphs 18 and 19 from 1835 edition. Paragraph 19 begins after first sentence.

^h In the 1835 edition used by the compilers (though apparently not in all 1835 printings), the paragraphs in section 4 are numbered 21, 24, 22, 23. This entry references the paragraph numbered 24.

ⁱ See footnote h.

^j See footnote h. This entry references the paragraph numbered 22.

	1835 Ed.		1981 Ed.	
Declare glad tidings,	72	2	62	4–6
Destroying angel,	80	3	89	16–21
Dedicated unto me,	83	3	94	10–12
Detestable things,	85	4	98	19–22
Diligent in all things,	87	5	75	28–36
Defending themselves,	102	11	134	11
E				
Everlasting covenant broken,	1	3	1	11–16
Elders conferences for church business	2	13	20	61–62
Evangelical ministers to be ordained in large branches of the church,	3	17	107	39
Enos ordained and blessed by Adam,	3	20	107	44
Enoch ordained by Adam—translated,	3	24	107	48–49
Every man to learn his duty,	3	44	107	99–100
Elders commanded to bear testimony to the world,	4	9	84	60–61
—— called as the ancient apostles,	4	10	84	62–65
—— called friends,	4	13	84	77–80
Every man to labor in his own calling,	4	21	84	109–10
Earth crowned with the celestial glory,	7	4	88	14–20
Establish an house,	7	36	88	117–20
Eternal life, &c.	8	3	6	6–7
Enlightened by the spirit of truth,	8	7	6	15–17
Expound scriptures,	9	3	24	5–6
Eternal damnation—fall, &c.	10	12	29	42–45
Elect hear his voice,	11	5	35	19–23
Eternity is pained,	12	3	38	10–12
Endowed with power,	12	7	38	31–33
Elders to go forth,	13	2	42	4–7
—— to be called,	13	12	42	40–47
Edify each other,	14	3	43	8–14
Everlasting covenant sent into the world,	15	2	45	6–17
Earth shall hear the voice of the Lord,	15	8	45	47–50
Elders to conduct meetings &c.	16	1	46	1–4
Every man take righteousness, &c.	20	9	63	32–38
—— deal honestly,	23	2	51	7–9
—— in his stewardship,	26	3	70	9–14
Engravings of Nephi,	36	10	10	44–48
Establish the cause of Zion,	37	3	11	6–7
Eternal damnation,	44	2	19	7–24
—— punishment,	44	2	19	7–24
Expound scriptures,	48	2	25	5–9
Elders called together,	62	1	44	1
Election in this church,	66(2) ^k	1	53	1
Ezra Thayre must repent,	69	3	56	8–11
Every man shall hear the fulness of the gospel,	84	4	90	11
Eastern countries,	87	2	75	6–12
Expounding scriptures,	90	1	71	1
End of the vision,	91	7	76	81–113

^k See footnote e.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
Endow those whom I have chosen,	95	2	95	8–10
Enmity of man shall cease,	97	5	101	22–42

F

Fulness preached by the weak and the simple,	1	4	1	17–23
Fulness of the gospel to the Gentiles and Jews,	2	3 ^l	20	5–12
Form of baptism,	2	22	20	72–74
—— of administering bread,	2	23	20	75–77
——— wine,	2	24	20	78–79
Further duty of the twelve,	3	30	107	58
Face of the Lord unveiled,	7	27	88	95–98
First angel again sound his trump,	7	34	88	108
Faithful salute	7	43	88	135
Field is white,	8	2	6	3–5
Faithful and diligent,	8	9	6	20
Fear not to do good,	8	15	6	32–33
Flies sent forth,	10	5	29	18–21
First last, &c.	10	8	29	29–33
Faith to be healed and not to be healed,	13	13	42	48–52
Fulness of the scriptures given,	16	16 ^m	42	12–17
Faith comes not by signs,	20	3	63	8–11
Forbidden to get in debt,	21	6	64	27–33
Faith, virtue, &c.	31	2	4	6–7
Fear not but give heed, &c.	52	2	30	5–8
Field ready to be burned,	53	2	31	3–5
—— is white for harvest,	55	1	33	1–4
Father and I are one,	82	1	93	1–11
Family must needs repent,	82	8	93	45–49
Forgiving 70 times 7	85	7	98	39–48
Feigned words,	98	1	104	1–9
Flee to Zion,	100	2	133	8–15
—— Jerusalem,	100	2	133	8–15
Free exercise of conscience,	102	2	134	2

G

God is infinite and eternal,	2	4	20	17–20
Godly walk and conversation required,	2	19	20	68–69 ⁿ
Gathering of the saints to the place of the city—Zion,	4	1	84	1–3
God's servants to live by every word that proceedeth from his mouth,	11	4	35	13–18
Gifts come from God,	16	7	46	17–27
God is light,	17	6	50	22–30
Go with my servant,	28	1	69	1–4
God is merciful,	30	4	3	9–11

^l Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2. Paragraph 2 corresponds with 1981 verses 5–12 as noted in the appropriate column.

^m Typographic error; it should be section 13, paragraph 5.

ⁿ First sentence of 1981 verse 68 belongs to 1835 paragraph 18.

	1835 Ed.		1981 Ed.	
Gift of Aaron,	34	4 ^o	8	5–12
Give heed,	38	5	12	9
—— unto all his words,	46	2	21	4–8
Go unto the Lamanites,	61 ^P	3	28	8–9
—— with my servant Oliver,	54	1	32	1–5
Great day shall come,	56	2	34	9–12
Go to the Ohio,	58	1	37	1–2
Great I Am,	50 ^q	1	39	1–4
Gift of the Holy Ghost,	59	6	39	23–24
Go forth and preach,	62	2	44	2–5
Give a new commandment to Thomas,	69	2	56	3–7
Go to certain countries,	76	1	79	1–4
— ye, go ye into the world,	77	1	80	1–5
Glory of the Father was with him,	82	2	93	12–17
Grace for grace,	82	2	93	12–17
Go to battle,	85	6	98	32–38
Go from house to house,	87	3	75	13–22
Great is his wisdom,	91	1	76	1–4
Glory of the Moon,	91	7	76	81–113
Grants this privilege,	91	8	76	114–19
Go and gather together, &c.	97	7	101	52–58
Gird up your loins,	99	2	106	4–5
Go ye out of Babylon,	100	1	133	1–7
Gentiles and Jews,	100	2	133	8–15
Go forth to Zion,	—	—		
Governments instituted of God,	102	1	134	1

H

Holy priesthood,	4	3	84	18–22
Highpriests can organize counsels abroad	5	11	102	81–85
Hearken, &c.	15	1	45	1–5
Hypocrites among you,	17	3	50	7–9
Honored of laying the foundation of Zion,	18	3	58	5–12
Heritage of God,	18	4	58	13–19
Herbs, houses, barns, &c.	19	4	59	15–19
Hear the word,	20	1	63	1–4
Humble yourselves,	25	3	67	10–13
He must fall,	30	2	3	3–4
Hope and charity,	38	4	12	7
Holy men that ye know not of,	65	2	49	6–14
—— One of Zion,	75	3	78	12–16
—— Ghost shed forth, &c.	94	2	100	7–8
Husband and wife,	101	1	NA ^r	

^o Typographic error; it should be paragraph 3.

^P Typographic error; it should be section 51.

^q Typographic error; it should be section 59.

^r Section 101 in the 1835 Doctrine and Covenants is a four-paragraph statement entitled “Marriage” and is not included in the current Doctrine and Covenants.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
I				
I come quickly,	7	38	88	123–26
Instruction received from the Spirit,	8	6	6	14
Instructions to the elders,	14	1	43	1–3
I am from above,	20	15	63	57–63
Inhabitants of Zion,	26	1 ^s	70	6–8
I am the life, &c.	37	12	11	28–30
I am Alpha and Omega,	44	1	19	1–6
Inheritance in Zion,	48	1	25	1–2
Innocent from the beginning,	82	6	93	36–43
Inner court,	83	2	94	4–9
Israel shall be saved,	97	4	101	9–21
Importune at the feet of the Judge, &c. &c.	97	12	101	86–95
Inheritance for his father,	98	8	104	43–46
J				
Justification and sanctification true,	2	6	20	29–36
Jared ordained by Adam,	3	23	107	47
Jews receive their king,	15	9	45	51–53
Joy may be full,	19	3	59	13–14
(John) tarry till I come,	33	2	7	4–7
Joints and marrow,	38	1	12	1–2
John should keep a history	63	1	47	1–2
———— keep the church record,	63	2	47	3–4
Journey to the land of Missouri,	66	2	52	7–12
———— regions westward,	67	2	54	7–9
Joseph Coe journey with them,	68	3	55	3
Journey to Cincinnati,	70	2	60	3–7
John bear record,	82	1	93	1–11
Judge feared not God,	97	11	101	81–85
Joy in heaven,	99	3	106	6–8
K				
Kingdom likened unto a field,	7	13	88	51–55
———— parable,	7	15	88	61
Keys of gift, &c.	8	13	6	28
Keep my commandments,	13	1	42	1–3
Keys of the mysteries, &c.	21	2	64	4–13
Knowledge of the Savior,	30	6	3	16–20
King Benjamin,	36	9	10	40–43
Keep my commandments,	37	3	11	6–7
Know all things,	37	7	11	13–14
Keep my commandments,	37	9	11	18–19
————,	37	10	11	20–22
Kingdom of God,	38	2	12	3–5
———— my Father,	40	3	15	6
Keep my commandments,	43	7	18	43–47
Keys of your ministry,	50	3	27	12–18
———— the mysteries, &c.	51	2	28	2–7
———— kingdom,	79	1	81	1–7
————,	84	1	90	1–2

^s Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2.

L	1835 Ed.		1981 Ed.	
Lord no respecter of persons,	1	6	1	34–36
Lord is God and the spirit beareth record.	1	8	1	38–39
Licensing elders,	2	14	20	63
List of members to be sent to the conferences,	2	26	20	81–83
Literal descendants of Aaron, bishops preside over the lesser priesthood,	3	8	107	13–17
Lamech ordained by Seth,	3	26	107	51
Lineage of the priesthood,	4	2	84	4–17
Lots cast by the counsellors,	5	15	102	34
Lawful heirs,	6	3	86	8–10
Light to the Gentiles,	6	4	86	11
Laws and glory,	7	5	88	21–24
Law breaker remains filthy still,	7	8	88	34–35
Laws given to all things,	7	11	88	42–44
Light shineth in darkness,	8	10	6	21
Lifted out of afflictions,	9	1	24	1–2
Little children redeemed,	10	13	29	46–48
Land of promise, &c.	12	4	38	13–20
Look to the poor and needy,	12	8	38	34–38
Lord utter his voice,	14	6	43	23–26
—— shall be terrible,	15	15	45	72–75
Let us reason saith the Lord,	17	4	50	10–16
Let my servants Joseph Wakefield, John Corrill, Parley P. Pratt and Edward Partridge, &c.	17	8	50	37–46
Let God rule the Judge,	18	5	58	20–23
Let the wicked take heed,	20	2	63	5–7
Little or much,	20	10	63	39–40
Land of promise—Independence centre	27	1	57	1–5
Light which shineth,	37	5	11	10–11
Listen to the words of Jesus,	40	1	15	1–4
Last commandments,	42	3	17	7–9
Listen to the voice of Jesus Christ,	50	1	27	1–4
Little ones, &c.	53	1	31	1–2
Leave his merchandize,	61	3	41	7–12
Let servants take journey, &c.	66	6–9	52	23–44
Learn that he only is saved.	66	3	52	7–12
Lord forgives sins,	71	1	61	1–6
Lift up voices unto God,	71	5	61	26–32
Law of Moses,	73	2	74	2–3
Little children holy,	73	3	74	4–7
Lord spake unto Enoch,	75	1	78	1–7
Learn wisdom, &c.	81	1	97	1–2
Lord of Sabaoth,	85	1	98	1–3
Live by every word,	85	3	98	8–18
Laws concerning women and children,	88	1	83	1–3
Lift up your voices, &c.	94	1	100	1–6
Life or limb,	102	10	134	10
Leave judgment alone with me,	86	6	82	22–24

M

Ministering of an angel,	2	2	20	5–12
Men may fall from grace,	2	6	20	29–36

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
Manner in which elders are to conduct meetings,	2	9	20	45
Manner of ordaining,	2	12	20	60
Melchizedek priesthood holds the keys of all spiritual blessings,	3	9	107	18–19
Mahalaleel ordained by Adam,	3	22	107	46
Methuselah ordained by Adam,	3	25	107	50
Many kingdoms and laws,	7	9	88	36–38
Michael fights, &c.	7	35	88	109–116
Miraculous work to come forth,	8	1	6	1–2
Magnify office,	9	2	24	3–4
Miracles, &c.	9	6	24	13–15
Michael's Trump,	10	7	29	26–28
Murderer shall not have forgiveness,	13	6	42	18
——— shall die,	13	7	42	19–28
——— dealt with according to law, &c.	13	21	42	78–79
Millennial shall come,	14	7	43	27–33
Many gifts,	16	5	46	10–14
Many spirits gone forth,	17	1	50	1–3
Martin example to the church,	18	7	58	34–37
Mysteries of the kingdom,	20	7	63	22–23
Melchizedek priesthood,	22	2	68	13–21
Mine eyes are upon you,	25	1	67	1–3
Marvel not,	35 ^t	7	10	35–37
My gospel,	36	15	10	60–66
— doctrine,	36	16	10	67–68
— church,	36	17	10	69
— word—rock—&c.	37	8	11	15–17
Make known thy calling,	45	1	49	1–5
Move the cause of Zion,	46	2	21	4–8
My son Orson,	56	1	34	1–7
Mighty One of Israel,	57	1	36	1–3
Marriage ordained of God,	65	3	49	15–21
More diligent,	82	9	93	50
Mammon of unrighteousness,	86	6	82	22–24
Many sheaves,	87	1	75	1–5
Manner of building the house,	95	3	95	11–17
Mine when I come to make up my jewels,	97	1	101	1–3
Multiply blessings upon them,	98	4	104	24–26
Marriages in this church,	101	1	NA ^u	
Man and man,	102	6	134	6

N

Noah ordained by Methuselah,	3	27	107	52
No member exempt &c. from the high council,	3	36	107	81
Number that voted,	5	3	102	5
New heaven and earth,	10	6	29	22–25

^t Typographic error; it should be section 36.^u See footnote r.

	1835 Ed.	1981 Ed.
No knowledge no repentance,	10 14	29 49–50
New Jerusalem called Zion,	15 12	45 64–67
Now it is called to-day,	21 5	64 23–26
Not translated again,	36 6	10 30–34
No flesh safe upon the water,	71 3	61 14–22
New commandment,	86 3	82 8–10
N. K. Whitney, ordained bishop,	89 2	72 8
Never suppress the freedom of soul,	102 4	134 4
No interference with bond servants,	102 12	134 12

O

Office of elders,	3 3	107 7–8
Order of the priesthood by lineage,	3 18	107 40–41
Other seventies to be chosen,	3 43	107 93–98
Organizing the high council,	5 1	102 1–2
Order of counsellors speaking on cases,	5 8	102 13–17
Order of the house,	7 39	88 127–30
Ordinance of washing feet,	7 46	88 140–41
Other records,	8 12	6 26–27
One appointed to receive revelations,	14 2	43 4–7
Offend God,	19 5	59 20–24
Old records,	34 1	8 1–2
Other sheep,	36 14	10 57–59
Oliver returns,	58 2	37 3–4
Oracles of God,	84 2	90 3–5
Open hearts,	87 4	75 23–27
Overcome by denial,	91 4	76 31–49
Olihah have the lot,	98 5	104 27–33
Ozondah establishment,	98 7	104 39–42
Organize yourselves,	98 10	104 54–59
One wife and one husband,	101 4	NA ^v
Officers enforce laws,	102 3	134 3

P

Preface to the commandments,	1 2	1 6–10
Power to seal on earth and in heaven,	1 2	1 6–10
Peace shall be taken from the earth,	1 6	1 34–36
Priests' duty,	2 10	20 46–52
Power of the Melchizedek priesthood,	3 3	107 7–8
Power of the lesser priesthood holds the keys of the ministering of angels, &c.	3 10	107 20
Presiding elders, priests, teachers, & deacons,	3 30 ^w	107 58
——— high priests,	3 31	107 59–67
Place of the temple pointed out,	4 2	84 4–17
Priesthood of Aaron,	4 3	84 18–22
Priesthood from Aaron to John,	4 4	84 23–28

^v See footnote r.

^w Typographic error; it should be paragraph 31.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
Promises to those sent to preach,	4	11	84	66–73
——— to the faithful,	4	14	84	81–85
Plagues shall go forth,	4	16	84	89–98
Presidents and counsellors chosen,	5	2	102	3–4
President of the church President of the council, his duty, &c.	5	6	102	9–11
Privilege of accuser and accused, &c.	5	9	102	18–22
President may inquire of the Lord,	5	10	102	23
Power of the first Presidents,	5	14	102	33
Power of God governs all things,	7	3	88	11–13
Prepare to perfect yourselves in the ministry,	7	23	88	84–85
——— O inhabitants of the earth,	7	25	88	88–92
Prune my vineyard,	9	7	24	16–19
Parable of the twelve sons,	12	5	38	21–26
Prophesy by the Comforter,	13	5	42	12–17
Prepare for the great day of the Lord,	14	5	43	17–22
Parable of the fig tree,	15	5	45	34–38
——— of the ten virgins fulfilled,	15	10	45	54–59
Purchase lands in Zion,	18	10	58	49
——— whole region of country,	18	11	58	50–53
Part in that lake, &c.	20	5	63	16–18
Pattern given to the apostles,	20	6	63	19–21
Proclaim the everlasting gospel,	22	1	68	1–12
Parents that teach not their children, &c.	22	4	68	25–35
Pay again,	23	3	51	10–12
Pray unto the Lord,	24	1	65	1–6
Printer unto the church,	27	5	57	11–14
Preaching the gospel,	29	1	73	1–2
Prayer and faith,	32	5	5	23–29
Power over death,	33	1	7	1–3
Power to translate,	36	2	10	14–19
Plates of Nephi,	36	8	10	38–39
Part of my gospel,	36	12	10	52
Paul mine apostle,	43	3	18	9–15
Preach unto the world,	43	6	18	37–42
Pray vocally,	44	4	19	28–31
Physician unto the church,	53	4	31	10–13
Preach the everlasting gospel,	57	2	36	4–6
Place not yet to be revealed,	64	2	48	4–6
Pattern to judge spirits,	66	5	52	18–22
Printing books for schools,	68	2	55	4–5
Pitching their tents by the way,	71	4	61	23–25
Proclaim my gospel from land to land,	74	2	66	3–5
Persecution and wickedness,	78	1	99	1–4
Pure in heart,	81	5	97	18–28
Polluted their inheritances,	97	3	101	6–8
Parable of the redemption of Zion,	97	6	101	44–51
Privilege this once,	98	13	104	78–86

Q

Quorum of the presidency—the twelve and the seventy—their powers, &c.	3	11	107	21–32
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	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
R				
Record of the Nephites given and translated by the power of God,	1	5	1	24–33
Rise of the church of Christ,	2	1	20	1–4
Restrictions for ordaining,	2	16	20	65–66
Record to be kept,	2	26	20	81–83
Right of the presidency of the high priesthood,	3	4	107	9
—— of a high priest,	3	5	107	10
—— of an elder,	3	6	107	11
—— of high priest and elder,	3	7	107	12
Revelation in force, &c.	4	12	84	74–76
Reprove the world,	4	23	84	112–116
Removal from office, &c.	5	5	102	8
Resurrection of the body,	7	6	88	25–32
Repentance unto this generation,	8	4	6	8–9
Riches of eternity,	12	9	38	39–42
Remember the poor,	13	8	42	29–31
Revelation upon revelation,	13	17	42	61–62
Remuneration for services,	13	19	42	70–73
Righteous gather to Zion,	15	14	45	71
Residue of the elders,	18	9	58	40–48
Repent speedily,	20	4	63	12–15
Reward in the world to come,	20	13	63	47–54
Receive my will,	21	1	64	1–3
Retain strong hold,	21	4	64	18–22
Reward of diligence,	26	4	70	15–18
Reap while the day lasts,	39	1 ^x	14	3–5
Release thyself from bondage,	44	5	19	32–37
Record to be kept,	46	1	21	1–3
Receive commandments and revelations,	51	2	28	2–7
Reap with all your might,	55	2	33	5–11
Ruler when I come,	61	2	41	4–6
Reason with them,	65	1	49	1–5
Recorded in heaven for the angels to look upon,	72	1	62	1–3
Ride upon Mules or in chariots,	72	3	62	7–9
Restore four fold,	85	7	98	39–48
Render account of stewardship,	89	1	72	1–7
Recommended by church,	89	4	72	16–23
Received of his fulness,	91	3	76	11–30
Ruler in my kingdom,	97	8	101	59–62
Red in his apparel,	100	5	133	46–56
Record all marriages,	101	3	NA ^y	
Religious belief,	102	7	134	7

S

Secret things shall be revealed,	1	1	1	1–5
Sword of the Lord bathed in heaven,	1	3	1	11–16
Spirit will not always strive with man,	1	5	1	24–33
Search these commandments,	1	7	1	37
Son of God given,	2	5	20	21–28

^x Typographic error; it should be paragraph 2.

^y See footnote r.

	1835 Ed.	1981 Ed.
Seventy directed by the twelve,	3 13	107 34–35
Seth ordained and blessed by Adam,	3 19	107 42–43
Seven Presidents called to preside of the number of seventy,	3 43	107 93–98
Sons of Moses and of Aaron to offer an acceptable sacrifice in this generation,	4 6	84 31–42
Song of the redeemed,	4 17	84 99–102
Seven counsellors necessary for a council,	5 4	102 6–7
Sanctify yourselves,	7 18	88 67–68
Seek knowledge,	7 21	88 76–80
Signs in the heavens,	7 24	88 86–87
Sounding of the trump,	7 26	88 93–94
Second angel again sound, &c.	7 35	88 109–16
Satan bound,	7 35	88 109–16
Salvation, &c.	7 41	88 133
———— a sample for, &c.	7 44	88 136–37
Stand faithfully,	8 8	6 18–19
Sinners shall be cast out,	13 11	42 37–39
Scriptures for church government,	13 16	42 59–60
Sent forth to teach, &c.	14 4	43 15–16
Solemnities of eternity,	14 8	43 34–35
Signs of his coming,	15 6	45 39–44
Sacrament meetings,	16 2	46 5
Seek the best gifts,	16 4	46 8–9
Sound must go forth from this place,	18 15	58 61–65
Shall make another,	20 14	63 55–56
Spirit received through prayer,	20 16	63 64–66
Sought evil in their hearts,	21 3	64 14–17
Sell goods without fraud,	27 4	57 8–10
Stop and stand still,	32 6	5 30–35
Spirit by which Moses, &c.	34 2	8 3–4
Satan stirs them up,	36 3	10 20–27
Sharper than a two-edged sword,	37 1	11 1–2
Seek to bring forth Zion,	38 3	12 6
Shall build up, &c.	43 1	18 1–5
Save one soul,	43 3	18 9–15
Straight gate, &c.	47 1	22 1–4
Selection of sacred hymns,	48 3	25 10–13
Settle all things according to the covenants,	51 5	28 14–16
Singleness of heart,	57 3	36 7–8
Satan tempted him,	60 1	40 1–3
Shall be damned,	65 1	49 1–5
Son of man comes not in the form of a woman,	65 4	49 22–23
Satan abroad in the land,	66 4	52 13–17
Shake off the dust of thy feet,	70 4	60 14–17
Savior of the world,	74 1	66 1–2
Saints who are at Zion,	75 2	78 8–11
Son Ahman,	75 4	78 17–22
Salvation of Zion,	81 3	97 10–14
See God,	81 4	97 15–17
Stake of Zion,	83 1	94 1–3

	1835 Ed.	1981 Ed.
School of the prophets,	84 3	90 6–10
Smite you or your families,	85 5	98 23–31
Sin no more,	86 2	82 7
Soul that sins, &c.	86 5	82 20–21
Sons of perdition,	91 4	76 31–49
Suffering of the ungodly,	91 4	76 31–49
Sun of the firmament, &c.	91 5	76 50–70
Shederlaomach a member,	93 2	92 2
Spokesman unto my servant,	94 3	100 9–12
Strange act,	95 1	95 1–7
Stake set for the strength of Zion,	96 1	96 1–5
Salt of the earth,	97 5	101 22–42
See the salvation of God,	99 ^z 3	133 1–7
Sedition and rebellion,	102 5	134 5
Spiritual privileges,	102 9	134 9

T

Two first elders,	2 1	20 1–4
Transgression of his holy laws,	2 4	20 17–20
Those who keep his commandments sacred,	2 5	20 21–28
Teacher's duty,	2 11	20 53–59
The two priesthoods,	3 1	107 1–4
Twelve directed by the presidency of the church,	3 12	107 33
Twelve to call upon the seventy,	3 16	107 38
Trial of the president of the priesthood,	3 37	107 82–84
Tares bound in bundles,	6 2	86 4–7
Truth abideth,	7 17	88 66
Trump second,	7 28	88 99
——— third,	9 ^{aa} 29	88 100–1
——— fourth,	7 30	88 102
——— fifth,	3 ^{bb} 31	88 103–4
——— sixth,	3 ^{cc} 32	88 105
——— seventh,	3 ^{dd} 33	88 106–7
Treasure up wisdom,	12 6	38 27–30
Testimony relating to companions,	13 20	42 74–77
Trump sound before he comes,	15 7	45 45–46
This land his residence,	18 6	58 24–33
Thou shalt love the Lord,	19 2	59 7–24
Thrust in the sickle,	31 1	4 1–5
—————	37 2	11 3–5
Testimony of three,	32 3	5 9–20
Translated the book,	42 2	17 3–6
The twelve shall be my disciples,	43 5	18 26–36
Tongue loosed,	45 2	23 3
Take up your cross,	45 5	23 6–7

^z Typographic error; it should be section 100.

^{aa} Typographic error; it should be section 7.

^{bb} Typographic error; it should be section 7.

^{cc} Typographic error; it should be section 7.

^{dd} Typographic error; it should be section 7.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
——— thy brother Hiram, &c.	51	4	28	10–13
Things that the apostles and prophets, &c.	66	3	52	7–12
Take upon you mine ordinances,	66	2	52	3–6
——— up his cross and follow me,	69	1	56	1–2
Thou shalt not idle away thy time,	70	3	60	8–13
Tarry not many days,	74	3	66	6–7
Truth is knowledge,	82	4	93	21–28
Translation of the prophets,	84	5	90	12–18
Third and fourth generation,	85	5	98	23–31
Telestial glory,	91	7	76	81–113
Tried even as Abraham,	97	2	101	4–5
Tares bound in bundles,	97	9	101	63–71
Taken out of the treasury,	98	11	104	60–66
Ten talents,	98	12	104	67–77
Two put their ten thousands to flight,	100	6	133	57–63

U

Uplifted hands, &c.	7	40	88	31–132
Unworthy—no place,	7	42	88	134
Urim Thummim,	36	1	10	1–13
—————	42	1	17	1–3
United order of Zion,	98	9	104	47–53
Use their ability,	102	8	134	8

V

Voice of the Lord is unto all men,	1	1	1	1–5
Vale of darkness soon rent,	12	2	38	7–9
Volumn of the book,	78	2	99	5–8
Valient in testimony,	91	6	76	71–80
Voice of the order,	98	3	104	19–23
Vengeance cometh speedily upon the ugodly,	81	5	97	18–28

W

World judged by witnesses,	2	3	20	13–16
Words of the majesty on high,	2	3	20	13–16
Wheat and tares,	6	1	86	1–3
Worlds roll in the midst of the power of God,	7	12	88	45–50
Warn his neighbor,	7	22	88	81–83
Washing feet &c.	7	45	88	138–39
Witness for God,	8	11	6	22–25
Weeping among the hosts of men,	10	4	29	14–17
Wicked kept in chains,	12	1	38	1–6
Wars are nigh,	15	11	45	60–63
Word received by the Comforter,	17	5	50	17–21
Workmen sent forth,	18	12	58	54–56
Wo unto ye rich men,	67 ^{ee}	5	56	16–17
——— him that hides his talent,	70	1	60	1–2

^{ee} Typographic error; it should be section 69.

	<u>1835 Ed.</u>		<u>1981 Ed.</u>	
Wife is sanctified,	73	1	74	1
Word of wisdom,	80	1	89	1–9
World to come,	82	11	93	52
What I say unto one I say unto all,	93	1	92	1
Waste places of Zion,	97	4	101	9–21
Wise men sent to purchase lands,	97	10	101	72–80
Worthy of his hire,	99	1	106	1–3
Weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth,	100	8	133	71–74
Washing feet,	70	4	60	14–17
War in far countries,	12	6	38	27–30
Wars in your own lands,	15	11	45	60–63
Warriors,	97	7	101	52–58
Who is this that cometh down from God,	100	5	133	46–56
We believe, &c.	102	1	134	1
Y				
Years of accountability before baptism,	3 ^{ff}	21	20	71
—— the redeemed is come,	100	5	133	46–56
You were driven out,	100	7	133	64–70
Z				
Zion shall rejoice,	11	6	35	24–27
—— a place of safety,	15	13	45	68–70
—— shall flourish,	21	8	64	40–43
—— shall be a seat,	28	2	69	5–8
—— flourish upon the hills,	65	6 ^{gg}	49	24–28
—— do these things, shall prosper,	81	5	97	18–28
—— shall be redeemed,	93 ^{hh}	4	100	13–17
—— turned back, &c.	100	3	133	8–15

^{ff} Typographic error; it should be section 2.

^{gg} Typographic error; it should be paragraph 5.

^{hh} Typographic error; it should be section 94.

Deluge

Even before the flood
Noah's life capsized,
his heart felled like a tree
in the stiff wind of the spirit.
Weathering the neighbors' complaints,
scraping pitch from his feet,
checking the groins of beasts
whose names he didn't know yet—
it was as if his world were
already submerged in inanity.
And in the end, when the riverbeds
turned to seas, he longed to see
dogs and horses swimming,
fish leaping over treetops,
anything but the stew of carcasses
that would fill his eyes.

How could he have known
what to expect from the
requisite madness of following
the foghorn voice in your head?
Maybe we can never know,
when the world falls upside down
and we swim in the skies,
holding our breath against tides of
everyday sense. But we are still
the living cargo of our dreams,
trapped—two by two, if we are lucky—
awaiting the creak of the tentative door,
the splash of puddles, the odd
mischief of starting over.
Like doves to the ark,
our hearts return to
the only windows we know.

—Michael Hicks

This poem won first place in the *BYU Studies*
2001 poetry contest.

“The Great and Dreadful Day of the Lord”

The Anatomy of an Expression

Dana M. Pike

Speaking of the last days, the Lord declared through the ancient Israelite prophet Malachi that Elijah would return “before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord” (Mal. 4:5). And through the prophet Joel, the Lord foretold signs in the heavens “before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come” (Joel 2:31). Jesus’ Second Coming is the “day of the Lord” referred to in these prophecies.¹ Many Latter-day Saints interpret the phrase “the great and dreadful [or terrible] day of the Lord” to mean the Lord’s Second Coming will be “great,” or good and desirable, for the righteous, but “dreadful” for the wicked, who will be destroyed.² Scripture does indicate that the righteous will rejoice at the Second Coming of the Savior, while the wicked will be filled with fear and remorse.³ However, interpreting the expression “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” to mean great for the righteous and dreadful for the wicked misrepresents the original meaning of this phrase. For one thing, the Hebrew language in which this expression was originally written does not support this explanation. For another, the English word “great” was not used with the modern meaning “choice” or “desirable” until long after the King James Version was translated.⁴ This study will elucidate the meaning of the expression “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” by (1) examining the Hebrew grammar and vocabulary behind the English translation of Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5; (2) considering the broader biblical context in which this expression appears; (3) highlighting modern prophetic statements that pertain to the meaning of this expression; and (4) comparing this expression with other “great and _____” formulations in scripture.

Hebrew Grammatical and Lexical Considerations

Understanding the Hebrew grammar and vocabulary of the expression “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” aids in appreciating its original meaning. In the Hebrew Bible, this expression is worded exactly the same in both Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5, even though the King James Version renders it somewhat differently.⁵

The Hebrew wording of this expression in Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5 is reproduced here in transliteration with a word-for-word English translation:

lipnê bô’ yôm yhw̄h haggādôl wěhannôrā’

before the coming of the day of the Lord the great and the dreadful.⁶

Grammatically, the phrase “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” in Hebrew and in the King James Version contains two modifiers: “great” and “dreadful/terrible.” In English, these precede the noun “day” and are separated by the conjunction “and.” In Hebrew, adjectives generally follow the noun they modify (agreeing in number, gender, and definiteness). Since ancient Hebrew used no punctuation marks, multiple terms that were functionally similar (whether nouns, adjectives, or verbs) were strung together, or coordinated, by the use of the conjunction, as is the case in this expression. Thus, the English rendition “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” generally preserves the grammar of the Hebrew form of the text, although the syntax is somewhat different.

Concerning the vocabulary of this expression, the phrase *yôm yhw̄h*, “day of the Lord,” consists of the Hebrew noun *yôm*, “day,” and the divine name “Yahweh” or “Jehovah,” usually rendered as “the LORD” in English translations of the Bible.⁷ The Hebrew word *nôrā’*, translated “terrible” in Joel 2:31 and “dreadful” in Malachi 4:5, is a *Niph’al* (conjugation) participle of the Hebrew verb *yārē’*, which means “to fear.” It thus has the sense of “fearful,” something “to be feared or dreaded.” The Hebrew adjective *gādôl*, translated “great” in Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5, is employed in a variety of contexts, as is the English word “great.” For example, in the Hebrew Bible, *gādôl* refers to things that are large in size, weight, or number; to the height of mountains; to things of great significance or influence; to extraordinary events; and to God.⁸

The term *gādôl* is used several times in the Hebrew Bible to describe Jehovah and his accomplishments, as well as his “day.” Examples of this include:

For the Lord is a great God, and a great King above all gods. (Ps. 95:3)

The Lord is great in Zion; and he is high above all the people. (Ps. 99:2)

For I know that the Lord is great, and that our Lord is above all gods.

Whatsoever the Lord pleased, that did he in heaven, and in earth.

(Ps. 135:5–6, compare verses 7–15)

In these and other passages in the Hebrew Bible that employ *gādōl* to describe Jehovah, he is depicted as “great” in the sense of being supremely powerful, a creator, deliverer, and judge without peer in heaven or on earth. And just as the Lord himself is great, so will “the great and dreadful day of the Lord” be great, since nothing that comes before it will compare to the extraordinary power and significance of this yet-future day.

Based on the variety of uses of the word *gādōl* in the Hebrew Bible, there are two ways to translate the expression “the great and dreadful day of the Lord.”⁹ One, the two modifiers can be left coordinated, as in the King James Version, in which case the meaning is “the supremely powerful and dreadful day of the Lord” or “the extraordinary and fearful day of the Lord.” Two, the Hebrew adjective *gādōl* can be rendered as an English adverb, serving to reinforce and intensify the meaning of the second modifier, as in “the extraordinarily dreadful day of the Lord” or “the significantly fearful day of the Lord.” It is not possible to ascertain which of these two options was originally intended. However, neither rendition conveys a sense of joyful. They both underscore the magnitude and the dreadful nature of “the day of the Lord.”

Contextual Analysis

Context is an important analytical tool in understanding the primary meaning of the expression “the great and dreadful day of the Lord.”¹⁰

Joel. Consider first the larger literary context of Joel 2:31. The opening lines of Joel’s prophecy indicate that something extraordinary is going to happen (Joel 1:2). He identifies his topic as the dire consequences of the last days: “Alas for the day! for the day of the Lord is at hand, and as a destruction from the Almighty shall it come” (1:15).¹¹ The Lord warns the Israelites through Joel that

all the inhabitants of the land [will] tremble: for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand; A day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick darkness . . . for the day of the Lord is great and very terrible; and who can abide it? (2:1–2, 11, emphasis added)

Furthermore, the Lord will “shew wonders in the heavens and in the earth, blood, and fire, and pillars of smoke. The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood, before the great and the terrible day of the Lord come” (2:30–31; see also 3:2, 9–10, 15–16). The tenor of Joel’s prophecy is judgment, desperation, and calamity. These verses primarily warn of “destruction,” “trembl[ing],” “darkness,” “gloominess,” “thick darkness,” and “blood, and fire” prior to and at the Lord’s great day (see also Amos 5:18: “The day of the Lord is darkness, and not light”). Joel was chosen as a prophetic “watchman

unto the house of Israel” (Ezek. 33:7) to warn the wicked of the Lord’s impending judgments so that they will be left without excuse.

The answer to the Lord’s question in Joel 2:11, “who can abide” the great and terrible day of the Lord, is that no one can who does not “turn . . . to [the Lord] with all your heart. . . . And rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious” (2:12–13). Thus, the promise is given that the righteous will be protected at the great day of the Lord. This blessing will happen as they repent and gather to the stakes and temples of Zion: “And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be delivered: for in mount Zion and in Jerusalem shall be deliverance, as the Lord hath said, and in the remnant whom the Lord shall call” (2:32; see also 3:16). But this divine assurance does not indicate faithful Saints in the last days will experience no challenges or grief. Joel’s prophecy does not focus on the desirable conditions that will *follow* the coming of the Lord (for which see 3:18–21). Joel mentions the Lord’s protection of the righteous prior to and at “the great and terrible day of the Lord,” but he does not generally emphasize this topic.

Malachi. The larger literary context of Malachi 4:5, which foretells the return of Elijah “before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord,” is similar to that of Joel 2:31.¹² The prophet Malachi rails against the rebellious Israelites of his day, both priests and laity, in Malachi 1 and 2. The consequent judgments that the Lord announces through Malachi shift the focus of the prophecy to future judgments against Israel in the last days. Malachi depicts the people of his day asking, “Where is the God of judgment?” (2:17). The answer: “The Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple” (3:1). This announcement is followed by a synonymous pair of questions that indicate the trials ahead: “But who may abide the day of his coming? and who shall stand when he appeareth?” (3:2). The divine response to these questions follows, distinguishing two categories of people:

[the Lord] is like a refiner’s fire, and like fullers’ soap: And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver: and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness. . . . And I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts. (3:2–3, 5)

The Lord here promises faithful Israelites, including the sons of Levi, that they “may abide the day of his coming” if they successfully endure

refining and purifying, if they are purged of dross like fine gold and silver (3:2–3). While “abiding” the Lord’s coming is certainly desirable, enduring the “refiner’s fire” will be very challenging. In 3:5 the Lord emphatically indicates his judgments against those Israelites who are not so purified (and by extension, the wicked of the world). The Lord’s warning voice continues through Malachi:

For, behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith the Lord of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch. . . . Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse. (4:1, 5, 6)

The significant potential of Elijah’s latter-day mission is a ray of hope in the midst of this sternly worded judgment. The Lord will save those whose hearts turn to both their recent and their ancient ancestors and to binding gospel covenants. But the descriptors in these verses—“burn as an oven,” “stubble,” “smite,” and “curse”—combine with the questions “who may abide” and “who shall stand,” and the vivid imagery of “refiner’s fire,” “judgment,” and “swift witness against,” in 3:2–5 to powerfully depict conditions leading up to and including “the great and dreadful day of the Lord” as they will be experienced by the wicked. The main purpose of this prophecy in Malachi is to warn of judgment and trials at that “dreadful day.”

Both Joel and Malachi teach that the Lord can and will deliver his faithful followers; however, the main thrust of their prophecies is to warn of the powerful judgments and dreadful manifestations prior to and at the “day of the Lord,” especially as they will be encountered by multitudes of the proud and wicked. These two prophets are not emphasizing that life will be happy for the righteous and terrible for just the wicked at that day. The righteous who are spared will be very aware of and grieved by the gross wickedness and destruction raging around them.

Prophetic Insights from the Present Dispensation

Just as the biblical context of Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5 reinforces the calamitous and purging aspects of “the great and dreadful day of the Lord,” so there is nothing “great,” in the sense of pleasant, foretold in this latter-day prophecy:

Behold, vengeance cometh speedily upon the inhabitants of the earth, a day of wrath, a day of burning, a day of desolation, of weeping, of

mourning, and of lamentation; and as a whirlwind it shall come *upon all the face of the earth*, saith the Lord. And *upon my house shall it begin*, and from my house shall it go forth, saith the Lord; First, among those among you, saith the Lord, who have professed to know my name and have not known me. (D&C 112:24–26, emphasis added; see also D&C 97:23–27)¹³

This passage from the Doctrine and Covenants is similar in tone—despair and destruction—to the prophecies in Joel and Malachi. The designation “my house” refers to the Lord’s restored Church. The dreadful effects of the Lord’s Second Coming will impact Latter-day Saints, especially those who have been less than valiant in their faith. Chastening and purging will “begin” with those professing to be the Lord’s people.

Thus, there will be trials and turmoil aplenty for *all* people and *all* nations “upon all the face of the earth” in the last days. No wonder the Lord warned and encouraged his followers to “pray always that you enter not into temptation, that you may abide the day of his coming, whether in life or in death” (D&C 61:39). The phrase “whether in life or in death” indicates that not all the Lord’s faithful disciples will be spared the physical suffering of the last days. The Prophet Joseph Smith reiterated this point when he taught:

I explained concerning the coming of the Son of Man; also that it is a false idea that the Saints will escape all the judgments, whilst the wicked suffer; for all flesh is subject to suffer; and “the righteous shall hardly escape;” still many of the Saints will escape, for the just shall live by faith; yet many of the righteous shall fall a prey to disease, to pestilence, etc., by reason of the weakness of the flesh, and yet be saved in the Kingdom of God.¹⁴

Likewise, in relation to the warning in Doctrine and Covenants 112:24–26, Elder Bruce R. McConkie observed:

There is a certain smugness in the Church, a feeling that all these things are for others, not for us. But do not the same hurricanes often destroy the homes of the righteous as well as the wicked? . . . And do not atomic bombs fall on all the inhabitants of doomed cities? Where, then, shall the vengeance of the last days be found? . . . Vengeance is for the wicked, in and out of the Church, and only the faithful shall be spared, and many of them only in the eternal perspective of things.¹⁵

These two pronouncements make clear that destruction will be directed at the wicked, and the righteous will generally be protected. But some, perhaps many, faithful Saints will suffer and even die, caught in the calamities of the last days and “the day of wrath.” The Lord promises he will deliver the righteous, and he will, but that deliverance is primarily a spiritual redemption and secondarily a physical preservation.

This assessment is corroborated by an observation President Ezra Taft Benson made while discussing 3 Nephi: “The record of the Nephite history

just prior to the Savior's visit [to the Americas] reveals many parallels to our own day as we anticipate the Savior's Second Coming."¹⁶ Mormon reports that there was "great mourning and howling and weeping among all the people" (3 Ne. 8:23) in the Americas *who survived* the significant calamities that occurred at the time of Jesus' crucifixion in Jerusalem. Mormon describes those who were spared as "the more righteous part of the people" (10:12), noting that it was only after three days that "the mourning, and the weeping, and the wailing of the people who were spared alive did cease; and their mourning was turned to joy" (10:10). The survivors were certainly affected by this "great and terrible destruction" (8:11, 12).¹⁷

The joy of the righteous at Jesus' future return, it seems, will come not only from greeting Jesus, but also from their relief when they are delivered from the impact of the events preceding and surrounding the Lord's coming to purify the earth. Yes, the righteous will be "caught up" off the earth while it is cleansed by fire at Jesus' Second Coming (1 Thes. 4:16–17; D&C 88:95–98). But this protection is only after the terrible wars and natural disasters that will have severely wracked the earth and its inhabitants, only after "fear shall [have] come upon *all people*" (D&C 88:91, emphasis added; see also verses 88–90). Thus, both the biblical context of the expression "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" and modern prophetic statements reinforce the conclusion drawn from the grammatical and lexical analysis of Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5: the word "great" in the expression "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" helps describe the extraordinary and dreadful turmoil and destruction associated with Jesus' Second Coming as he unleashes his power to destroy and cleanse. "Great" does not here describe the joy the righteous will experience *after* Jesus has returned.

Comparison with Similar Formulations

The interpretation of the expression "the great and dreadful day of the Lord" outlined above is supported by similar expressions in scripture in which the phrase "great and" precedes a second modifier and a noun. While such expressions occur in all four Latter-day Saint standard works (see appendix), they are found mainly in the Bible and in the Book of Mormon.¹⁸ For example, Nephi records that during his father's vision, Lehi "cast [his] eyes round about, and beheld, on the other side of the river of water, a *great and spacious building*; and it stood as it were in the air, high above the earth" (1 Ne. 8:26, emphasis added). Lehi (and later Nephi) did not see a building that was choice for some but spacious for others. The expression "great and spacious" indicates the building was extraordinary and large, or that it was very spacious, with abundant room for its many occupants.

Similarly, Nephi later reports, “And it came to pass that I beheld this *great and abominable church*; and I saw the devil that he was the founder of it” (1 Ne. 13:6, emphasis added). Again, no reader of the Book of Mormon would be confused about the nature of this “church.” It was not “great,” as in positive, for some, but abominable for others. It was very abominable, being the complete antithesis of everything holy.

Other examples of the form “great and ____” can be adduced from scripture to further illustrate this point:

Deuteronomy 1:19 reads: “And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that *great and terrible wilderness*, which ye saw by the way of the mountain of the Amorites” (emphasis added).

Alma 34:16 states: “Therefore only unto him that has faith unto repentance is brought about the *great and eternal plan of redemption*” (emphasis added).

Doctrine and Covenants 6:1 proclaims: “A *great and marvelous work* is about to come forth unto the children of men” (emphasis added).

The focus of the “great and ____” phrase in each of these passages is on one event or thing (a building, church, wilderness, plan, work) in relation to one group of people (those in the building, the church, or the wilderness, those who are the beneficiaries of the plan or the work). The purpose of each expression is to emphasize one significant quality of that thing or event, be it spacious, abominable, terrible, eternal, or marvelous. There is no bifurcation of meaning in any of these passages—no “great” for some, but “spacious/abominable/terrible/eternal/marvelous” for others.

Conclusion

The Hebrew grammar and vocabulary of the expression “the great and dreadful/terrible day of the Lord” in Joel 2:31 and Malachi 4:5, along with the larger biblical context of these two verses and latter-day prophetic insights, indicate that this phrase means “the significantly dreadful day of the Lord.” Various other scripture passages with the expression “great and [modifier] [noun]” provide compelling support for this understanding.

Thus, the expression “the great and dreadful day of the Lord” does *not* mean “the day of the Lord” will be great for the righteous but dreadful for the wicked. Latter-day Saints should appreciate that the prophets who first used this phrase were warning all people that conditions just prior to and at the “day of the Lord” will be very dreadful indeed, filled with turmoil and calamity. The Lord himself encourages and commands, “Prepare yourselves for the great day of the Lord” (D&C 133:10), because of the challenges associated with this day. Fear will pervade the wicked at this significantly terrible day. However, the righteous, whether physical calamity befalls them

or not, need not fear. Righteous or wicked, all people will witness and know the extraordinary magnitude of this culminating, dreadful day. It is the subsequent, great millennial day that will be wonderful for the righteous.

Appendix

“Great and ____” in Latter-day Saint Scripture, Alphabetically Sorted by Second Modifier¹⁹

Great and Abominable

1 Nephi 13:6, 8, 26, 28; 14:3, 9, 15,
17; 22:13, 14; 2 Nephi 6:12; 28:18;
D&C 29:21

Great and Bitter

Genesis 27:34

Great and Coming

3 Nephi 28:31

Great and Dreadful

Daniel 9:4; Malachi 4:5; Alma
45:14; 3 Nephi 25:5; D&C 2:1;
110:14, 16; 128:17; 138:46; Joseph
Smith—History 1:38

Great and Eternal

2 Nephi 11:5; Alma 34:16; 37:7;
42:26; Helaman 13:38; Mormon
5:14

Great and Everlasting

Helaman 12:8

Great and Fair

Isaiah 5:9; 2 Nephi 15:9

Great and Fenced

Deuteronomy 9:1; Joshua 14:12

Great and Glorious

D&C 109:23; 110:13; Joseph
Smith—History 1:73

Great and Goodly

Deuteronomy 6:10

Great and Grand

D&C 128:11

Great and High

Revelation 21:10, 12

Great and Important

Articles of Faith 9

Great and Incessant

Joseph Smith—History 1:9

Great and Judgment

2 Nephi 9:22

Great and Large

Nehemiah 4:19²⁰

Great and Last

2 Nephi 2:26; 33:12; Words of Mor-
mon 1:11; Alma 34:10, 13, 14; Hela-
man 12:25; 3 Nephi 26:4; Mormon
9:6; D&C 19:32; 88:69, 75, 102

Great and Lasting

Alma 62:35; Ether 14:21

Great and Notable

Acts 2:20; 3 Nephi 8:14; D&C 84:117

Great and Marvelous

Revelation 15:1, 3; 1 Nephi 1:14;
14:7; 2 Nephi 1:10; 4:17; Jacob 4:8;
Alma 9:6; 26: 15; Helaman 16:16,
20; 3 Nephi 3:16; 5:8; 11:1; 17:16, 17;
19:34; 21:9; 26:14; 28:31, 32; 4 Nephi
1:5; Mormon 8:7, 34; Ether 4:15;
11:20; 12:5; 13:13; D&C 6:1, 11; 11:1;
12:1; 14:1; 76:114

Great and Mighty

Genesis 18:18; Jeremiah 33:3;
Daniel 11:25; D&C 138:38

Great and Noble²¹

Ezra 4:10

Great and Precious

2 Peter 1:4

Great and Small²²

Deuteronomy 25:13, 14; 2 Chronicles 34:30; 36:18; Esther 1:5, 20; Ecclesiastes 2:7; Jeremiah 16:6; 3 Nephi 26:1

Great and Sore

Genesis 50:10; Deuteronomy 6:22; Psalm 71:20

Great and Spacious

1 Nephi 8:26, 31; 11:36

Great and Strong

1 Kings 19:11; Isaiah 27:1

Great and Tall

Deuteronomy 9:2

Great and Terrible

Deuteronomy 1:19; 8:15; 10:21; Nehemiah 1:5; 4:14; Psalms 99:3;

Joel 2:11, 31; 1 Nephi 12:5, 18; 18:13; 2 Nephi 26:3; 3 Nephi 4:7, 11; 8:6, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25; Ether 6:6; 15:17

Great and Tremendous
Mormon 8:2

Great and True

Helaman 13:18; 15:13

Great and Walled

Deuteronomy 1:28

Great and Wide

Psalms 104:25

Great and Wonderful

D&C 138:3

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1. Various scriptures and statements by latter-day Church leaders make this plain. For example, see Doctrine and Covenants 34:7–9: “The time is soon at hand that I shall come in a cloud with power and great glory. And it shall be a great day at the time of my coming, for all nations shall tremble. But before that great day shall come, the sun shall be darkened.” See also Joseph Fielding Smith, *Doctrines of Salvation*, comp. Bruce R. McConkie, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 1:173, which states: “This great and dreadful day can be no other time than the coming of Jesus Christ to establish his kingdom in power on the earth, and to cleanse it from all iniquity.”

2. In addition to having personally heard this interpretation expressed numerous times in Latter-day Saint sacrament meetings and Sunday School classes, as well as by my students at BYU, it also appears in various publications by Latter-day Saint authors. I intentionally omit references to these publications.

3. Regarding the response of the righteous, see, for example, Moses 7:61–64; Joseph Smith—Matthew 1:48–50. For the response of the wicked, see Moses 7:65–66; Doctrine and Covenants 1:8–10; 112:24–26.

4. This assessment is based on a review of the historical usage of “great” in three dictionaries: (1) Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: Strahan, 1755; reprint, New York: AMS, 1967), which contains no definition

for “great” similar to “desirable”; (2) Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1970), which defines (in definition 9) great as “vast; extensive; wonderful; admirable,” but this is hardly the meaning of “wonderful” and “marvelous” used in current slang; and (3) *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), which under definition 16 (“certain colloquial or trivial uses developed from the preceding senses”), notes some examples of this usage (“of surpassing excellence; hence, used as a (more or less) rapturous term of admiration: ‘Magnificent,’ ‘splendid,’ ‘grand,’ ‘immense’”) that come closest to the one under discussion, the earliest of which comes from 1809, and most are from the 1890s and 1960s. The King James Version, however, was originally published in 1611, undergoing several revisions up until 1769.

This general lexical data is corroborated by the use of “great” in the writings of Shakespeare (1564–1623), in which the word usually connotes high rank, power, eminence, nobility, magnanimity, pride, or largeness in size. I thank my colleague Kent P. Jackson for first suggesting to me the idea of reviewing the historical usage of the English word “great.”

5. Due to differences in the demarcation of chapters and verses, Joel 2:31 is Joel 3:4 in the Hebrew Bible, and Malachi 4:5 is Malachi 3:23 in the Hebrew Bible.

6. Compare the similar language but different syntax of Joel 2:11: *gādōl yōm yhw̄h wēnōrā’ mē’od*, “great is the day of the Lord and dreadful very.”

7. In addition to the passages in Joel and Malachi, the phrase “day of the Lord” occurs several times in the Old Testament, usually in the context of a prophetic warning. For example, see Isaiah 13:6, 9; Amos 5:18, 20. See also the Topical Guide in the Latter-day Saint edition of the Holy Bible (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1979), s.v. “Day of the Lord.” Even when a variation of the expression “great and dreadful day” is used in reference to a time other than the Lord’s Second Coming, as in Alma 45:14 (“But whosoever remaineth, and is not destroyed in that *great and dreadful day*, shall be numbered among the Lamanites, and shall become like unto them,” emphasis added), it is wholly negative in tone.

8. Any lexicon of the Hebrew Bible will provide an overview of the use of the Hebrew words discussed here. See, for example, Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, eds., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, rev. Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm, 5 vols. (Leiden, the Netherlands: Brill, 1994–2000); and G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, 11 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1975–).

9. See the discussion of *gādōl* in Botterweck and Ringgren, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, 2:392–97.

10. Quoting large blocks of scripture is too cumbersome for this brief study. I have quoted brief, representative passages in the course of summarizing the pertinent texts instead. The reader may enjoy reading all of Joel and Malachi.

11. It is generally assumed that Joel’s prophecy was intended to warn wicked Israelites of his day of impending doom in their era as well as to indicate the conditions of the last days.

12. Malachi 4:5 is probably more familiar to Latter-day Saints than Joel 2:31. The return of Elijah prophesied in this verse is also found several times in uniquely Latter-day Saint scripture: 3 Nephi 25:5; Doctrine and Covenants 2:1; 110:14; 128:17; 138:46; Joseph Smith—History 1:38.

13. There is not sufficient space here to quote or cite the many other passages in scripture that relate to the “great and dreadful day of the Lord.” Many of these are cited in the Topical Guide, s.v. “Day of the Lord” and “Jesus Christ, Second Coming.”

14. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 162. I appreciate Brent L. Top reminding me of this statement by the Prophet.

15. Bruce R. McConkie, *The Millennial Messiah: The Second Coming of the Son of Man* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982), 502.

16. Ezra Taft Benson, *A Witness and a Warning: A Modern-day Prophet Testifies of the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1988), 37 (see also 20–21).

17. Nephi’s prophecy about the destructive signs that would be manifest in the Americas when Jesus was crucified in Jerusalem is pertinent in this regard: “And after the Messiah shall come there shall be signs given unto my people of his birth, and also of his death and resurrection; and *great and terrible shall that day be unto the wicked*, for they shall perish” (2 Ne. 26:3, emphasis added). His teaching that the destruction to occur in the Americas when Jesus died would be great and terrible for the wicked highlights the assertion made herein that the phrase “great and dreadful/terrible day” says something about the nature of the “day” in general, not the perception that two different groups of people will have of it. Nephi’s prophetic focus is on the wicked who will be destroyed, but as noted, Mormon’s report in 3 Nephi of the day on which Jesus was crucified indicates that the righteous were severely affected as well, though they received varying degrees of physical protection from the Lord. As President Benson teaches, the account in 3 Nephi parallels what is prophesied for Jesus’ Second Coming as well. Benson, *Witness and Warning*, 20–21, 37.

18. Clearly, Lehi, Ishmael, and their families knew Hebrew and took Israelite prophetic texts on the plates of brass with them when they left Jerusalem. I presume that various “great and ____” phrases were in the texts on the plates of brass, and that these and other biblical forms influenced how Nephite texts were worded. Similarly, I presume that “Bible language” had some influence on the inclusion of “great and ____” expressions in the scriptures of this last dispensation.

19. Four occurrences in the Hebrew Bible of the phrase “great and [modifier] [noun]” are not rendered as “great and ____” in the King James Version. These are thus not represented in this Appendix. They are Genesis 27:34; Deuteronomy 7:21; 2 Chronicles 2:9; and Esther 4:1.

20. The word “great” in this verse is a translation of a Hebrew verbal form *har-beh*, not *gādōl*. See Nehemiah 4:13 in the Hebrew Bible.

21. The word “great” in this verse is a translation of the Aramaic adjective *rabbā’*.

22. The phrase “great and small” (and its reverse, “small and great”; see Genesis 19:11; 1 Samuel 5:9; 2 Kings 23:2; 25:26; Job 3:19; Psalm 115:13; Acts 26:22; Revelation 11:18; 13:16; 19:18; 20:12) is an exception to the usage analyzed in this study. This pair generally functions as a merism—the mention of two extremes, with the understanding that everything in between is intended as well (such as Jesus’ title “Alpha and Omega”). But even in the phrase “great and small,” “great” does not mean “desirable.”

Probabilistic Record Linkage for Genealogical Research

John Lawson, David White, Brenda Price, and Ryan Yamagata

With increased interest in family history research, there is a great need for improvement in procedures for generating genealogical information. One of the most time-consuming parts of the work is searching through records (such as civil records, church records, census records, immigration records, wills, deeds, and certificates of births, marriages, and deaths) for information about an individual. When multiple records are searched, an individual may appear numerous times. Each of these occurrences may contain identical or unique information about the individual. More complete information (such as pedigree) can be constructed for an individual by combining or linking all the records about that individual, especially when in one record the individual appears as a child and in another record as a parent.

Presently, when a genealogist searches through records he or she usually links records manually. This process entails looking at the individual records and comparing the information within each record. The genealogist then decides if any records are *matches*, representing the same individual. Done on a record-by-record level, this is a time-consuming and expensive process.

By comparison, in today's information age most records on individuals (such as financial and medical records) are stored electronically to facilitate quick computer searches. If civil records, useful for genealogical research, could be stored electronically, entire files could be searched in seconds instead of hours or days.

However, it would take more than just storing civil or church records electronically to allow genealogical researchers to use them optimally.

Matching or linking records on one individual is usually accomplished by using a unique identifier such as the social security number. Older records do not contain unique identifiers such as social security numbers to aid in computer searches. Programs written for simple searches would have to match on information such as surname, given name, and date of birth. Herein problems lie. Early civil and church records may use different spellings of names in different records of the same individual. Nicknames may be used, dates may be misreported, or day and month may be interchanged. Needed information may be missing. Programs written for simple searches will miss many matches because these algorithms require fields to be matched identically. The slower but surer trained genealogist will match many more records and compile a much more complete history of an individual by recognizing human variations, catching errors in names and dates, and realizing that various fields do not need to match exactly but be “close.”

Procedures grouped under the classification of *probabilistic record linkage*, which links records that are not necessarily identical but close in some fields, have been developed by researchers in the U.S., England, and Canada. Probabilistic record linkage allows a computer to mimic some of the decision-making processes a genealogist may use to recognize valid variations in the data. Although these methods are not intended for genealogical research, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Family History Department has adapted these procedures for use in the computer program TempleReady, which is used to identify ordinance work that has already been performed for an individual.¹

In this paper we describe the approach to probabilistic record linkage used in TempleReady based on a method of weighting that is described by David White,² and we show its application to genealogical research using a set of civil and church records of Quakers in Perquimans and Pasquotank Counties, North Carolina. The results of our study are very promising. Probabilistic record linkage has the potential of dramatically increasing the productivity of genealogical researchers. This paper is a report of a work in progress and describes what has been done to the present and outlining some of the tasks yet to be addressed.

Historical Overview of Record Linkage

Record linkage is a relatively modern concept. Halbert Dunn, chief of the U.S. National Office of Vital Statistics, introduced the term “record linkage” in 1946.³ Dunn used the term to describe a process that joins separately recorded pieces of information for a particular individual or family. During

the 1950s the idea for computerized record linkage was born, and in 1959 H. B. Newcombe and others⁴ were the first to make probabilistic linkages of vital records in order to track hereditary diseases. This method used the mathematical probability of agreement or disagreement in a certain field as the classification factor.⁵ Unfortunately, computing capability at that time limited the efficiency and practicality of this method.

In the 1960s, mathematical theory for record linkage began to appear in the literature. Papers by N. S. D'Andrea Du Bois,⁶ Gad Nathan,⁷ Benjamin J. Tepping,⁸ and Ivan P. Fellegi and Alan B. Sunter⁹ laid a theoretical foundation for record linkage methodology. Fellegi and Sunter's paper emerged as the theoretical approach most often cited and as the basis for most current methods of record linkage. It was developed along the lines of classical hypothesis testing using a likelihood-ratio-type statistic. The logarithm of the likelihood ratio is a sum of *weights*, one weight for each *field*, used to compare records. The objective of the linkage is to minimize the number of records that are misclassified, which is achieved by establishing threshold values for decision-making based on the log likelihood ratio.

In the past few decades, advances in computers and computational methods have improved the methods and speed of record linkage. Record linkage software such as CANLINK, developed at Statistics Canada by Nancy J. Kirkendall;¹⁰ CAMLIS, developed at the University of California at San Francisco by Max A. Arellano and others;¹¹ and LinkPro, developed by A. Wajda and others at the University of Manitoba,¹² are based on the Fellegi-Sunter model. In addition, a wealth of recent literature focuses on how to apply the Fellegi-Sunter model to specific types of data.

Description of Record Linkage for Genealogical Research

The first step in record linkage for genealogical research is to manually enter the records on magnetic storage media (computer disks) as a GEDCOM file.¹³ The data should be entered using the "Family Records" option. This option allows for the following fields to be entered for an individual: surname, first and second given name, title, birth and death dates, congregation, town, country, and state. It also allows for family units of parents and children to be entered along with marriage information.

To link records, a comparison is made of pairs of records selected from the file. The entries for corresponding fields may be the same, may be different, or one or both entries may be missing. For most linkages of this type, it is anticipated that the number of missing entries may be large, but missing entries are taken into account in this methodology. Positive and negative weights are assigned in advance to each field. David White describes the

details for computing these weights.¹⁴ When two records are compared, the positive weight for a field is used if the records match on that particular field; the negative weight is used if the two records do not match on that field; a zero weight is used if the field is blank in one or both records. A score equal to the sum of weights (over all the fields) is then calculated for each pair of records compared. Large positive scores indicate the pair of records represents the same individual, and large negative scores indicate the pair of records does not represent the same individual.

Initially, a *training set* of records, which could be a subset of the records in the file, is used to estimate the weights. The records in the training set are sorted, using a field or combination of fields that are considered to be useful in identifying matches (pairs of records that are highly likely to represent the same person). An example would be to sort first on surname and then on given name, since records representing the same person would most often have the same name. A set of records having the same given name and surname is then defined as a *block* (more generally, a set of records with the same value for the sort field or fields is defined as a block). Next, a genealogist looks at the blocks of records and identifies matches.

From the matched records the weights are determined as the log odds in favor of a pair of records being a match given agreement or disagreement on a particular field. The odds for agreeing fields are estimated by counting the proportion agreements on particular fields within records considered a match by the genealogist, divided by the proportion of agreements among randomly paired records. Once the weights are established for each field, the score or sum of weights is calculated for every pair of records in each block. Pairs with a large positive score are considered linked, and pairs with a large negative score are not linked.

Measuring the Effectiveness of Record Linkage

There are two kinds of errors that can be sustained when using record linkage.

- a. A false negative: Concluding from the score that a pair of records do not represent the same individual, when by manual inspection, they do. The probability of this error is defined as λ .
- b. A false positive: Concluding from the score that a pair of records do represent the same individual, when, again by manual inspection, they do not. The probability of this error is defined as μ .

A third situation, which deserves a probability, occurs when there is insufficient information to make a decision. The probability of this is defined as γ .

The probabilities λ and μ in the training set can be controlled by choice of the upper threshold values T_μ and the lower threshold value T_λ . If the score determined by comparing all the fields on a pair of records exceed T_μ , the pair of records is linked. If the score is less than T_λ , the pair is not linked. If the score falls between T_μ and T_λ , there is insufficient evidence to make a decision. The smaller T_λ is chosen to be, the lower the probability, λ , of failing to link known matches. The larger T_μ is chosen to be, the smaller the probability, μ , of falsely linking a pair that is not a match. In accordance with normal statistical practice, this choice should be made such that μ (the probability of a false positive) and λ (the probability of a false negative) are both less than 0.05. Relative effectiveness of specific record linkage projects can be assessed by comparing the probability of no decision, γ , with the thresholds adjusted so that λ and μ are nearly the same for each data set.

The use of thresholds is illustrated in figure 1 below, which shows frequency histograms of the scores of matched pairs and nonmatched pairs in a hypothetical set of records. The upper and lower threshold values are shown on the graph. The probability μ , shown on the graph, is the proportion

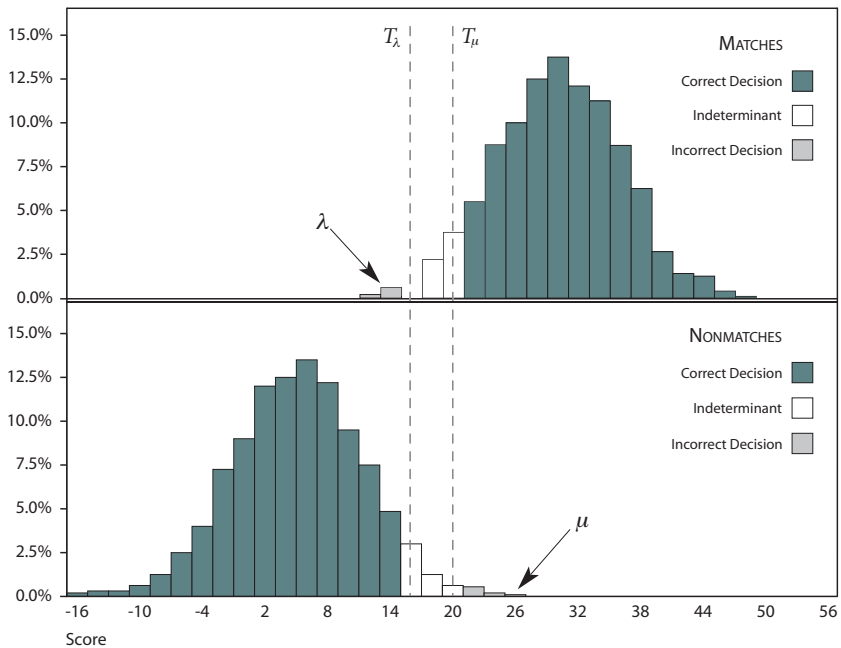


FIG. 1. Hypothetical relative frequency histogram of scores for pairs of matches and nonmatches with T_λ and T_μ

The data was entered into PAF using the “Family Records” option. This option allows the following fields to be entered for an individual: surname²⁰; first and second given name; title; birth and death date; and town, county, and state of the congregation. It also allows for family units of parents and children to be entered along with additional marriage information, if desired. Any additional information can be entered by selecting the “Create Notes?” option. The notes option was used to enter information for fields which were not available, specifically information about the related event that was recorded. For example, if the record was a birth record, the child’s birth was entered in the notes for each parent, with the associated date and place.

Using a procedure in PAF, a GEDCOM file was then created from the input information that contained all the information of all the records. The GEDCOM file contains two sections: The first section contains only an individual’s information. The second section contains all the family information.

The individuals section of the GEDCOM file lists each individual. Each record was assigned a Record Index Number (RIN). This unique identifying number was further used in the family section. The individuals were listed by RIN in sections of five to ten lines that include all personal information.

Each family group was assigned a Marriage Record Index Number (MRIN). The family section of the GEDCOM file consists only of RINs, MRINs, and marriage information, such as date and place, if available. The family groups were listed by MRIN. Within each group the RINs associated with the father, mother, and each child were identified. Therefore, to include information about family relationships, the family section was referenced, and, to retrieve individual specific information, the individuals section was used. Both were needed to construct each record’s information.

These GEDCOM files needed to be converted to flat files²¹ in order to simplify the linkage process. The conversion of these GEDCOM files to a flat file was done using Microsoft Visual Basic.²² The Visual Basic program used the GEDCOM files to gather all the personal and family information for each record. It then created a flat file that assigned each record a single line. On that line, each piece of information was placed into a single field. For each record there were 21 fields, although many of the fields were blank for any given record. The fields present were surname, first given name, sex, father’s given name, father’s surname, mother’s given name, mother’s surname, spouse’s given name, spouse’s surname (or maiden name), birth town, birth county, birth state, birthday, birth month, birth year, death town, death county, death state, death day, death month, and death year. The complete flat file contained multiple records for many individuals.

A training set constructed by matching of records representing the same individual was done manually in Microsoft Excel. Performing various sorts and searches and using the original records as a reference found additional matches from the amended data. In our 9,279 records, a total of 880 individuals were found to have more than one record in the file. This training set was used to calculate the weights for probabilistic record linkage. Records were paired in order to calculate the log odds of agreement or disagreement of each field, given that the pair was a match or not a match.

To reduce the number of pairs to be considered, blocking was done to find a restricted subspace. Two different blocking methods were used for comparison. The first method used surname and sex as the blocking factors, leaving 19 fields available for comparison. Of the 9,279 records, 1,875 did not have a surname listed and thus were not considered. These records consisted mainly of married females without record of their maiden name. This left 7,404 records to be blocked for comparison. After blocking, there were 220,931 pair-wise comparisons to be classified, much fewer than blocking only on surname. Of these, 2,118 were known matches and 218,813 were considered nonmatches.

The second method blocked on surname only. Those records with missing surnames were considered a block and paired within that block for consideration. After blocking, there were 1,961,004 pair-wise comparisons to be classified. Of these, 3,692 were known matches and 1,957,312 were known nonmatches. Using this method, there were 20 fields available for comparison.

All blocking was performed using Visual Basic. The Visual Basic program simply paired all records and then output each pair, with all fields, that satisfied the blocking criteria as a line in a flat file.

The weights for the individual fields were estimated as previously described and for the second case were blocked on surname only. The results are shown in table 1.

For each field, two weights were calculated: $w_i(S)$ was used if records being compared agreed on the field; $w_i(D)$ was used if the records were not in agreement for the field. If the field was missing for either record, then a weight of zero was assigned. Death town was given a weight of zero since for every matched pair of records death town was missing from one or both records.

Using the blocked data defined earlier, a score was then calculated for each pair of records within the block. Each pair of records was compared field by field. Using the weights given in table 1, each field present in both records was given a weight based on the field's agreement status. The score was then found by summing all of the weights. This score reflected the likelihood that the two records were a match. A large value indicated the records should be linked. Conversely, a small value indicated the records should not be linked.

TABLE 1
Calculated Weights for
the Individual Fields

Field No. (i)	Variable	Calculated Values $w_i(S)$	$w_i(D)$
1	Given Name	3.47715	-2.81401
2	Sex	0.69078	-8.16280
3	Father's Given Name	2.83686	-2.54161
4	Father's Surname	3.89474	-2.44506
5	Mother's Given Name	2.09498	-1.64660
6	Mother's Surname	3.04619	-8.16280
7	Spouse's Given Name	3.30857	-2.58610
8	Spouse's Surname	4.39975	-3.06505
9	Birth Town	0.00176	-8.16280
10	Birth County	0.55256	-1.57191
11	Birth State	0.00604	-8.16280
12	Birthday	3.43841	-2.16826
13	Birth Month	1.98113	-0.91975
14	Birth Year	4.60908	-1.09195
15	Death Town	0.0	0.0
16	Death County	0.59431	-8.16280
17	Death State	0.0	-8.16280
18	Death Day	3.47962	-1.70889
19	Death Month	2.28891	-2.04636
20	Death Year	4.41364	-2.12932

error rates are still lower than 0.05, though they are both higher than in the previous method. But by having the slightly higher error rates, the unclassified rates are now both zero. Thus a decision is made for each pair of records examined.

The Future of Probabilistic Record Linkage for Genealogical Research

The results of probabilistic record linkage for genealogical research described in this paper are very promising. Once the weights are established through a training set, all the records representing the same individuals

When blocking by surname and sex, and including the fields of father's given name, father's surname, mother's given name, mother's surname, spouse's given name, and spouse's surname, the distributions for matches and nonmatches were separated as shown in figure 2. Setting $T_\mu = 7.88$ and $T_\lambda = 4.40$ yielded values for μ and λ of 0.0187 and 0.0165 respectively. These threshold values also resulted in low unclassified rates. Only 7.71% of the nonmatches and 17.52% of the matches are between the threshold values and classified as indeterminate status.

Blocking by only the surname allowed one more field to be used for comparing records. In addition to the six family-related fields previously used, sex was also considered as matching criteria. This method of blocking also found the distributions of matches and nonmatches to be sufficiently separated. In this case it is sufficient to set only one threshold. Setting $T_\mu = T_\lambda = 2.28$ yields error rates of 0.0239 and 0.0496 for μ and λ respectively. This can be seen in figure 3. In this situation, the

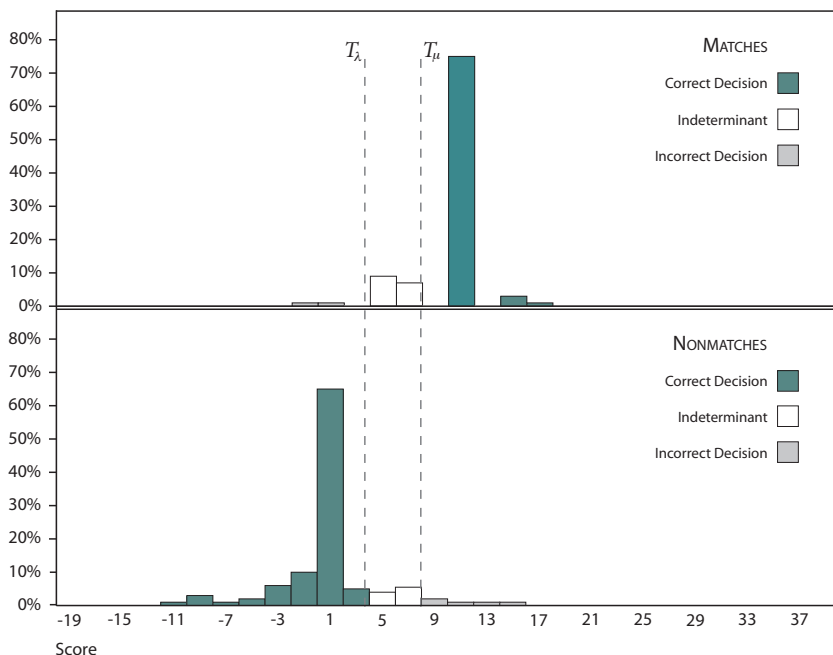


FIG. 2. Relative frequency histogram with thresholds when blocked by surname and sex

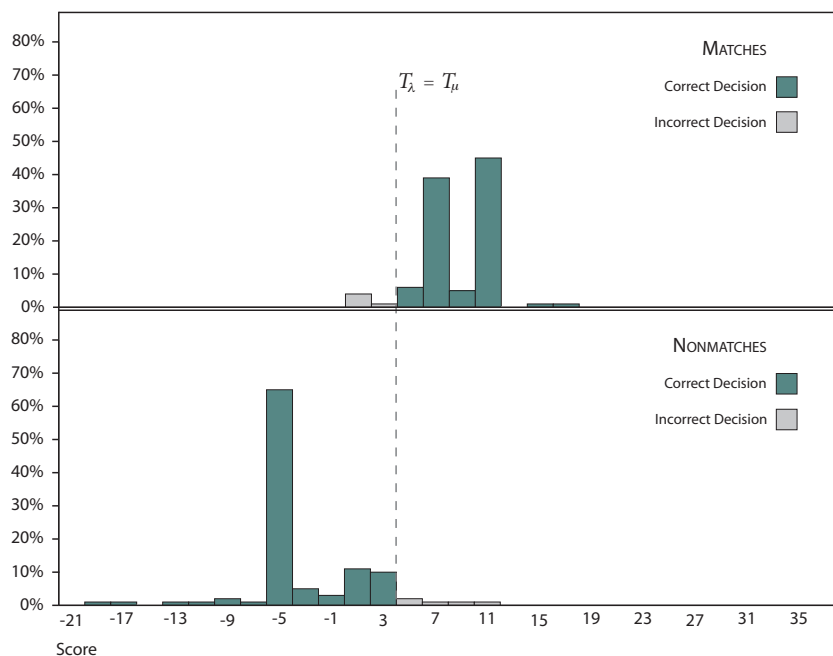


FIG. 3. Relative frequency histogram with thresholds when blocked by surname only

in a large GEDCOM file can be linked simultaneously in seconds using this technology, rather than having a genealogist spend hours or days to link the records relating to just one individual. But this research is still just the tip of the iceberg for what can be done. In this section we describe what we plan to do in the immediate future and then discuss what could be accomplished in genealogical research more universally through use of probabilistic record linkage.

In the research described in this paper (which was the result of two master's projects²³ in the Brigham Young University Statistics Department) a training set was formed consisting of 9,279 records from Perquimans and Pasquotank Counties, North Carolina. A GEDCOM file of the results was converted to a flat file of pairs of records using a Visual Basic program. The flat file was then read into Statistical Analysis System (SAS) where weights were calculated and records were linked using probabilistic record linkage, with less than 5% false positives and false negatives.

Although the results of this research were excellent, an immediate question comes to mind: How well will the weights created in the training set do in linking records that are not in the training set? One indication from our study that the results will be good comes from the fact that the weights didn't change much when the training set was expanded from the Perquimans County records to include the Pasquotank records as well. One of the next steps in our continued research is to test the question. We need to obtain more data, determine how well weights calculated from a subset of the data (or training set) do in linking records from the complete file, and see how weights change from one data set to another.

The linkage and calculation of field weights reported in this study were done using SAS. However, with some programming effort all of these tasks could be included in the portable stand-alone Visual Basic program that converted the GEDCOM file to a flat file. This is another item on our agenda for continued research. Weights could be calculated from a training set by this program or could be supplied by the user at a prompt. The program could then calculate the links for any GEDCOM file, write a modified GEDCOM file by combining all the linked records, and include any new family ties found through the linking process in the family section of the file.

This method would be of great benefit to those doing genealogical research. Instead of searching a GEDCOM file of somewhat unrelated records of births, deaths, wills, deeds, and so on for any information they could find on a particular individual, genealogists could simply read the modified GEDCOM file into PAF or a similar genealogy program. Then they could simply search for any individual and immediately view his or her entire family tree, spouse, children (in other words, the results of the prob-

abilistic linkage), as is now done in the Ancestral File, available through The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Having a quick stand-alone program to link the records in a GEDCOM file could change the whole emphasis in genealogical research. Instead of laborious searching of original records, the emphasis would shift to getting original records into GEDCOM files, running them through a probabilistic record linkage, and cataloging the results where they would be available to other researchers. Then the genealogical research would be almost as simple as it is today to look up an individual's credit history in a large database of linked financial records. Research could be automated and done in seconds.

Many other questions are yet to be answered as we learn more about applying probabilistic record linkage to genealogical research. Certainly the fields, weights, and threshold values that are effective in linking records will change depending on the locality and age of the records being linked. Is there any pattern to the changes? Will there be a way to predict what the field weights and thresholds should be without doing manual matching in a training set? As more resources and data are available we will research these questions.

In the study reported here, weights were developed for only two cases, where the fields are either the same or different in a pair of records. This weighting should be expanded to the case of "different but close." For example, for dates, the weight could be a function of the difference between two dates, possibly with higher weights given for transposed numbers. For names, positive weights could be given matching names, matching soundex code for name, or a reasonable nickname or initial.

Many similar questions remain, making probabilistic record linkage for genealogical research a fertile ground for research. We have investigated only one method of record linkage using the same method of weighting as used in TempleReady. Perhaps other schemes for developing weights or entirely new methods of record linkage based on theory of fuzzy sets may be more effective. These are all open questions that should be investigated in order to improve the methods that could revolutionize and automate genealogical research. Combined with computer automated methods of transferring original records to GEDCOM files, probabilistic record linkage is a method that has the potential of allowing interested people, even those with little formal training in research methods, to become highly productive in genealogical research work.

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Beyond the Cold Coming

Jessica Sorensen

Therefore, cheer up your hearts, and remember that ye are free to act for yourselves—to choose the way of everlasting death or the way of eternal life.

—2 Nephi 10:23

. . . relying alone upon the merits of Christ, who was the author and the finisher of their faith.

—Moroni 6:4

You're stalling now," Sister Howard says, "because you don't want to go." I nod, half-smile, and wonder if I'm that transparent. I want to go, but I don't. *You'll end up there anyway*, the thought persists, *it's time*. I shove it away, but I also stare at Sister Howard for permission. She holds my eyes in a knowing moment.

"I know, I need to go, but . . ."

Her gaze is level despite the lift on the end of my phrase. "When you're serious," she'd told me the semester before, "I'll give you a reference, tell you who's good." And that's all she'd said, but she'd waited, like she's waiting now, leaning forward in her office chair.

A breath drops heavy in my lungs. "I'll go," I tell her finally, softly. And I mean it. The decision moves across me like a shadow. Sister Howard—proud of me, I think—gives me the names.

* * *

The walls are pastel, and soft piano music floats through the lobby. *Anyone who needs to be here*, I think, *won't be fooled by that music*. I pretend an easy confidence and walk to the counter.

Instead of the secretary, “Janie” according to her name plate, I find a man behind the desk. He’s there just long enough for me to realize he seems familiar, almost comfortable. As we pass small talk, he looks at me—sees me, I think—and my pretense wavers. His eyes are kind.

When the secretary returns, I still watch the man until he retreats to the back offices. I’m startled when Janie asks for my name. She is polite enough, but I resent her like the music and the walls. The moment feels suddenly distant, and I’m watching from an outside angle, hoping I won’t go through with it. “I need to make an appointment with a counselor,” I tell her. “Can I meet with him?”

* * *

A week later, the appointment is difficult to keep. Brother Welling finds me in the lobby, where I’m pretending to read a magazine. My stomach curls in on itself. *Run.* The impulse fights my resolve. *No. Do this. How do people do this?* I stand and follow. Then, one step from panic, one step inside his office, I pray: *okay*—I drop to the edge of a chair—I *kept my promise*—my fingers feel bloodless, clamped together in my lap—*so help me through.*

We begin with obligatory small talk. I hate it and cling to it at the same time, secretly wondering what he thinks of me. *Do I look as messed up as I feel? Do I sound crazy yet? Does he really care about my major?*

Brother Welling allows a pause in the conversation. Then, gently, he moves in with “so what can I help you with?” I feel naked without my jacket, which I hung by the door on the way in. *How can he help?*

To save myself from explaining, I cheat, handing him the last personal essay I wrote for Sister Howard. No matter how I revise it, it still sounds angry. As Brother Welling reads, I watch for facial expressions. His eyebrows never jerk; instead, they bend with the soft lines of his forehead. He doesn’t look up. When he finishes, I turn away, realizing I’m sweating too much. “Can I have a copy of this?” he asks. He says it carefully, like a gold digger who’s found a nugget and doesn’t want to let on.

“Sure,” I tell him. *Why not?*

He waits. The ceiling corners look cool, inviting, and I lift my heels against the legs of the chair. *I wear baggy clothes, I could say, and avoid public bathrooms. I won’t be alone with my father. My mom is crazy, since her suicide attempt, and I hate her boyfriends. And her husbands. I hate going home.* Brother Welling leans forward, just perceptibly. *I’m afraid of empty houses, I could tell him, and I shrink to my bed for hours if I’m alone, on a bad night, tucking my feet away from the edges of the mattress. I’ve had nightmares.* Each thought contrasts with the pastel office couches.

I don't deserve to marry, I could tell him. Other people do, but not me. I can't see it, can't want it, though I do. I was almost engaged, once—my eyes lock down on my fingers, watching one thumbnail drag across the other. I cringe when I see couples touch, and I don't know why, or if I can stop, or how. I'm broken. Every time I see it, I hate his arm on hers, the smiles he doesn't deserve, no matter who. I'll never be able to love, be loved.

Resigned, I tilt my eyes until they meet my counselor's. The room pivots on a sharp intake of breath before I can speak. "I think I've been abused," I tell him, "though I don't remember anything." Something must have happened to me, though, to explain how I feel. I don't know how badly I'm messed up, or why, but I want to work things out, make sure I'm okay.

"My bishop agreed," I continue, "that it was a good idea to talk to someone, just to be sure." I remember my promise to Bishop Anderson, and another promise I'd made from the shelter of my car on the night I said good-bye to Jared. I'd driven through a storm that night, fighting the snow that buried my windshield between each cut of the wipers. I'd cried. The tears were first for him, but then for other things—haunting things, home and family, hurts I didn't understand, hurts I only knew belonged to dark places I couldn't explain or hide from.

Pavement slipped under my tires that night, and I wondered if I should pull over. *Where had this pain come from?* Fighting the ice, I begged my Father in Heaven: *I don't know what I need, or what to ask for . . . I don't deserve your help, but please, I can't do it myself . . . please . . . I'll do anything, just help me know what . . .* Exit 108 neared on the right. I didn't want to go home, but I had nowhere else to go. I turned. *I'll do anything*, I prayed again, and I meant it. And I mean it still, sitting in front of Brother Welling, trying to keep my promise.

A hard breath settles me against the back of my chair. Somehow there's a tissue in my hand. The rims of my eyes are stinging, and I smile at the absurdity of it all—me, confessing to a shrink, incredibly grateful for a tissue.

Brother Welling is talking now, and I answer his questions. The tissue becomes a shredded wad. *But no more hiding*, I tell myself, and I imagine my soul laid on a great altar before the Lord. Despite still-bloodless fingers, I feel brave. I agree to come back next week. When the session is over, Brother Welling walks with me to the door.

* * *

The women's lounge becomes my refuge. I find it when, after meeting with Brother Welling, I can't go to work yet, or class—not until I vent all the things I couldn't show or say. Ducking into a bathroom down the hall, I notice a second door just inside, spilling a rectangle of light across the tile. I step through it, kick the doorstop, and pull the knob behind me.

The lounge's far wall is mostly window, with glass large enough to push the top of the ceiling and the walls at either side. It is warm and white, filled with a view of the campus religion building. Sunlight reflects from the white brick spires into the hollow of the women's lounge, softening the look of mismatched armchairs and couches. The room seems light and warm—the kind of pastel I believe in.

My backpack drops from my shoulder, and I fold into the corner of an armchair, pulling my jacket tight like my knees to my chest. The chair rocks. I drop one foot to the ground and push forward and backward, slowly and evenly. *He's probably making notes on me right now*, I think—“*too tight, unemotional, crazy.*” Why hadn't I cried? But now, alone in the women's lounge, I cry until I'm spent.

And I write. I pull a notebook from my backpack and flip to the first blank page, hungry, ready to spill the frustration I still feel: *Brother Welling*, I write, addressing my counselor: *I'm sitting in your office, wrapped in tight control. If I let loose for one second, I'd cry and cry and cry and never stop. I don't want to be out of control. I'm afraid of being overpowered by emotions bigger than I am. I'm afraid I don't deserve healing and will never be allowed to marry. I'm angry at myself for not being perfect and for needing counseling. I'm too tired, too weary.*

I'm too tired of feeling crazy, I write, *but too tired of needing help*. I'm tired of balancing the two sides of my head—the one that wants healing and the other that clutches pain like air and won't let go. *But I will heal*. The thought is persistent, David at the foot of Goliath. *I will. I don't know how to do this, but with the Lord, there has to be a way. I've started—I'll find out how.*

The rocking slows as I finish two pages, settling into rhythm with my breath. Eyes closed, I hook my pen over the edge of the notebook. Slowly, evenly, I rock.

It becomes my habit to write after each session, as I wait for the red to drain from my eyes. Every Friday I write through pages of loose leaf—honest, hard words penned too deeply into the paper. Every Friday I pull the lounge door shut behind me, breaking some unwritten rule and not caring. The room is always full of white and light, and I trust my tears to the window and the rocking of the chair. Occasionally, some secretary opens the door and finds me hiding. Once, I close my eyes and pretend to be asleep. Another time, when I'm caught standing by the window with my palms on the cold, stone sill, I hold my place with my back turned. She takes the hint and closes the door. Eventually, every Friday, I check my eyes in the bathroom mirrors and rejoin the work-as-usual hallway on my way to class.



After three weeks, I no longer care what Brother Welling thinks of me. I almost look forward to dropping my soul on the floor between his two office chairs, knowing it will help. Even as they hurt, those Friday hours help.

"Do your appointments ever just, not show up?" My question is half joke, but part of me would rather not show up myself.

"Counseling is like cleaning out your fridge," Brother Welling tells me once. "You take everything out, open all the containers, and put just the good ones back in. Everything else can be dealt with and thrown away." *Like a fridge?* Some Fridays I feel I'm dragging my fridge up the stairs to his office with a piece of dental floss. But when I make it, frayed and thin, I'm always relieved. At least I make it.

Brother Welling always holds a pillow on his lap, and I wonder if it's out of habit or comfort or both. When my heels lift against the legs of the chair, showing my stress, he doesn't care. The clock behind his head looks like its numbers dropped to the bottom, leaving them jumbled in the arc where the "6" should be. That clock shields the office from time, promising to listen as long as I need. But I know there's also a clock behind my head, a normal one that Brother Welling uses to find the end of the hour. So my worries wrap themselves into hour-long bundles, quick packages of home, mom, dating, future, fear. I drop them all in the space between the office chairs, between the two clocks, between the counselor and the girl with her heels on the chair.



We talk first about my mom, and I realize how much I've moved away. I'm apart from her, different from her house. Now when I come home, I notice the lawn chairs around the kitchen table. The kitchen ceiling is still black from the grease fire that burned my mom's hand three years ago, and the cupboards above the stove are still paint-blistered from the heat. I tried to scrub them once, with water so hot it left my hands pink. I tried to wash the dishes each time I came home. Angry once, I'd scrubbed through the counters and floors and the bathroom mold before Mom came home from work. "We don't have to live like this," I told her; "my apartment is cleaner than this." She cried, I think, and I wished I hadn't come home. I wished I didn't know what new carpet smelled like.

"But I love my family," I tell Brother Welling, twisting my weight in the chair, "and I love my mom. And I want to love my house, but it's dizzy there, like the walls are tilted and everything is falling off the shelves and sliding down the door frames. And somehow the house *is* my mom, and *she's* sliding, down beyond the places I can find her.

“She tries, I know she tries. I want to be fair, but why is it falling apart? Why is *she* falling apart?” I drop both my feet to the floor, flatly. My elbows brace against my knees before I turn to Brother Welling. “She’s neglectful,” I finally say. “I don’t want to be like my mom.”

Bad daughter. The words taste disloyal in my mouth. Am I too harsh with her? She tries with everything she has. But it’s true, I think. But I love her. I cry then, caught halfway between home and the office chair.

* * *

“It’s okay to improve on your past,” Brother Welling tells me as we discuss my home. His voice is cool like the aloe vera my mom used to grow by the window. “Most parents want their children to end up better than they did.” He sounds genuinely sure this should be normal. I blink. He’s even smiling. As he explains with the context of his own kids, I roll the idea around in my head until I believe it. *It’s okay to be different from her, to choose better things? Can I say that?* The idea is strange, but I can’t give it back—it means hating the blistered cupboards without feeling guilty. *I can admit what I don’t like, but I can still love her, even if I’m not like her.* Brother Welling is leaning forward now. “You can choose a different life,” he says.

* * *

As the weeks continue, I soon envy the daughter of Jairus—all she had to do was die. She died physically, and Christ healed her. It’s the easy way out, I’m sure. When the *Ensign* prints a copy of *Christ Raising the Daughter of Jairus*, I rip it from the inside cover. The picture is rough-edged and frameless, but I tack it to my bedroom wall where I can see it from my bed. It is beautiful—my mystery and goal. The girl, painted in the same yellow as the Savior’s robe, lifts away from the tatters of her cot. I’m drawn to her, and, despite my sarcasm, I want to be like her, understand her.

My mind knows Christ can heal, but my heart knows I don’t deserve it. Maybe my faith isn’t strong enough, I admit. Jesus doesn’t heal without faith, I know. Often, I turn to the daughter of Jairus on the wall. From my spot on the bed, she seems to glow.

But I don’t know how to accept him, I pray, angry at my weakness. *I believe in healing, but somehow I can’t believe.* Instead of the daughter of Jairus, I feel more like a different New Testament character, a father crying both “Lord, I believe” and “help thou mine unbelief” (Mark 9:24). I come to love that line. *But they don’t paint paintings of unbelievers*, I tell the girl across the room.

I think also of T. S. Eliot’s magi, those wise men who found the road so hard and cold. In the dead of winter, they drove their camels through

“cities hostile and towns unfriendly,” all to seek the Christ.¹ And as I reconcile myself to counseling, I know it must be a search for my Savior, if it is to help at all. But I wonder how long those magi scraped their sandaled feet along the path before they missed the comforts they’d left behind. Did they cry when they remembered the silken sherbet girls and the ease of their abandoned palaces? Did their days sleep long, like mine, heavy with the labor of their faith? “Were we led all that way for Birth or Death?” the magi ask in their famous lines from Bethlehem. Centuries later, from my bedroom, I ask the same.

* * *

“You’re starting in the right place if you know where healing comes from,” Brother Welling tells me. He rests his pillow on the bend of his crossed knee. *At least I know where to look. I’ve always known where, even if I don’t know how.*

Through the weeks, I begin to view coming to Brother Welling as a metaphor for coming to the Savior. The physical act of climbing the stairs to his office shows my willingness, at least, even if I can’t get from *knowing* Christ can heal to *letting* him. Slowly, though, I begin to believe he loves me, *wants* to heal me. I realize that the warm, familiar feeling of the Spirit is really the witness of Christ, the feeling of his love relayed through the Holy Ghost. I already know him, I realize, but had not recognized him.

So, as I roll Kleenex between my thumbs in Brother Welling’s office, my testimony changes. How could I believe in the Atonement for healing sin and not use it to heal my emotional and spiritual wounds, too? “Come unto me,” Christ offers, “come unto me and be whole.” *Be whole.* I’d always known I had to be sinless to receive eternal life, but I’d never imagined I had to be whole. I’d always assumed, without knowing, that I’d carry my scars until I finally died and inherited happiness. Instead, I begin to offer them up to both of my counselors.

* * *

“Here’s something you’ll love,” I announce one Friday, trying to sound off-handed. Although I’m more comfortable with Brother Welling now, I still approach the topic indirectly.

“What?”

“When I see couples holding hands, I automatically think, ‘That’s wrong, he shouldn’t do that.’”

“*He* shouldn’t do that?” Brother Welling catches.

“Yes. He should leave her alone. He doesn’t really love her, he just wants to hurt her, and he’ll leave her anyway. He doesn’t want to be there.”

It comes in one long breath before I wait for my counselor's response. *Yep, she's messed up*, I imagine for him.

But he doesn't miss a beat. "Did you feel this way when you were dating Jared?"

"No, not really. We held hands and kissed, but I felt guilty, sort of, in the back of my mind. But only if I thought about it." Brother Welling waits, and I continue: "When I see couples, or even think of them, I think she's a fool for loving him, because he doesn't love her back. His hand is dirty around her waist, and he shouldn't touch her." *Was he hearing me?*

I can't explain why these fears are mine, not even to myself. In the daylight, I lecture myself for being silly, for fearing things that don't exist, but in the dark I still curl up in the corner of my bed near the wall, waiting for my roommates to come home. I still imagine hands around my ankles when I run up dark stairwells, and people's faces becoming monster faces, hollow and twisted, just when I look at them. People I know. And I still hate seeing couples, any of them, holding hands, his arm dirty around her waist.

"I don't know why I think this way, feel this way," I tell Brother Welling. *What if I'm broken and never change?* "I don't *want* to think it. My mind already knows it isn't right." My hands flip the air to accent my point. "But I still feel it. How do I keep from feeling it?" I watch him, honest and scared.

* * *

"They call it cognitive restructuring," Brother Welling tells me. We're both leaning forward. "By replacing your thoughts with different, healthy ones, you eventually teach yourself new beliefs." The concept seems sterile, like a bold-faced phrase in a textbook, but I listen. "For example," he says, "when you see couples holding hands, tell yourself how healthy it is to love someone. Understand?" I do. Mentally, I start a list of all the beliefs I need to restructure: *don't feel naked without your jacket, don't hate couples, don't think she's stupid for loving the man at her side, believe he will treat her well instead of hurting her*. I catch myself grinding my teeth—this will take time.

"We can focus on the present," Brother Welling explains. "We can't change the past, but we can deal with its effects."

* * *

Over several weeks, I work to replace old beliefs with new ones. I watch my thoughts, write in my notebook, and even write 3 x 5 cards to keep in my scriptures and planner. *Relationships are good*, I tell myself when Kristin introduces her fiancé in church. In class, when Blaine reaches over to touch his wife's shoulder, I cringe before I catch myself and think: *He*

chose to be with her because he loves her, and he always will. They're expecting their first baby.

Eliot's magi walk through my mind, struggling against "the ways deep and the weather sharp." My own process feels similar and exhausting. Still, the process is freeing. *I don't have to carry this forever*, I write in the women's lounge. *I never imagined I'd be rid of it. Who knew? It's amazing to think my instinct is to hold on to something so painful.* I feel as if someone picked me up, turned me away from the past, and faced me forward. I didn't even realize that I had been facing the past.

I also write about the Savior. He becomes *my* Savior, and I feel him lifting me out of the tatters of my emotions.

After writing, I pass couples as I walk to class. *He wants to be with her*, I think of one pair. His fingers are laced into hers, just showing below the sleeves of their jackets. *He's there because he really loves her.* When I pass the next couple, I notice how she smiles. She reaches for his hand without prompting.

* * *

The tall foyer window watches me cry, its eyes dizzy with snowflakes from a heavy sky. I've pushed my bench against the glass, and I hear it shudder as it braces against the wind. The surface is cool to my cheek.

I shift and lean over my notebook. All week I've dropped my shoulders when I caught them tense, released the grip on my teeth. I caught myself hating the hand-holding and tried to rethink: *He wants her there, love is good, he's taking care of her. Yeah, right.*

So tired, I write. *I have no safe place to go.* My pen pushes letters harder into the page, writing also of classes I can't handle and difficult roommates I hide from in my bedroom. *I have nowhere safe to go*, I write again, *but I love the religion building. I seek safety in God.*

Thick snowflakes collide with the window, but they're white, and the bricks are white, and the grand piano in the chapel is white. This morning, it's the first place I find to write and cry, insulated by snow and glass and bench. Students hurry past, adjusting their hats and scarves whether they're coming in or out. They all seem a part of the snow, either lost or recovered from it. I watch, suspended behind the windows.

"It's been a hard week," I admit when I reach Brother Welling's office. He tries to find my eyes, but they drop, fat-lidded, searching out the carpet. "You could ask me anything today. I'll tell you anything." The words are resigned.

Brother Welling is asking what I mean, reaching me like a rope that won't let me slip any farther. "I have nowhere to go," I tell him. "There's no

hole small enough for me to crawl inside and feel safe.” Without noise, long tears are slipping from my eyes to my chin. I don’t watch Brother Welling, but I know his eyebrows crease as he looks at me. *Does he know where I’ve lost myself to?* He’s forgotten his desk and the storm behind his office blinds. He listens. He’s the only reason I dared leave the safety of the religion building foyer.

In ragged phrases, I explain how I went home that week, how it left me shattered. “And I’m tired,” I finally manage, “too tired to hold up my family anymore.” Miserable, I pull my knees close, not caring that today I look as pitiful as I feel. “I see them, and I ache for them, but it’s too hard to take care of them.” With that, I turn to Brother Welling, daring and begging him to solve the problem I can’t.

“You need to give over your care-giver role,” he offers, sliding the words toward me like a gift he’s afraid I won’t take. But he continues: “Let your sisters carry some, let your brother. Don’t try to replace your mother.”

“But if I leave them alone, they’ll be alone.” My answer is quick on the tail of his. “I don’t want them to be alone.”

After the session, still miserable, I retreat to the lounge. My mind watches my sisters, still at home. I think of my brother on his mission. I even see my mom, sliding down the walls. I can’t leave my family alone, I know. But I can’t hold them up myself—maybe I never could. My breath is trapped by a sob. I pray. Even with my eyes closed, the whiteness of the room comes through the lids. *Please, Father, I pray, hugging my folded arms, please take care of them. I’ll give them over to you, where they belong. Please take care of them, in all the ways I can’t.* The chair rocks, forward and backward, slowly and evenly, settling into rhythm with my breath.

* * *

I know Christ can heal—he raised the daughter of Jairus, and he raised my broken prayer through the ceiling of the women’s lounge. It had been a miracle. But the next time I try to tell Brother Welling I’ve had a hard week, the words are flat. The situation is different—I’m less distressed—but I wonder why the burden isn’t taken away as it was before. Then I remember another woman, one who had to reach for the Savior’s robe.

My thinking shifts. The choice is mine, I realize, to reach for the Healer. No one else will make the final choice for me—not my counselor, not even my Savior. They invite me, but I have to reach. Like the brother of Jared, I may be given air, but I have to find my own stones for light. An idea begins, small but growing. I find the library.

The project hurts as much as counseling, maybe more. At my computer, I create a table with two columns. Slowly, I fill in the left-hand column

with all the unhealthy beliefs I can think of. I drop each one into a tight square, purging it out of my head. Most of the thoughts I've never said out loud, or consciously thought of, but at my worst I've believed them all. The thoughts arrange themselves into categories: Guilt/Self-Worth, Emotions, Family, Trust, God, Relationships. This last is the core of the project, and the hardest to type. When I try to skirt around a particularly dark thought, I erase the square and fill in exactly what I didn't want to say. When it's too much, my fingers pull back from the keys, but I start again. The process is cleansing, if unnerving. "Tell it honest," I imagine Sister Howard saying. "Write it honest or it won't do any good. Write like only your Father in Heaven will ever see it." Soon the column stretches into five pages.

Then my project shifts. For each square on the left, I write a healthy statement on the right. "All honest emotions are righteous and healthy," I write. "Love is possible and good," and "relationships are ordained of God." Every dark thought receives its counterpart, a healthy thought to cancel it out. As I work, I scroll through all five pages, overwhelmed by the wonderful strength of my right-hand column; it makes up for the ugliness of the left. And for the first time, I realize I don't need my counselor's help to decide which attitudes I want to change. I begin to address problems I haven't even brought up in counseling.

The table takes two weeks to write. Sometimes I avoid it, hating it. But I come back to it. And I come to rely on it, trusting each new belief as a savior from the old. And I trust the one true Savior, praying for him to make the words a part of my heart, something I can believe.

When I print the completed table, I include Nephi's words at the top of the first page: "Therefore, cheer up your hearts, and remember that ye are free to act for yourselves to choose the way of everlasting death or the way of eternal life" (2 Ne. 10:23). Free to act for myself, free to choose which column to live by. The quote is highlighted in bold.

* * *

I know before coming that today's session with Brother Welling will be my last. I bring my completed list, my project of healing. When he reads it through, his eyebrows jump; I'm happy to have finally surprised him. "This is how you feel?" he asks me. But he's pleased. We talk about the ideas, some familiar to him, some I hadn't shared.

"But they're not mine anymore," I tell him. "It's like a different person in that left column. I don't have to carry those things anymore." I lean back in my chair, imitating his easy style of crossing his legs.

Brother Welling asks for a copy, hoping to share it with colleagues and other clients. I leave it with him willingly, wishing I could give him more.

I thank him, knowing he has served me, knowing I would thank him many times when he couldn't hear.

He walks with me to the door.

In a few moments, I'm down the hall, watching a thin layer of snow fall outside the women's lounge window. It makes the ground look clean and neat in squares between the sidewalks. From my side of the glass, the sun is warm, heating the room through the glass. A slow smile spreads through me like the heat. *What am I feeling?* I write in my final notebook entry. *Sanctification. Gratitude. Hope.* Whole is a process, I know, but today I feel closer than I have ever been.

As I pray, a smile crosses my lips without effort. I thank my Father in Heaven, thank Him for the chance to heal, for real emotions, for the counselor who helped me, and mostly for His perfect Son. I thank Him with the same inadequacy that I once begged for his help.

And I write, finishing the page: *I'm grateful to my Savior, who lifts me. I now know of his healing power. He was always there, and I knew it, but I didn't know how to allow him into my life. But now I have, and he's worked a miracle in me.*

I hook my pen over the edge of my notebook and think of Eliot's magi. "Were we led all that way for Birth or Death?" they asked after their cold coming to Bethlehem. "I had seen birth and death," one of them said, "but had thought they were different." Their road was hard and bitter like death, but nothing less would have brought them to the Christ. After returning to their kingdoms, they were no longer content with their old dispensations, clutching their alien gods, because they knew the difference. And now, like them, so do I.

From my chair, feeling sun through my eyelids, I push my toe forward and backward, slowly and evenly.

Jessica Sorensen grew up in Shelley, Idaho. She received her Associate's Degree from Ricks College in 2000 and is currently pursuing a Bachelor's Degree in English at BYU. In July 2002, a year and a half after this essay was originally written, she married Dane Sorensen. "Beyond the Cold Coming" tied for second place in the 2000 BYU Studies personal essay contest.

1. T. S. Eliot, "Journey of the Magi," *T. S. Eliot: The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909–1950* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1952), 68.

Trumbower, Jeffrey A. *Rescue for the Dead: The Posthumous Salvation of Non-Christians in Early Christianity*.
Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Reviewed by Hans A. Pohlsander

Latter-day Saint scholars have reason to take note of and to be grateful for this recent addition to the Oxford Studies in Historical Theology. Author Jeffrey A. Trumbower has previously published *Born from Above: The Anthropology of the Gospel of John* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992) and is chair of the Department of Religious Studies at St. Michael's College in Colchester, Vermont.

In the introduction to the present book, Trumbower succinctly defines his subject. In Christianity at large, he points out, "belief in salvation for the faithful has usually meant non-salvation for others" (3). But, he notes, exceptions to this general principle can be found in ancient Christianity, and "the principle itself was slow to develop and not universally accepted in the Christian movement's first four hundred years" (3). Two of the ancient exceptions, recorded in the Acts of Paul and Thecla and in the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas, are briefly mentioned in the introduction and are discussed in depth later in the volume. Posthumous salvation, Trumbower is well aware, was allowed for in modern times in Shaker theology and practice and is an important, while sometimes controversial, part of Latter-day Saint belief and practice. He acknowledges that Latter-day Saints are motivated by love and compassion and a belief in God's justice in giving everyone a chance; "no doubt," he says, "these factors apply as well in the early Christian contexts" (7). He also remarks that "everyone in the world who is interested in family history and genealogy has benefited from the enormous resources the Latter-day Saints have put into research for saving the dead" (6).

In chapter 1, Greek, Roman, and Jewish traditions are examined to show "the wide range of cultural options open to early Christians concern-

ing succor for the dead” (11). Archaeological, epigraphical, and especially literary evidence is adduced, the latter from the Homeric epics, Sophocles’ *Antigone*, Plato’s *Republic*, Vergil’s *Aeneid*, and the books of Tobit and 2 Maccabees. Republic 365 and 366A, supported by an Orphic gold lamella (a small metal tablet), lead to the conclusion that “some people participating in the Orphic salvation movement wished to extend the benefits of the salvific rituals to those initiates already dead” (26). Even more interestingly, 2 Maccabees 12:43b–45 provides for posthumous atonement and for intercession by the living for the dead. But 4 Ezra 7:82, two centuries later, decidedly takes the opposite view.

“The general thrust of the New Testament and early Christian literature,” Trumbower writes in chapter 2, is “that death is a boundary beyond which salvation may not be procured” (33). Again, however, he can cite exceptions: Romans 11:32, by implication, speaks of universal salvation; 1 Corinthians 15:29 of baptism on behalf of the dead; and 1 Peter 4:6 of the gospel being preached to the dead. In noncanonical literature, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Sibylline Oracles provide additional examples. Regarding 1 Corinthians 15:29, “enormous vats of ink have been emptied” (35) in largely vain efforts to interpret this passage. Another New Testament scholar writes in reference to this crucial text, “The ingenuity of the exegetes has run riot.”¹ Trumbower feels certain “that the grammar and logic of the passage point to a practice of vicarious baptism of a living person for the benefit of a dead person” (35). He thinks, however, that the Corinthians limited this practice to those who had died in the faith but without baptism. Vicarious baptism was also practiced by the heretic Marcionites, mentioned again in chapter 5, and by the equally heretic followers of a certain Cerinthus.

Chapter 3 offers a good account of the textual history of the Acts of Paul and Thecla and its place in the larger but now fragmentary Acts of Paul. This is followed by an equally good account of the circumstances under which Thecla successfully intercedes for Falconilla, the deceased daughter of her pagan friend Tryphaena, and secures her salvation. The important point is that Falconilla “is the recipient of posthumous grace procured for her by one of God’s heroes” (70), but other aspects of the story, such as the role of dreams as a form of religious expression and the role of women in the Church, are not neglected.

While Thecla is a fictional person, Perpetua, discussed in chapter 4, was a real person mentioned in the Passion of Perpetua and Felicitas. She was a young Christian woman who was arrested and suffered martyrdom in Carthage in 203 (her feast day is observed on March 7). While in prison, she was moved upon to pray intently for a younger brother, Dinocrates, who

had died at the age of seven. In one vision, she then saw her brother suffering, and in a second, she saw him delivered from his sufferings, which demonstrates the efficacy of prayer for the dead—a non-Christian, as was Falconilla. “Both Thecla and Perpetua,” Trumbower holds, “engage in a process of creating a new family among the dead,” and, he continues, “one sees this process at work also in nineteenth-century Mormon practice” (86). More than two centuries after Perpetua’s martyrdom, her visions of Dinocrates were used by a North African Christian (more specifically, a Donatist) named Vincentius Victor “to justify his view that Christian prayer for the unbaptized dead was a good and necessary activity” (89). Augustine’s view on the matter was, predictably, quite different.

In chapter 5, the author discusses the numerous passages in the New Testament and other early Christian literature that deal with Christ’s descent to the underworld (also known as “the harrowing of hell”). Some might take offense at Trumbower’s referring to the event as a “myth” (92) and might even question the relevance of some parallels adduced from Hellenistic mythology. He distinguishes between those texts that limit the beneficiaries of Christ’s visit to “the holy ones” of the Old Testament and those that hold forth a more “general offer of salvation” (95). Among the latter, he counts 1 Peter 4:6 (possibly), the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and three of the beautiful Odes of Solomon. He concludes:

The question of who was saved at the descent was not settled in the first four centuries of Christianity, though Augustine and Gregory the Great were highly influential in making normative, in the West, that a person’s actions *in this life only* [italics added] are determinative. For them, repentance or receiving God’s grace for the first time in the afterlife was, is now, and ever shall be, impossible. (108)

By “universal salvation,” discussed in chapter 6, Trumbower means “the salvation of all individual beings who have ever lived, not a universal *offer* of salvation” (109). Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa, he argues, all had strong universalist leanings. Clement and Origen also spoke of posthumous progress. Origen believed, Latter-day Saint readers will note with satisfaction, in “each individual’s responsibility, God’s justice, and each human being’s freedom of choice to reject or turn toward God” and in the concept that “each person’s soul existed long before coming into the body, and it will continue long after it leaves” (114). Origen rejected determinism, predestination, and reincarnation. He did not know whether the punishment of the damned lasts forever, but he was of the opinion “that a temporary, remedial punishment is more in line with God’s mercy” (117). He even interpreted “eternal” as meaning only “a very long time” (117). Anyone will find comfort in Origen’s conviction “that death is

not a firm boundary of salvation, and that the love and mercy of God will triumph in the end” (119).

Universalism became even more pronounced, more confident, and more systematic in the thought of Gregory of Nyssa, Origen’s admirer and one of the three Cappadocian Fathers. To Gregory, too, “eternal” may mean “for a long time” (122). Even Jerome, before he became an anti-Origenist, upheld a position of universal salvation. Opposition was to be offered by Epiphanius of Salamis and John Chrysostom. Eventually the writings of Origen were condemned by a decree of the emperor Justinian in 543 and by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. Gregory of Nyssa escaped such condemnation.

In chapter 7, the pertinent views of Augustine, views very different from those of Origen and Gregory of Nyssa, are discussed. Even before Augustine, some Christian writers had emphasized the need to earn one’s salvation in this life. Hippolytus of Rome held that each person is judged already at death, and Cyprian of Carthage taught that “in the grave there is no confession and the rite of reconciliation cannot take place there” (127). But no one developed this principle more fully or more clearly than Augustine, whose views became universally accepted in the West. Augustine’s views evolved over many years as he responded to questions from friends or to attacks from enemies and as his thinking was stimulated by the Pelagian controversy. “In the mid-420s, he had formulated the clear position in the West rejecting *all* forms of posthumous salvation” (126; *italics added*); On the way to this position, he had worked out his own interpretation of Jesus’ descent to hell and had rejected the ideas of Vincentius Victor. He came to see God’s mercy on all (Romans 11:32) simply as mercy on “all those from among the Gentiles as well as those of the Jews whom he predestined, called, justified, and glorified” (*City of God*, 21.24).

Trumbower does not systematically extend his study beyond the parameters of early Christianity and might have concluded it with the chapter on Augustine. But fortunately, he devotes chapter 8 to the salient role of Pope Gregory the Great in the further history of posthumous salvation. Already at the end of chapter 7, readers learn that “Gregory the Great repeated Augustine’s formulations about the impossibility of posthumous salvation for the unbaptized” (140). But Gregory did have faith in the efficacy of masses and prayers said on behalf of Christian sinners and in the possibility of their posthumous salvation. Trumbower next examines a curious text that purports to record a tearful prayer said by Gregory on behalf of the emperor Trajan, who, of course, was not only an unbaptized pagan but also a persecutor of Christians. The anonymous text probably dates from the seventh century and is extant in both Latin and Greek ver-

sions of the eighth century, with some variances between them. The East and the West differed also in their interpretation of this text, which is not surprising, given, among other things, the high esteem in which Gregory of Nyssa was held in the East. The Eastern interpretation allows greater openness to the idea of prayer for the dead in hell.

The final sentences of the author's conclusions deserve to be quoted in full:

For the Shakers, Mormons, and Universalists of the nineteenth century, reinterpreting traditional Christianity also meant throwing off traditional Christian restrictions on salvation for the dead. Those Christians, like Augustine, who reject posthumous salvation find themselves in the paradoxical position of affirming the continued existence of the personality after death, but rejecting the idea that the personality of the unbaptized and grievous sinners might grow or change as they did throughout life. Although I have much sympathy for those in every age who have wished to rescue the dead, it is not the goal of this volume to take sides or to chart a course for Christian theology. Those who take on such a task, however, should be informed of the early history of the question in all its facets, and if this book has shed some light on that history, then it will have achieved its goals. (155)

A rich bibliography, in which both classicists and theologians will meet many familiar names, and detailed indexes conclude the book.

Professor Trumbower is to be congratulated on a fine achievement. His book ranges widely across the cultures, through a vast body of primary sources and secondary literature in several languages, and through the centuries, yet never loses sight of its central theme; it is to be recommended to readers of any persuasion for its meticulous scholarship, clear style of writing, and scrupulous objectivity. Latter-day Saint readers will, additionally, appreciate the respectful references to and considerable support for their own beliefs.

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1. Hans Conzelman, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 276.

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