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In September 2005, “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” issued by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in 1995, marked its tenth anniversary. To celebrate this significant occasion, *BYU Studies* invited Professor Richard G. Wilkins of the J. Reuben Clark Law School and director of the World Family Policy Center to document several of the key developments in the past decade that the Proclamation has influenced.

Since 1996, the World Family Policy Center, an interdisciplinary academic study center, has promoted scholarly research and cultivated a network of international scholars to support the principles of the Proclamation and to bring that scholarship to the attention of world leaders. Recently, because of relationships fostered over the years by the Center, a resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, sponsored by 149 nations, was adopted in December 2004, embracing the outcomes of the Doha International Conference for the Family, including its Doha Declaration. This international legal document—whose full text appears as an appendix below—strongly affirms the central teachings of “The Family: A Proclamation to the World.”

In this article, Professor Wilkins explains the connection between international law, family policy, and the efforts of legal scholars and academic centers. He also argues that despite current efforts to redefine the family, continued erosion of what Article 16(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human rights calls “the natural and fundamental group unit of society” is not inevitable. In the midst of intense academic and political debates, the Proclamation has had notable influence on important international proceedings, providing hope for the traditional family and its supporters the world over.

—John W. Welch, *BYU Studies*

The Principles of the Proclamation

Ten Years of Hope

Richard G. Wilkins

On September 23, 1995, while presiding at the first general Relief Society meeting held since he was sustained as prophet, seer, revelator, and President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, President Gordon B. Hinckley read “The Family: A Proclamation to the World.” The Proclamation was prefaced by these remarks:

With so much of sophistry that is passed off as truth, with so much of deception concerning standards and values, with so much of allure-ment and enticement to take on the slow stain of the world, we have felt to warn and forewarn. In furtherance of this, we of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve Apostles now issue a proclamation to the Church and to the world as a declaration and reaffirmation of standards, doctrines, and practices relative to the family which the prophets, seers, and revelators of this Church have repeatedly stated throughout its history.¹

President Hinckley thereafter read nine paragraphs that summarize the Church’s “standards, doctrines, and practices relative to the family.”²

The Proclamation reaffirmed long-standing values regarding marriage, the roles of husbands and wives, and the duties and obligations of family members. However, the Proclamation is not a static, regressive document. As its plain terms emphasize, there is a pressing need for husbands and wives to protect, promote, and improve the lives of family members—particularly those of women and children. The Proclamation unequivocally affirms that there *are* social norms, traditions, and beliefs associated with family life that require modification, alteration, and correction. These include practices and traditions that condone (or worse, promote) spousal

As I wrote about the international struggle to defend the family according to principles found in the “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” I was reminded of a story told by my great uncle Joseph Gundersen. His father, my great-grandfather Thomas Gundersen, was a blacksmith. He made useful things out of iron: nails, hinges, wheel rims, and horseshoes—the simple things that made ordinary life pleasant and possible. He taught my uncle Joe, who he called “Dodi Boy,” how to be a blacksmith. It wasn’t easy.



Uncle Joe didn’t like the heat, and he was afraid of the fire. He had to stand by a hot oven, take the iron out of the fire and place it on the anvil. As he would strike the iron with a heavy hammer, sparks would fly and burn his face and arms. The smoke would sting his eyes, and the heat would cover him in drenching sweat. When he would shrink from these difficulties, Great-grandpa would shout, “Stand up to the fire, Dodi Boy! Stand up to the fire!”

Uncle Joe learned to stand up to the fire. When he did, when the sparks didn’t frighten him, and the sweat was a sign of accomplishment, not oppression, he made useful things out of iron; the simple things that made ordinary life pleasant and possible.

We have been given a charge to stand up to a fire now burning (virtually out of control) throughout the world. This fire is being used to forge norms and laws that can undermine the meaning, value, and importance of the family and family life. We may not like the heat emanating from this fire. We may be afraid of the sparks—and wisely so. Prudence may caution us to avoid the sweat, heartache, and pain that will surely flow from any approach to this particular furnace. Nevertheless, standing up to this fire is our charge, as surely as crossing the plains was the charge given to an earlier generation.

If we learn to stand up to this fire, and to do so with patience, humility, love, and forgiveness (for our allies and opponents alike), with the generous assistance of our Father in Heaven, given by and through our obedience to His Son, Jesus Christ, we can forge results stronger than iron: generations of mothers and fathers, sons and daughters, grandparents and grandchildren, who will reap the blessings of the simple things of life—marriage, motherhood, fatherhood, childhood, and faith—the simple things that make ordinary life pleasant and possible.

No task in this increasingly complex world is more important.

and child abuse, a disregard of basic family responsibilities (including the provision of emotional or economic support), a denial of basic human respect, and the failure of husbands and wives to assist one another as equal partners. The Proclamation emphasizes the selfless love, compassion, and mutual respect that should permeate family life.³

Nevertheless, some of the basic principles reaffirmed by the Proclamation are the subject of criticism crafted to restructure the relationships that have defined the family for thousands of years.⁴ For at least three decades prior to 1995, academicians, political action groups, sociologists, lawyers, law professors, litigants, and judges have labored to deconstruct—and then redefine—such fundamental notions as marriage, gender, parenthood, childbearing, and the sanctity of human life. Sophistry, as President Hinckley explained in September 1995, was often accepted as truth.⁵

At the time the Proclamation was first read, growing numbers of academicians no longer believed that marriage was a union between “a man and a woman” that encouraged the equal partnership of men and women while protecting a child’s entitlement “to be reared by a father and a mother.”⁶ Rather, marriage was a utilitarian concept that should be reconstructed to satisfy the longings of autonomous individuals, who were entitled to define their intimate relationships without the fetters of established sexual and social norms, including those related to human reproduction.⁷ Gender, in turn, was not an “essential characteristic of individual . . . identity and purpose.”⁸ Rather, “gender was a social construct” that was “mutable,” “changeable,” and not “essential” to an individual’s identity.⁹ “Fatherhood,” when and if acknowledged, was all too often described in classrooms as a relic of patriarchal oppression,¹⁰ while international human rights organizations criticized “motherhood” as a “harmful traditional stereotype.”¹¹ Any reference to the bearing of children to “multiply, and replenish the earth” (Gen. 1:28) prompted the same international human rights bodies to expound upon the dangers of religious faith.¹² Similar skepticism¹³ became a common response to scholars (and others) who worked to develop sound legal and sociological evidence supporting such concepts as the “sanctity of life” and the “divinely appointed” means “by which mortal life is created.”¹⁴

This skepticism regarding the traditional family, along with other ideas (such as “autonomy rights” for children¹⁵) was gaining unprecedented aca-

“Fatherhood” was described as a relic of patriarchal oppression, and “Motherhood” was deemed a harmful stereotype.

demic and political popularity when the Proclamation's call to fortify positive family relationships was issued—so much so that, while I was profoundly grateful that the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve had carefully and compassionately called for improving and strengthening the family unit, I frankly wondered whether the plain language of the principles set out in the Proclamation could possibly be heard—let alone understood—by a generation already so besmirched by “the slow stain of the world.”¹⁶

President Hinckley was less skeptical about strengthening the family unit. At the end of his address, he said:

May the Lord bless you, my beloved sisters. You are the guardians of the hearth. You are the bearers of the children. You are they who nurture them and establish within them the habits of their lives. No other work reaches so close to divinity as does the nurturing of the sons and daughters of God. May you be strengthened for the challenges of the day. May you be endowed with wisdom beyond your own in dealing with the problems you constantly face. May your prayers and your pleadings be answered with blessings upon your heads and upon the heads of your loved ones. We leave with you our love and our blessing, that your lives may be filled with peace and gladness. It can be so.¹⁷

Ten years later, some of the principles set out by the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve in the Proclamation have been embraced in surprising ways—and not just by members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. On December 6, 2004, during the concluding special session of the United Nations General Assembly celebrating the tenth anniversary of the 1994 International Year of the Family, a formal resolution was adopted which noted the outcomes of the Doha International Conference for the Family.¹⁸ One of these outcomes was the Doha Declaration (see appendix), an international legal document—first discussed at meetings sponsored by Brigham Young University—that reaffirms long-ignored international norms related to the family and recognizes the centrality of many principles stated in the Proclamation. Should the international community once again turn its attention to strengthening the family, as called for in the Doha Declaration, “peace and gladness”¹⁹ may yet increase for families around the world.

This article describes how I discovered the need for legal and other academic arguments to support the principles set out in the Proclamation and details the increasingly important connection between international law and family policy. International law now governs a wide range of topics, including many aspects of family life. But, despite the challenges to the family posed by a few modern international legal norms, there is reason

for hope. As evidenced by the Doha Declaration, academicians, citizens, and government leaders around the world understand the lasting value of many of the concepts explained by President Hinckley to the Relief Society in September 1995. There is much yet to be done; the global debate regarding the family continues.

“Habitat II” and the Formation of the World Family Policy Center

In June 1996, about nine months after the Proclamation was issued, contrary to personal plans and what seemed to be simple common sense, I attended my first UN negotiation, the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (or “Habitat II”) in Istanbul, Turkey. I had been urged to attend by several scholars from Catholic universities I had met over the years, as well as members of various nongovernmental organizations. I did *not* want to go. I was not an expert in international law and I honestly did not believe my participation could make any difference. Furthermore, I was having too much fun to run off to Istanbul: I was playing Tevye (complete with a full beard) opposite my wife, Melany, who was playing Golde, in *Fiddler on the Roof* at the Hale Center Theater in Orem, Utah. I like teaching law. I enjoy legal scholarship. But I *love* acting with my family. Going to Istanbul was not high on my “to do” list.

Nevertheless, soon after *Fiddler* opened, I kept waking up in the middle of the night, fretting about Istanbul. Finally, about two weeks before the conference, Melany told me that I should apply for an expedited passport and try to register as a nongovernmental delegate. As a result, I left Utah before the closing night of *Fiddler*—without shaving my “Tevye” beard—carrying a passport photo that did not comply with BYU’s dress and grooming standards. Melany, shortly before I left, slipped a copy of the Proclamation into my suitcase with a simple explanation: “You may find it helpful,” she said.



Courtesy Richard G. Wilkins

A passport photo taken while Richard G. Wilkins was playing Tevye in *Fiddler on the Roof*. Wilkins soon after left for Istanbul and attended his first UN negotiation.

My experience in Istanbul in June 1996 was extraordinary.²⁰ I was one of ten people selected from among twenty-five thousand nongovernmental delegates to address the plenary session of the conference. I discussed “International Law and the Family.” With words and concepts taken from the copy of the Proclamation that Melany put in my suitcase, I urged inter-

national lawmakers to remember the importance of marriage, motherhood, fatherhood, childbearing, family, and faith.

However diverse our doctrinal beliefs, most of the world’s great faiths share common understandings of marriage and family.

The reaction to these short remarks was completely unexpected. Within thirty-six hours an international coalition had formed around concepts I had taken

from the principles of the Proclamation. The conference concluded by acknowledging many of these principles and affirming that “the family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened.”²¹

I returned to Utah convinced that BYU had a unique role to play in taking the Proclamation to the world, although I was not precisely sure how that role should be played out. Nevertheless, a few months later, with the support of the dean of the J. Reuben Clark Law School and the director of student programs at the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies, a fledgling new center called NGO Family Voice (the initials “NGO” standing for “nongovernmental organization”) began limited operations.²² About eighteen months later, the name was changed to the World Family Policy Center. Since late 1996, the World Family Policy Center has worked to continue delivering the message conveyed in Istanbul.

Beginning in late 1996 and early 1997, I attended additional academic conferences and negotiations²³ that reaffirmed a powerful insight first gained in Istanbul: however diverse our doctrinal beliefs, most of the world’s great faiths share common understandings related to marriage and the centrality and importance of stable and healthy family life. Furthermore, despite proposals that continue to be made at international negotiations to redefine marriage and family life, more and more scholars in the late 1990s were finding that the long-established and well-understood institutions of marriage, motherhood, fatherhood, and stable family life were essential to individual (and social) welfare.²⁴

By 1998, the Center had hired a legally trained executive director and an administrative director (and thereafter added additional talented employees and volunteers).²⁵ With this additional help, the World Family

Policy Center was able to convene its first World Family Policy Forum in early 1999, inviting scholars, diplomats, and religious leaders from around the world to Provo to hear and discuss research supporting marriage, parenthood, the value of stable family life, and the need to reconsider international family policy. From this gathering in 1999, an unusual international coalition of scholars, world leaders, and religious communities began to form around concepts and ideas contained not only in the principles of the Proclamation, but in Article 16(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that the “family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society.”²⁶ This coalition emerged none too soon. As the new millennium dawned, it was becoming increasingly clear that international law could exert a powerful force on national laws relating to home and family life.

The Growing Influence of International Law

Lawmakers in America (as in countries around the world) now face what for some is an unexpected reality: international social norms—not merely national laws—influence the ultimate legality of their official actions. A complete analysis of how international law shapes the contours of domestic policies (including the meaning of the United States Constitution) would require a fairly hefty treatise.²⁷ For present purposes, three developments demonstrate the growing prominence of international law.

First, international treaties now deal not only with the obligations of nations but also with the rights of individuals. Second, in addition to treaties, the UN system is generating a vast body of pliable norms, called “soft law,” that are quickly ripening into “hard law.”²⁸ Third, a growing number of national actors (including judges in the United States) are increasingly willing to consider (and sometimes enforce) international norms in ways that would have been hard to anticipate twenty years ago.

Treaty law, beginning with the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, began as the primary fount of international law.²⁹ For centuries, treaties have dealt primarily with issues of war, peace, boundary disputes, navigation, and commerce; questions that were fundamental to the relationship of one nation with another.³⁰ Indeed, the phrase “international law” reflected this reality: international law governed conduct between, or “inter,” nations.³¹ The importance of treaties in establishing the form and content of international law continues unabated.

However, modern treaties do more than settle wars, boundary questions, and resource disputes. They now govern such important issues as

gender equality,³² children's rights,³³ and racial discrimination.³⁴ Until quite recently, these issues were the sole concern and prerogative of national governments.

In addition to promoting a burgeoning number of international treaties and conventions, the modern UN system formulates soft law norms at an ever increasing rate. Hundreds of UN negotiations each year examine questions related to virtually every conceivable social issue.³⁵ As a result of these negotiations—the most prominent of which are the periodic five- and ten-year reviews of major UN conferences on the environment, population, women's rights, and human settlements³⁶—various reports, platforms, agendas, and declarations are issued, updated, and expanded. Not long ago, these soft law documents were considered little more than helpful (or, perhaps even irrelevant) “suggestions.”³⁷ Now they are more than mere words.

In the new millennium, soft law norms generated at UN meetings can rather rapidly attain a status approximating hard law. As a result of constant negotiation, reexamination, and reformulation, various actors in the international legal system—including national governments, nongovernmental organizations, and legal scholars—develop expectations that these norms will be respected.³⁸ If expectations related to enforcement are low, a norm is considered soft. But expectations grow and norms harden. Eventually, what began as soft law transmutes into hard law. This occurs if and when soft law norms come to be seen as evidence of customary international law.³⁹

It once required centuries to form hard, or customary, international law because such law was developed through the uniform, consistent practice of nations over time.⁴⁰ More recently, and largely because of the exploding number of international meetings, some legal scholars argue that binding international norms develop (at least in significant part) through the mere repetition of agreed language at UN conferences. As a leading international scholar has asserted, negotiated language “repeated by and acquiesced in by sufficient numbers with sufficient frequency, eventually attain[s] the status of law.”⁴¹

The third factor driving the expansion of international law is the willingness of an increasing number of national actors to consult, consider, and sometimes enforce soft international laws. For several decades, various influential nongovernmental organizations argued that international norms should influence, if not govern, domestic legal policies.⁴² Scholars made similar arguments,⁴³ as did litigants.⁴⁴ These submissions, once considered controversial,⁴⁵ are now bearing fruit in surprising ways—including at the United States Supreme Court.

Until recently, it was rather unlikely that any state or federal court would enforce the terms of a treaty that had not been ratified by the United States Senate. This is no longer true. On March 1, 2005, in *Roper v. Simmons*, Justice Kennedy cited the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child—a treaty *never* ratified by the Senate—to support the conclusion of five justices that the execution of minors is unconstitutional.⁴⁶

As a personal matter, I oppose the execution of minors. As a constitutional scholar, however, I would have been hard pressed (prior to *Roper*) to assert that the execution of minors was unconstitutional.⁴⁷ Whatever the ultimate wisdom of executing minors, as of March 2005, there was no clear consensus that such punishment violated constitutional values that were deeply held and widely shared by the American people: indeed, at the time *Roper* was decided, slightly more than half of the states that permitted capital punishment included minors within its reach.⁴⁸ The Supreme Court's decision, therefore, that there was a "constitutional consensus" invalidating the juvenile death penalty was unusual. The Supreme Court's citation of an unratified, non-binding treaty to support this conclusion was astonishing. *Roper* demonstrates beyond doubt that the meaning of the United States Constitution can be altered by international norms that have been *rejected* by political processes at the state level (the majority of death penalty states applied it to minors) and at the federal level (the U.S. Senate had not ratified the international treaty the Supreme Court cited to prohibit the execution of minors).

Soft international law has also been found determinative in redefining the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Lawrence v. Texas*,⁴⁹ a majority of the Supreme Court reversed its determination—announced sixteen years earlier—that the United States Constitution did not afford special protection for consensual acts of homosexual sodomy.⁵⁰ The *Lawrence* Court could not convincingly argue that either the words of the Constitution or the history and traditions of the American people had changed dramatically in those sixteen years. Accordingly, the justices simply announced that sixteen years ago the Court got it wrong.⁵¹ As evidence that the current majority now "had it right," the Justices cited decisions from international tribunals and a brief filed by the former UN High Commissioner of Human Rights.⁵² Prior to their citation by the nation's highest court, these materials would have been considered by most scholars as among the softest of all possible soft law relevant to the meaning of the due process clause in the Fourteenth Amendment. Not any longer. Soft international law now has significant constitutional clout.

Because of the foregoing factors—the expanding reach of international treaties, the explosive growth of international soft law norms, and the

willingness of judges to enforce international pronouncements without prior state or federal approval—individuals and groups interested in

Gender equality does not require that a woman's value be measured solely in economic terms.

understanding and protecting the meaning of “marriage” and “family” must pay attention not only to national laws, but also to international treaties, UN conference declarations, and the opinions of jurists from legal systems all over the world. Developing nations must

give particular care to international legal rules: if the content of the United States Constitution can be changed by international norms that have been rejected by state governments and the United States Congress, the impact of these rules on less-developed nations could be profound indeed.

International Law and the Family

International law is not only increasingly important, it now plays an unprecedented role in shaping national laws related to the family. UN negotiations during the past fifteen years have consistently evaluated, reevaluated and (sometimes) significantly redefined basic definitions related to marriage, gender, fatherhood, motherhood, childbearing, and childhood.⁵³

Equality for women, protection of children, and elimination of unjust discrimination are vitally important and laudable goals. But gender equality does not require that a woman's value be measured solely in economic terms,⁵⁴ the protection of children is not necessarily furthered by granting them the same legal rights as adults,⁵⁵ and the elimination of unjust discrimination does not mandate social acceptance of all forms of consensual sexual practice.⁵⁶ American society has furthered the rights of women, children, and minorities without embracing these sorts of extreme measures.

How did family law become the subject of such unrelenting international lawmaking efforts? I believe it occurred (at least in large measure) because efforts to fundamentally alter long-standing family structures encountered substantial opposition in national political forums. The refusal of American society to adopt extreme proposals may have prompted the dramatic growth of international norms that embody such measures. Disappointed by efforts to alter domestic legal rules, many scholars and social activists concluded that international law could be harnessed to achieve results that had eluded their nationally based efforts. They had good reason, furthermore, to support this strategy. Controversial proposals are

more likely to succeed in international fora rather than in national fora because of a little-understood but long-established reality: professors and universities (particularly law professors and law schools) play an exceptionally prominent role in the creation of international law. If sufficient numbers of “international experts” support a proposal, even one that has been repeatedly rejected at national levels, the proposal has a surprisingly good chance of acceptance within an international arena somewhere. Furthermore, lawyers and law professors not only have significant influence in the creation of international law, they also tend to be somewhat “out in front” of current social views related to the family, children, and human sexuality.⁵⁷

There are three major sources of international law: (1) norms established by the common practice of states, (2) norms set out in treaties and international agreements, and (3) norms derived “from general principles common to the major legal systems of the world.”⁵⁸ Academic opinion is exceptionally influential in the last two categories. Modern-day academicians regularly plan strategies for, participate in, and influence the outcome of global negotiations⁵⁹ leading to treaties and international agreements. In addition, “the teachings of the most highly qualified [scholars] of the various nations” establish (in significant measure) the general principles of law that form the third source of international law.⁶⁰

Accordingly, faculties of law schools and universities around the world hold a privileged status in the formation and adoption of international norms: that of quasi-lawmakers. The scholars and academicians who operate women’s, children’s, and gender rights centers at universities and law schools around the world have taken advantage of this status to engage in organized and effective efforts to redefine such vital concepts as equality, children’s rights, and marriage.⁶¹

Sociological evidence shows that each deviation from lifelong marriage between a man and a woman increases the likelihood of negative outcomes.

To the extent that extreme concepts of gender equality, children’s rights, and the meaning of marriage are widely adopted, there is good reason to believe that human suffering around the world will increase. Whether the measure used is physical and mental health, educational achievement, economic success, alcoholism, substance abuse, or average life expectancy, substantial sociological data suggest that stable, natural marital unions promote the health, safety, and social progress of women, men, and children.⁶² Furthermore, there is no reliable evidence that

alternative family forms reliably produce the same benefits—either for individuals or society as a whole.⁶³ On the contrary, the available sociological evidence (considered as a whole) demonstrates that each deviation in family structure away from lifelong marriage between a man and a woman increases the likelihood of a broad array of negative outcomes for men, women and—in particular—children.⁶⁴

Not every family (especially through the generations) will be fortunate enough to be founded upon stable, natural marital unions, and in some circumstances, such as marriages involving serious forms of abuse, marital dissolution may be wise. But, despite deviations and human failures, the model itself (as shown by the course of history and mountains of current research) is the surest recipe for personal and social progress. Moreover, the negative consequences of departing from the model are particularly acute for women and children.

Accordingly, to decrease human suffering, particularly for women and children, we must halt further redefinition and revision of norms related to marriage and family life.

The Doha Conference and Hope for the Future

The family has been subjected to redefinition in significant part because academicians and advocates of that approach have been vigorously engaged in the international lawmaking process. This ongoing process can be slowed, and perhaps reversed, by similar action on the part of those who believe in—and understand—the meaning of Article 16(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Doha International Conference for the Family is an example of how such efforts can succeed.

Through the efforts made at various international conferences, the World Family Policy Center has established close relationships with many national delegations. At important negotiations, including the 1998 negotiation of the Rome Statute for the Creation of an International Criminal Court, the Center's academic and legal expertise has played a significant role in preventing further erosion of values stated in the Proclamation.⁶⁵ In early 2003, the Center was approached by the ambassador of the State of Qatar, His Excellency Nassir Al-Nasser, regarding the possibility of convening a major family conference during the United Nation's celebration of the tenth anniversary of the First International Year of the Family, to be held during 2004. Ambassador Al-Nasser visited the campus of Brigham Young University, held discussions with various university officials, and met with the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City. The ambassador expressed his interest

in sponsoring a major event during 2004 because, during that important commemorative year, Qatar would be chair of the “Group of 77,” the largest single bloc of nations within the United Nations.⁶⁶

Following the visit of the ambassador, Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser Al-Missned, Consort of His Highness the Emir of Qatar and President of the Supreme Council for Family Affairs in the State of Qatar, invited H. Reese Hansen, Dean of the Law School, and me to visit Doha, Qatar, in May 2003 to discuss the matter. During that meeting, Her Highness expressed her desire to hold a significant international event that would reaffirm the importance of long-established family values shared by Islamic and Christian principles, while still supporting sound social progress and development, and justice for women. She expressed her confidence and desire to work with Brigham Young University and the World Family Policy Center in achieving these goals.

Following these meetings, planning for the Doha International Conference for the Family began in earnest. The World Family Policy Center, working with a distinguished group of partners from around the world,⁶⁷ served as the chair of a coordinating committee that assisted the State of Qatar in organizing and convening this conference. The World Family Policy Forum in July 2003 focused upon the preparations for and possible outcomes of the 2004 celebration of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Family. Possible language for an important declaration regarding the family was discussed at the forum.⁶⁸ In December 2003, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution welcoming the Doha International Conference for the Family as a major event of the 2004 celebration.⁶⁹

The conference was formally organized under the patronage of Her Highness Sheikha Moza. A worldwide call for papers was issued in early 2004. Thereafter, the conference consisted of a year-long series of academic and intergovernmental meetings in major capitals around the world. Conferences organized and assisted by the World Family Policy Center, together with its nongovernmental and governmental partners, were held in Geneva, Switzerland; Stockholm, Sweden; and Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The Center also assisted with events in Mexico City, Mexico; Cotonou, Benin; Baku, Azerbaijan; and Riga, Latvia. Declarations, papers, essays, personal statements, findings, and proposals for action that were developed at these events were collected by the Center, and two significant reports were prepared.

The first report, entitled “The World Unites to Protect the Family,” details the results of over two hundred community meetings in thirty-four nations.⁷⁰ The second report, entitled “The Family in the Third

Millennium,” provides an initial look at the more than 2,500 pages of global scholarship and academic findings developed during the preparatory proceedings. Final publication of “The Family in the Third Millennium” is now pending; a major international press has expressed interest in publishing the collected scholarship and distributing it worldwide.

The Doha Conference culminated in an intergovernmental meeting in Doha, Qatar, on November 29–30, 2004. At that meeting, governmental representatives negotiated and adopted the Doha Declaration, which reaffirms long-standing legal norms related to family life. On December 6, 2004, the UN General Assembly adopted a consensus resolution, supported by the 149 nations who cosponsored the resolution, formally noting the Declaration.⁷¹ As a result, the Doha Declaration takes its place in the growing canon of declarations, platforms, and agendas from which international legal norms are derived by political leaders, judges, and lawyers.

The language of the Doha Declaration was drawn from established (but long-ignored) principles of international law. Astonishingly, however, the Declaration reaffirms many of the principles related to family life stated in the Proclamation. Among other things, the Declaration recommends the world to

- strengthen “the family’s supporting, educating and nurturing roles”
- recognize the “inherent dignity of the human person”
- note that, “the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care before as well as after birth”
- acknowledge that “motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance”
- provide that, within marriage, “husband and wife should be equal partners”
- recognize “that the family has the primary responsibility for the nurturing and protection of children from infancy to adolescence”
- acknowledge that “the full and harmonious development” of children is best achieved when they “grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding.”

The Declaration (set out in full in the appendix) reaffirms that “the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society” and calls upon all nations to take effective action to provide the family with “the widest possible protection and assistance.”

These are widely shared and fundamental values—values that, for too long, have not been given their deserved attention and respect. Their reaffirmation in 2004 by the UN General Assembly is significant. Legal scholars have called the Doha Declaration “nothing short of miraculous,

one of the best things to come from the UN since the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights.”⁷² The Declaration gives reason to hope that the world can turn its attention from deconstructing the family to strengthening the family. Perhaps most importantly, the negotiation and adoption of the Doha Declaration has demonstrated that men and women, fathers and mothers, from all cultures and from all political and religious backgrounds *can* come together to preserve society’s most fundamental unit.

With emotion, the ambassador asked me a question that changed my life: “Where have you been?”

At the concluding session of the Doha International Conference in 2004, Her Highness Sheika Moza announced that she would establish the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development in Doha, Qatar. In late September 2005, legal documents establishing the institute as an academic center, situated within the City of Learning in Doha, were finalized by Her Highness and the Qatar Foundation.⁷³ The Doha Institute will research, examine, and proffer policy proposals to implement the norms set out in the Doha Declaration. There is a great amount of work yet to do, but on the tenth anniversary of the issuance of “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” there is clear hope that members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints can link arms with cultures around the world to strengthen the family.

Stand Up to the Fire

An international reaffirmation of many of the principles stated in “The Family: A Proclamation to the World” grew, in significant measure, from a simple question I was asked in Istanbul. After delivering my plenary session remarks in 1996, I was approached by an ambassador from a Middle Eastern country. The ambassador noted that he had attended scores of international conferences. At those conferences, numerous scholars from around the world had urged significant (in his words, “radical”) changes to national and international laws related to the family. But, he said, he had never heard *any* academician support protecting and strengthening the natural family. Then, with some emotion, he asked me a question that changed my life: “Where have you been?”

On the tenth anniversary of the Proclamation, this question should be considered by every member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and particularly by academicians, scholars, and researchers. In 1995, the Proclamation was issued to warn and forewarn the Church and

the world of a pressing need to return to the “standards, doctrines, and practices relative to the family which the prophets, seers, and revelators

When defending the family, we must be prepared for the sparks that will surely fly.

of this church have repeatedly stated throughout its history.”⁷⁴ In 2005, Latter-day Saints everywhere should assess whether they have heeded the call to “promote those measures designed to maintain and strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society.”⁷⁵

The Proclamation ends with a warning and a call for action. The warning is disquieting. Failure to reverse current trends “will bring upon individuals, communities, and nations the calamities foretold by ancient and modern prophets.”⁷⁶ But a way out is marked as well: citizens and government leaders are called upon to take action “to strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society.”⁷⁷

Nearly ten years after the Proclamation was first read to members of the Relief Society from the pulpit of the Salt Lake Tabernacle, it has been framed, hung on the wall, even memorized. These laudable actions, however, are not enough. Despite the constant request of President Hinckley to stand for something, many members of the Church are fearful to stand up for marriage, life, and the family. A decade after the Proclamation was first issued, we must overcome our fear.

The defense of the family must be grounded in reason. We must use carefully chosen words and act pursuant to well-thought-out plans motivated by love and compassion. We must not be angry, dogmatic, or insensitive to the deeply felt concerns of those with opposing views. Without compromising principle, we should seek common ground. As President Hinckley has counseled, we must avoid contention and dispute whenever possible.

But, however reasoned, careful, compassionate, planned, and moderate our efforts, we must be prepared for the sparks that will surely fly. We must never create needless controversy for ourselves, our families, our nation, or the Church. But we must also not retreat from the defense of truth. Let us not withdraw, but stand up to the fire of our times.

Appendix: The Doha Declaration

Introduction

Representatives of Governments and members of civil society met in Doha, Qatar, on 29 and 30 November 2004, for the Doha International Conference for the Family, in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Family.

The Conference was convened under the patronage of Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser Al-Missned, Consort of His Highness the Emir of Qatar and President of the Supreme Council for Family Affairs, State of Qatar.

The preparatory proceedings of the Doha Conference for the Family gathered the views of government officials, academicians, faith-based groups, non-governmental organizations and members of civil society.

The Conference recalls regional meetings held in Cotonou, Benin; Mexico City, Mexico; Stockholm, Sweden; Geneva, Switzerland; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and other venues; and notes the proposals and views expressed during the Conference by all participants.

Preamble

Reaffirming that the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, as declared in article 16 (3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Noting that 2004 marks the tenth anniversary of the United Nations 1994 International Year of the Family and that the Doha International Conference for the Family was welcomed by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution 58/15 of 3 December 2003;

Acknowledging that the objectives of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Family include efforts to (a) strengthen the capacity of national institutions to formulate, implement and monitor policies in respect of families; (b) stimulate efforts to respond to problems affecting, and affected by, the situation of families; (c) undertake analytical reviews at all levels and assessments of the situation and needs of families; (d) strengthen the effectiveness of efforts at all levels to execute specific programmes concerning families; and (e) improve collaboration among national and international non-governmental organizations in support of families;

Taking into consideration the academic, scientific and social findings collected for the Doha International Conference, which collectively

demonstrate that the family is not only the fundamental group unit of society, but is also the fundamental agent for sustainable social, economic and cultural development;

Recognizing the need to address the challenges facing the family in the context of globalization;

Realizing that strengthening the family presents a unique opportunity to address societal problems in a holistic manner;

Reiterating that strong, stable families contribute to the maintenance of a culture of peace and promote dialogue among civilizations and diverse ethnic groups;

Welcoming the announcement by Her Highness Sheikha Moza bint Nasser Al-Missned, Consort of His Highness the Emir of Qatar and President of the Supreme Council for Family Affairs, State of Qatar, about the creation of an international Institute for Study of the Family.

In this regard, we reaffirm international commitments to the family and call upon all Governments, international organizations and members of civil society at all levels to take action to protect the family.

Reaffirmation of commitments to the family

We reaffirm international commitments to strengthen the family, in particular:

1. We commit ourselves to recognizing and strengthening the family's supporting, educating and nurturing roles, with full respect for the world's diverse cultural, religious, ethical and social values;

2. We recognize the inherent dignity of the human person and note that the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care before as well as after birth. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person;

3. We reaffirm that the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to the widest possible protection and assistance by society and the State;

4. We emphasize that marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses and that the right of men and women of marriageable age to marry and to found a family shall be recognized and that husband and wife should be equal partners;

5. We further emphasize that the family has the primary responsibility for the nurturing and protection of children from infancy to adolescence. For the full and harmonious development of their personality,

children should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. All institutions of society should respect and support the efforts of parents to nurture and care for children in a family environment. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children and the liberty to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

Call for action

Taking into account the above commitments, we call upon all Governments, international organizations and members of civil society at all levels to:

Cultural, religious and social values

1. Develop programmes to stimulate and encourage dialogue among countries, religions, cultures and civilizations on questions related to family life, including measures to preserve and defend the institution of marriage;
2. Reaffirm the importance of faith and religious and ethical beliefs in maintaining family stability and social progress;
3. Evaluate and reassess the extent to which international law and policies conform to the principles and provisions related to the family contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international commitments;

Human dignity

4. Reaffirm commitments to provide a quality education for all, including equal access to educational opportunities;
5. Evaluate and reassess government policies to ensure that the inherent dignity of human beings is recognized and protected throughout all stages of life;

Family

6. Develop indicators to evaluate the impact of all programmes on family stability;
7. Strengthen policies and programmes that will enable families to break the cycle of poverty;
8. Evaluate and reassess government population policies, particularly in countries with below replacement birth rates;

9. Encourage and support the family to provide care for older persons and persons with disabilities;
10. Support the family in addressing the scourge of HIV/AIDS and other pandemics, including malaria and tuberculosis;
11. Take effective measures to support the family in times of peace and war;

Marriage

12. Uphold, preserve and defend the institution of marriage;
13. Take effective measures to strengthen the stability of marriage by, among other things, encouraging the full and equal partnership of husband and wife within a committed and enduring marital relationship;
14. Establish effective policies and practices to condemn and remedy abusive relationships within marriage and the family, including the establishment of public agencies to assist men, women, children and families in crisis;

Parents and children

15. Strengthen efforts to promote equal political, economic, social and educational opportunities for women and evaluate and assess economic, social and other policies to support mothers and fathers in performing their essential roles;
16. Strengthen the functioning of the family by involving mothers and fathers in the education of their children;
17. Reaffirm that parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children;
18. Reaffirm and respect the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.

We request the host country of the Conference, the State of Qatar, to inform the United Nations General Assembly of the proceedings of the Conference, including the Doha Declaration, in particular during the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the International Year of the Family to be held on 6 December 2004.

To see the official UN document visit www.un.org/ga/59/documentation/list5.html and click on "A/59/592"

Richard G. Wilkins (wilkinsr@lawgate.byu.edu) will begin a two-year professional development leave from Brigham Young University in January 2006 to serve as the initial Managing Director of the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development in Doha, Qatar. He has served as the Managing Director of the World Family Policy Center, BYU, since 1996. He is Professor of Law at the J. Reuben Clark Law School at BYU, where he has written extensively on constitutional law, international law, family policy, federal jurisdiction and legal advocacy. He is a former Assistant to the Solicitor General, United States Department of Justice.

1. Gordon B. Hinckley, "Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World," *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 100; Gordon B. Hinckley, *Discourses of President Gordon B. Hinckley, Volume 1: 1995–1999* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 32.

2. Hinckley, "Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World," 100; Hinckley, *Discourses of President Hinckley*, 32–34.

3. "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 102.

4. John Gee, "The Family in the Third (and Second) Millennium . . . BC: Where We've Been" (paper presented July 11, 2005, at the World Family Policy Forum, Brigham Young University, publication in proceedings of the World Family Policy Forum, forthcoming) analyzes marriage, divorce, and family laws as reflected in the earliest historical records of Egypt and Mesopotamia, concluding that the "family as we know it historically, and not as some people have recently tried to redefine it, goes back at least as far as we have human records," the family has been "based on monogamous marriage between a man and a woman," and the "state had an interest in regulating sexual conduct from the beginning."

5. Hinckley, "Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World," 100; Hinckley, *Discourses of President Hinckley*, 32.

6. "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," 102. See Richard G. Wilkins, "Reply to 'Discrimination against Gays Is Sex Discrimination'" and "The Constitutionality of Legal Preferences for Heterosexual Marriage," in *Marriage and Same-Sex Unions: A Debate*, eds. Lynn D. Wardle, Mark Strasser, William C. Duncan, and David Orgon Coolidge (Westport, Conn.: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 221–40. See also Gee, "Family in the Third (and Second) Millennium."

7. See for example *Goodridge v. Department of Public Health*, 798 N.E.2d 941 (Mass. 2003), on disassociating marriage from norms related to sexual complementarity, fatherhood, motherhood, human reproduction, or social expectations that conflict with an individual's conception of "the meaning of life." See also Andrew Koppelman, "Discrimination against Gays Is Sex Discrimination," in *Marriage and Same-Sex Unions*, 209–20.

8. "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," 102.

9. See Mary K. Klages, "Queer Theory," materials prepared for students enrolled in Professor Klages's English 2012 Course, "Modern Critical Thought," at the University of Colorado at Boulder. See <http://www.colorado.edu/English/ENGL2012Klages/queertheory.html> (last visited September 8, 2005). According to Professor Klages:

Feminist theory thus argued that gender was a social construct, something designed and implemented and perpetuated by social organizations and structures, rather than something merely "true,"

something innate to the ways bodies worked on a biological level. In so doing, feminist theory made two very important contributions. The first is that feminist theory separated the social from the biological, insisting that we see a difference between what is the product of human ideas, hence something mutable and changeable, and what is the product of biology, hence something (relatively) stable and unchangeable. The second contribution is related to the first: by separating the social and the biological, the constructed and the innate, feminist theory insisted that gender was not something “essential” to an individual’s identity.

10. See for example Zillah Eisenstein, *The Radical Future of Liberal Feminism* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981), 14–15:

Patriarchy as a political structure seeks to control and subjugate women so that their possibilities for making choices about their sexuality, childrearing, mothering, loving, and laboring are curtailed. Patriarchy, as a system of oppression, recognizes the potential power of women and the actual power of men. Its purpose is to destroy woman’s consciousness about her potential power, which derives from the necessity of society to reproduce itself. By trying to affect woman’s consciousness and her life options, patriarchy protects the appropriation of women’s sexuality, their reproductive capacities, and their labor by individual men and society as a whole.

Ithaca College’s web site describes Professor Eisenstein as “a professor of politics at Ithaca College and activist, educator, and researcher.” <http://www.ithaca.edu/intercom/article.php/20050202095102964> (last visited on September 8, 2005).

11. Report of the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), General Assembly Official Records A/55/38 pars. 311–314 (Germany) and pars. 403–404 (Luxembourg); A/54/38/Rev.1 pars. 259–262 (Spain), contains statements from CEDAW, advising countries to make all “necessary” efforts to eradicate the “harmful stereotype” of motherhood and ensure full employment of all women.

12. Report of CEDAW, General Assembly Official Records A/54/38/Rev.1 par. 180. CEDAW condemned Ireland for tolerating religious opposition to women’s right to “reproductive health.” The Committee has instructed at least one Islamic country to review its interpretation of the Koran. According to the Committee, “true gender equality [does] not allow for varying interpretations of obligations under international legal norms depending on internal religious rules, traditions and customs.” A/49/38 pars. 130 and 135. The report of the CEDAW Committee asserts that religious norms disadvantage women “in all countries” in A/52/38/Rev.1, par. 10. CEDAW criticizes Norway and Hong Kong for granting religiously based exemptions from discrimination laws that—without religious exemptions—would alter basic religious doctrines justified by reference to the Bible and other religious texts in A/54/38/Rev. 1 par. 314 (China/Hong Kong); A/50/38, par. 460 (Norway).

13. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women condemns “any distinction . . . on the basis of sex.” G.A. res. 34/180, art. 1. This provision (according to many scholars) demands official recognition of

abortion; otherwise women (who *may* become pregnant) are burdened by a “distinction” not applicable to men (who *cannot* become pregnant). One author in particular captured the argument with remarkable clarity: “Just as no man will ever become pregnant, no man will ever need an abortion, hence be in a position to be denied one by law. On this level, only women can be disadvantaged, for a reason specific to sex, through state-mandated restrictions on abortion.” Catherine A. MacKinnon, “Reflections on Sex Equality under the Law,” *Yale Law Journal* 100 (1991): 1281, 1320 (footnotes omitted).

See also Erin Daly, “Reconsidering Abortion Law: Liberty, Equality, and the New Rhetoric of *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*,” *American University Law Review* 45 (1995): 77, discussing the court’s recognition of the unequal burdens of procreation on men and women; Dawn Johnsen and Marcy J. Wilder, “Webster and Women’s Equality,” *American Journal of Law and Medicine* 15 (1989): 178, arguing for the equality of women by securing the decision in *Roe v. Wade*, using similar language to CEDAW; Christina L. Misner, “What If Mary Sue Wanted an Abortion Instead? The Effect of *Davis v. Davis* on Abortion Rights,” *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy and the Law* 3 (1995): 296, which states that “equal protection is triggered in the abortion context in that laws regulating abortion treat women differently than men”; Alec Walen, “Consensual Sex without Assuming the Risk of Carrying an Unwanted Fetus: Another Foundation for the Right to an Abortion,” *Brooklyn Law Review* 63 (1997): 1128, discusses the inequality between males and females associated in consensual sex without assuming the burden of a fetus; and Eileen L. McDonagh, “My Body, My Consent: Securing the Constitutional Right to Abortion Funding,” *Albany Law Review* 62 (1999): 1057, seeking to classify equal protection argument in the context of the harm created by the fetus and “consent-to-pregnancy.”

14. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” 102.

15. See Bruce C. Hafen and Jonathan O. Hafen, “Abandoning Children to Their Autonomy: The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child,” *Harvard International Law Journal* 37 (Spring 1996): 449, 450.

16. Hinckley, “Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World,” 100; Hinckley, *Discourses of President Hinckley*, 32.

17. Hinckley, “Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World,” 101; Hinckley, *Discourses of President Hinckley*, 34.

18. United Nations General Assembly A/RES/59/111 (December 6, 2004), noting outcomes of the Doha International Conference for the Family; United Nations General Assembly A/59/592 (December 3, 2004).

19. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” 102.

20. These two weeks are documented in a book written with the help of a good friend, Ester Rasband: Ester Rasband and Richard Wilkins, *A Sacred Duty* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1999). See also http://www.law2.byu.edu/Law_Society/publications/clark_memorandum.htm and select the Spring 1997 issue, pages 12–21.

21. Habitat Agenda, par. 31 http://www.unhabitat.org/declarations/habitat_agenda.htm (last visited June 16, 2005).

22. Cory Leonard, Director of Student Programs at the David M. Kennedy Center, volunteered to assist me in those early months and years. For quite some

time, NGO Family Voice—and later the World Family Policy Center—consisted primarily of the voluntary efforts of Cory Leonard and me.

23. These included the first World Congress of Families, held in the Czech Republic in 1996, the follow-up review of the Habitat II Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1997, and the negotiation of the Rome Statute for the Creation of an International Criminal Court in Rome, Italy, in 1998.

24. See for example Brigitte Berger, “The Social Roots of Prosperity and Liberty,” *Society* (March/April 1998), at 51 (available on Westlaw at 1998 WL 11168752), which states, “Although of late we can witness a public rediscovery of the salutary role of the nuclear family of father, mother, and their children living together and caring for their individual and collective progress, policy elites appear neither to have fully understood that public life lies at the mercy of private life, nor do they seem to have apprehended the degree to which the [traditional] virtues and [traditional] ethos continue to be indispensable for the maintenance of both the market economy and civil society.”

25. Kathryn O. Balmforth, then a relatively recent graduate of the law school, was the first executive director of the World Family Policy Center. After several years of distinguished service, she returned to private law practice and Dr. A. Scott Loveless, who holds both PhD and JD degrees, took her place. Marya Reed—who joined the Center at about the same time as Kathryn—took on the role of administrative director, and has since earned a law degree from BYU. For a brief period the Center had a full-time attorney in New York, Renee Green. Emily Parks, who joined the Center’s staff as a student employee, now directs all secretarial and record-keeping tasks associated with the Center. The Center is administered by an interdisciplinary board drawn from faculties across the University, including Dr. David Dollahite from the School of Family Life, Dr. Shirley Cox from the School of Social Work, and—as from the beginning—Cory Leonard from the David M. Kennedy Center for International Studies. The Center’s team in 2005 is completed by a couple called as Church Service Missionaries, Elder Gary and Sister Joy Lundberg.

26. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16(3), available at <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.htm>.

27. Chapters of such a book could profitably include an analysis of international law as it was understood at the time the U.S. Constitution was written, an analysis of the advantages and shortcomings of judicial review in the development of constitutional norms, a review of the various possible understandings of “international law” and how those understandings have changed during the Cold War and post-Cold War periods, a discussion of the means and processes by which actors in the UN system have gradually assumed policymaking authority, and a critique of the sociological and legal developments that have resulted in increasing international disdain for the sovereign authority historically exercised by independent nations.

An entire chapter (or even another book) could be devoted to tracing how early treaties establishing a European common market in the post-World War II era have resulted, step by step and treaty by treaty, in the founding of an integrated European megastate—the European Union. No single treaty produced the EU. Rather, the EU is the result of the inexorable “mission creep” of international treaties and agreements.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, approved by the Parliament, Council and Commission of the European Union in 2000, is merely one example of this process. See The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, http://www.europarl.eu.int/charter/pdf/text_en.pdf. The Preamble to the Charter asserts that its norms are derived “from the constitutional traditions and international obligations common to the Member States, the Treaty on European Union, the Community Treaties, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Social Charters adopted by the Community and by the Council of Europe and the case-law of the Court of Justice of the European Communities and of the European Court of Human Rights.” As one commentator has aptly noted, “If [this] does not qualify as a common law of Europe, what then would?” Jan Wouters, “The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights: Some Reflections on Its External Dimension,” Institute for International Law, working paper no. 3, May 2001 at 3, available at <http://www.law.kuleuven.ac.be/iir/eng/wp/WP3e.pdf> (last visited September 15, 2005). Europe’s experience in the sixty years following World War II demonstrates that successive international agreements (like the documents cited in the Preamble of the EU Charter of Human Rights) produce increased supra-national integration of functions previously controlled by national governments (including the definition of human rights). The same international processes that produced the EU are now at work within the larger international community.

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for example, provided the foundation for the 1966 International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights—which expanded on the language of the Universal Declaration. Paul Szasz, “General Law-Making Processes,” in *United Nations Legal Order*, eds. Oscar Schachter and Christopher C. Joyner (Port Chester, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 47 n.18. These Covenants have been very influential. Other nonbinding international instruments, such as model codes and guidelines, also have been precursors to later international treaties and laws enacted by nations. As similar (and continually expanding) norm-setting processes continue, international inertia favoring some form of global federation may become inexorable. See for example Harold Hongju Koh, “Why Do Nations Obey International Law?” *Yale Law Journal* 106 (1997): 2599, 2646. But note the recent rejection of the proposed Constitution for the EU by France and the Netherlands because of concerns by voters in those nations regarding further concentration of power in a supra-national entity. See “French Say ‘No’ to EU Treaty,” May 30, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4592243.stm> (last visited June 13, 2005); “Dutch Say ‘No’ to EU Constitution,” June 2, 2005, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/4601439.stm> (last visited June 13, 2005).

28. The definitions of “soft law” and “hard law” are almost self-evident: “soft law” consists of norms that “might be enforceable,” but then again perhaps not; “hard law” consists of norms that command a rather high level of compliance by national and international actors. See Jiri Toman, “Quasi-Legal Standards and Guidelines for Protecting Human Rights,” in *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, ed. Hurst Hannum (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 192, which notes that “soft law” consists of norms not directly enforceable by formal or informal means.

While these definitions may be more or less straightforward, the processes that produce “soft” and “hard” international law are rather difficult to describe. As one scholar put it:

International law is manifested in a large variety of different types of instruments, such as treaties, non-binding agreements, and declarations and decisions of international organs. All of these have the characteristics of ‘black letter’ law in that the provisions can easily be read, although their binding force is widely differentiated and certainly cannot be defined by constructing hierarchies. There are also manifestations of the collective, coordinated or merely parallel will of states that can only be determined by studying their actions in the light of expressed or implied motives. Thus, in addition to the distinctions between black and increasingly light gray letter law, there is the distinction between binding or “hard” law and various “softer” forms. The international legislative or norm-making process is similarly structured, and also confusing in that there is no single legislature and no single source of administrative law. Instead, there are a multitude of norm-makers at every geographic “level” (i.e. global, regional, subregional, and so on), as well as inchoate processes that create and identify international customary and perhaps even general principles of law. Furthermore, the rather clear-cut relationship that exists at the domestic level between processes and products (e.g., a legislative body produces statutes) is by no means as simple internationally, where all sorts of processes can produce, as direct outputs or as indirect by-products, various types of hard and soft, and written and unwritten law.

Szasz, “General Law-Making Processes,” in *United Nations Legal Order*, 35–36.

29. Treaty of Westphalia, Oct. 24, 1648, Holy Roman Emperor–King of France, The Avalon Project at Yale Law School, available at <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westphal.htm>.

30. For a general overview of the development of international law through the nineteenth century, see Jeffrey L. Dunoff, Steven R. Ratner, and David Wippman, *International Law: Norms, Actors, Process: A Problem-Oriented Approach* (New York: Aspen Law and Business, 2002), 4–9.

31. Henry Campbell Black and Bryan A. Garner, *Black’s Law Dictionary* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Group, 1999), 822. Wilhelm Grewe reminds his readers that Jeremy Bentham originally coined the phrase “international law.” C. G. Roelofsen, review of *The Epochs of International Law*, by Wilhelm G. Grewe, *American Journal of International Law* 98, no. 4 (2004): 867–68.

32. *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women*, G.A. res. 34/180, at art. 11, clause 2, available at <http://www.ohchr.org/english/law/pdf/cedaw.pdf>. This mandates that states initiate a program for maternity leave with pay, or comparable benefits, so that women do not lose jobs, and give them special protections from harm when pregnant. Article 12 mandates that states provide access to family planning services (clause 1) and that states must provide free nutrition and appropriate services for pregnant women where necessary (clause 2).

33. *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, G.A. res. 44/25, U.N. GAOR, 44th sess., 61st plen. mtg., Annex, U.N. doc. A/RES/44/25. Article 6 specifically states that all children have the “inherent right to life” and that the state ensures the “survival and development of the child.” Article 7 mandates that the state register the child immediately after birth, and that the child shall be given the right to inherit, to acquire nationality, and to know and be cared for by its parents.

34. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, opened for signature Dec. 21, 1965, 660 U.N.T.S. 195 (entered into force Jan. 4, 1969).

35. A search on the UN website <http://www.un.org/search/> reveals hundreds of meetings conducted by the various bodies of the UN System in 2004. For example, there were thirty-nine interagency meetings (<http://ceb.unsystem.org/calendar%20previous%20meetings.htm#January%202004>), seventy meetings by Human Rights committees (<http://www.ohchr.org/english/events/2004.htm>), and fifty-nine meetings by the Division of Public Administration and Development Management (<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan011663.pdf>), just to name a few. These meetings dealt with such diverse topics as an inter-agency network on women and gender equality, migrant workers, communications, energy, and a meeting of experts on priorities in the Mediterranean Region.

36. See United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Agenda 21, U.N. GAOR, U.N. docs. A/CONF.151/26, A/CONF.151/26, June 3–14, 1992, available at http://www.sidsnet.org/docshare/other/Agenda21_UNCED.pdf (link from U.N. webpage <http://www.un.org/esa/sustdev/documents/agenda21/english/agenda21toc.htm>); International Conference on Population and Development Report of the ICPD, U.N. doc. A/CONF.171/13, Oct. 18, 1994, available at <http://www.un.org/popin/icpd/conference/offeng>; “Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declarations and Platform for Action” (BEIJING +5), U.N. GAOR, 23d spec. sess., U.N. doc. A/RES/S-23/3, 2000, agenda item 10, available at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/followup/ress233e.pdf>; Report of the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), U.N. doc. A/CONF.165/14, 1996.

37. Just a decade ago, scholars suggested that the norms adopted at international negotiations might have little meaning because they are often adopted merely to reach “consensus” or to “appease popular or ‘politically correct’ sentiment.” Neil H. Aftran, “International Human Rights Law in the Twenty First Century: Effective Municipal Implementation or Paen to Platitudes,” *Fordham International Law Journal* 18 (1995): 1756, 1758. Even the hard law language of treaties was often disregarded in the recent past. One writer noted that, in a conversation with a Latin American lawyer-diplomat over a decade ago, he was told that treaties signed by the lawyer’s country were negotiated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, when approved, were locked in a cabinet and almost never seen again. John H. Jackson, “Status of Treaties in Domestic Legal Systems: A Policy Analysis,” *American Journal of International Law* 86 (1992): 310, 322 n. 70.

38. Harold Hongju Koh describes this process clearly:

The process usually occurs in four phases: interaction, interpretation, internalization and obedience. Normally one or more transnational

actors provokes an interaction, or series of interactions, with another in a law-declaring forum. This forces an interpretation or enunciation of the global norm applicable to the situation. By so doing, the moving party seeks not simply to coerce the other party, but to force the other party to internalize the new interpretation of the international norm into its normative system. The provoking actor's aim is to "bind" the other party to obey the new interpretation as part of its internal value set.

Harold Hongju Koh, "Why Do Nations Obey International Law?" *Yale Law Journal* 106 (1997): 2599, 2646; see also Harold Hongju Koh's address, the 1998 Frankel Lecture, "Bringing International Law Home," *Houston Law Review* 35 (1998): 623, which states that even resisting nations cannot insulate themselves from the influences of the transnational interactions on particular issues; Janet Koven Levit, "The Constitutionalization of Human Rights in Argentina: Problem or Promise?" *Columbia Journal of Transnational Law* 37 (1999): 281, 286–87; Joseph F. C. Dimento, "Process, Norms, Compliance and International Environmental Law," *Journal of Environmental Law and Litigation* 18 (2003): 251, which discusses how the international norm-setting process impacts national policies in various social and legal spheres.

39. International soft law norms are the product of significant international debate and deliberation. Hurst Hannam, "Human Rights," in *United Nations Legal Order*, 319, 336 n. 77; see also James C. N. Paul, "The United Nations and the Creation of an International Law of Development," *Harvard International Law Journal* 36 (1995): 307, 315, which states, "Because world conferences provide potential opportunities for global popular participation, expert consultations, and, sometimes, vigorous debate, they can in theory, become unique vehicles to elaborate norms (cast in the form of legal instruments) governing development." As such, conference declarations are imbued with a strong expectation that members of the international community will abide by them. As this expectation is justified by state practice, including activities within the UN organization, the principles of a UN document may—by custom—become binding upon a state. Hannam, "Human Rights," 336.

The ongoing international discussion and redeliberation of soft law norms may be expanding, rather rapidly, the official canon of binding customary law. See for example Theodor Meron, *Human Rights and Humanitarian Norms as Customary Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), 99: "Given the rapid continued development of international human rights, the list [of customary international law norms] as now constituted is essentially open-ended. . . . Many other rights will be added in the course of time"; *Restatement of the Law, Third, The Foreign Relations Law of the United States* (St. Paul: American Law Institute Publishers, 1987), § 702 comment a, noting that its "list [of customary international law norms] is not necessarily complete, and is not closed: human rights not listed in this section may have achieved the status of customary law, and some rights might achieve that status in the future"; Richard B. Lillich, "The Growing Importance of Customary International Human Rights Law," *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 25 (1995/96): 7 n. 43, reporting that in a 1996 speech, Professor Louis Henkin, Chief Reporter of *Restatement (Third)*, indicated that "if he were drafting Section 702 today he would include as customary international law rights the right to property and freedom from gender discrimination, plus the right to

personal autonomy and the right to live in a democratic society”; Beth Stephens, “Litigating Customary International Human Rights Norms,” *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 25 (1995/96): 191, 198–99, describing customary international law as a “developing concept” and predicting as likely developments “environmental protections and the right to political access (i.e., to vote) and other attributes of democracy.” Commentators have argued, for example, that customary international law includes, or will soon include, rights such as freedom of thought, free choice of employment, the right to primary education, the right to form and join trade unions, and rights relating to sexual orientation. See Curtis A. Bradley and Jack L. Goldsmith, “Customary International Law as Federal Common Law: A Critique of the Modern Position,” *Harvard Law Review* 110 (1997): 815, 841, and n. 171.

40. Richard B. Bilder, “An Overview of International Human Rights Law,” in *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, 10, stating that customary international law is defined as a consistent practice in which states engage out of a sense of legal obligation.

41. Higgins, “The Role of Resolutions of International Organizations in the Process of Creating Norms in the International System,” in *International Organizations in Their Legal Settings*, ed. Frederic L. Kirgis Jr., 2d ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1993), 341.

42. June Zeitlin, ed., *Beijing Betrayed* (New York: Women’s Environment and Development Organization, 2005), 7, available at http://www.wedo.org/files/gmr_pdfs/gmr2005.pdf, stating that these reports “show that women advocates everywhere have stepped up their activities since Beijing using the Platform for Action and other key global policy instruments to push governments into taking action.”

43. See Jiri Toman, “Quasi-Legal Standards and Guidelines for Protecting Human Rights,” in *Guide to International Human Rights Practice*, 192.

44. See *The Ctr. for Reprod. Law and Policy v. Bush*, no. 01-4986, 2001 U.S. Dist. WL 868007 (S.D.N.Y. July 31, 2001), which was dismissed for failure to show standing, *aff’d*, 304 F.3d 183 (2d Cir. 2002), rejecting the claims that U.S. policy restricting the funding of foreign abortions did not violate the Center’s First Amendment rights to speech and association, party lacked standing for Fourteenth Amendment claims, and that even though party had standing with equal protection theory, the policy did not violate equal protection rights.

45. See Marc-Olivier Herman, “Fighting Homelessness: Can International Human Rights Law Make a Difference?” *Georgetown Journal on Fighting Poverty* 2 (1994): 59, 71, and n. 157, discussing reluctance of U.S. courts to either invoke or rely upon international norms in deciding domestic disputes.

46. *Roper v. Simmons*, 125 S. Ct. 1183, 1198–1200 (2005).

47. In *Marbury v. Madison*, Chief Justice John Marshall declared that “a written constitution” was “the greatest improvement on political institutions” flowing from the American Revolution. *Marbury* 1 Cranch, 5 U.S. 137, 178 (1803). But despite Justice Marshall’s extensive reliance upon the concept of a “written Constitution,” the proper judicial technique for determining the meaning of the Founders’ words remains controversial. According to some, the judicial inquiry essentially involves “lay[ing] the article of the Constitution which is invoked beside the [government action] which is challenged . . . to decide whether the latter squares with the former.” *United States v. Butler*, 297 U.S. 1, 62 (1936). This

task, of course, is rarely as straightforward as the language of *Butler* suggests. Accordingly, constitutional interpretation has often led judges to look beyond plain constitutional text to the history and traditions of the American people. See, for example, *Palko v. Connecticut*, 302 U.S. 319, 325 (1937), holding that a provision of the Bill of Rights that embodies “a ‘principle of justice so rooted in the traditions and conscience of our people as to be ranked as fundamental’” is applicable to state governments, notwithstanding express constitutional language limiting such a provision to actions of the federal government (quoting *Snyder v. Massachusetts*, 291 U.S. 97 [1934]). Whether the meaning of the Eighth Amendment is determined by reference to its words or the “traditions and conscience” of the American people, it is hardly clear that the execution of minors was unconstitutional prior to March 2005.

48. *Roper v. Simmons*, 125 S. Ct. at 1206 (O’Connor, J., dissenting), stating that the evidence fails to show conclusively that a national consensus has emerged to condemn execution of minors; see also *Roper v. Simmons*, 125 S. Ct. at 1218 (Scalia, J., dissenting), noting that “18 States—or 47% of States that permit capital punishment” prohibit the execution of minors, but asserting that “words have no meaning if the views of less than 50% of death penalty States can constitute a national consensus.”

49. *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558 (2003).

50. *Bowers v. Hardwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986).

51. *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. at 567 (stating that the *Bowers* court “misapprehended the liberty claim presented to it” for not recognizing the privacy interests at stake); *Lawrence v. Texas*, at 568 (rejecting the claim of the *Bowers* court that homosexual sodomy had been regulated for a “very long time” *Bowers v. Hardwick* at 190).

52. *Lawrence v. Texas*, at 573, citing *Dudgeon v. United Kingdom*, 45 Eur. Ct. H.R. (1981); see also *Lawrence v. Texas*, at 576–77, citing brief of Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner of Human Rights 1997–2002.

53. See authority detailing various efforts at international negotiations related to the above topics cited at notes 32–36, 38.

54. The committee overseeing international compliance with the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women* views full employment in paid work as a priority, and notes the importance of day-care for even the youngest children. See, for example, A/55/38, pars. 311–314 (Germany); A/54/38/Rev.1, pars. 259–262 (Spain); A/52/38/Rev.1, par. 104 (Slovenia).

55. Hafen and Hafen, “Abandoning Children to Their Autonomy,” 450.

56. In 1996, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights issued “HIV/AIDS and Human Rights International Guidelines,” HR/PUB/98/1 (Geneva, Switzerland, September 23–25, 1996). At a 2001 special session of the UN General Assembly on HIV/AIDS in New York City, the UN High Commission for Human Rights urged the General Assembly to adopt a resolution making compliance with the guidelines mandatory. The proposal was ultimately rejected because, among other things, the guidelines called for (1) repeal of laws regulating homosexual sodomy (pars. 101–2), (2) legalization of same-sex marriage (par. 30-h), (3) graphic sexual training of children (pars. 95, 116), and (4) the creation of “penalties” for anyone who vilifies homosexual behavior (par. 30-h).

57. The history of the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* is an interesting example of this phenomenon. A well-respected analysis of the Convention notes:

Since American children's rights advocates took the lead in developing the *Convention on the Rights of the Child's* unique provisions for child autonomy, it is curious that the United States is not yet among the ratifying nations. The sluggishness of the United States might be explained by a traditional American reluctance to adopt international human rights treaties. . . . A more speculative possibility arises from the fact that the United States legal mainstream has never embraced the notion of legal autonomy for children. Some *Convention on the Rights of the Child* proponents have nonetheless incorrectly implied that their positions reflect the current state of United States law—which is unfortunate for those in the international community who have relied on their claims. This raises the question whether advocates of child autonomy who have been unsuccessful in United States legal circles have turned to the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* as a way of leveraging U.S. legislatures and courts toward what they can now present as an international, human rights-based vision of children's legal status. Hafen and Hafen, *Abandoning Children to Their Autonomy*, 449–50.

If this analysis is correct—as I believe it is—it demonstrates the unusual power of legal scholars within the international arena. The arguments made (as well as the positions held) by legal scholars are often rejected by American lawmakers. But once the law professors move into the international arena, their prestige and status can produce quite different results. Thereafter, the scholars need only wait for American courts to enforce the “international norms” that were initially rejected by American legislatures. See, for example, *Roper v. Simmons*, 125 S. Ct. 1183, 1198–1200 (2005), enforcing a provision of the Convention on the Rights of the Child despite the fact the treaty has not been ratified by the Senate.

58. Restatement of the Law, Third, The Foreign Relations Law of the United States, § 102(1)(c) (1987).

59. See for example Rutgers Center for Global Women's Leadership, “Beijing + 10 Review: A Feminist Strategy for 2004–05, A Working Paper for NGOS on How to Move Forward,” March 2004, available at <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/policy/csw04/Biostrategy-CSWo4.pdf>. This monograph “emerged out of several activities held as part of a consultation process on the future of women's human rights sponsored by the Center for Women's Global Leadership in 2003” (page 1).

60. Statute of the International Court of Justice 59 Stat. 1055, T.S. No. 993, art. 38, available at <http://www.icj-cij.org/icjwww/basicdocuments/Basetext/istatute.htm>.

61. Reports issued by these academic institutions openly discuss plans to “re-politicize” international discussion of the family, often in the context of women's and children's rights, in order to promote such “sexual rights” as marriage alternatives and access to abortion. Rutgers Center for Global Women's Leadership, “Beijing + 10 Review: A Feminist Strategy for 2004–05, A Working Paper for NGOS on How to Move Forward,” pages 2, 3. NGO documents reporting on the discussions sponsored by Rutgers University, for example, reveal further details

of academic and non-governmental efforts to promote abortion rights during the Beijing + 10 process. One such document suggests “strategies” for this process, including “infiltration” of “conservative groups” and the distribution of materials “that support sexual and reproductive rights.” Alejandra Sardá, Report, “Global Reunion about Strategies for Beijing + 10,” New Jersey, December 5–8, 2004. The same document notes, “We will have Informative Sheets [to distribute at the Beijing review process], at least in English and in Spanish, about the most controversial topics: abortion, sexual orientation, maternal mortality, gender expression, sexuality of young women, sexual education.” See also <http://www.earthinstitute.columbia.edu>.

62. See Steven Nock, “The Positive Impact of Marriage on Society: The Case for Public Policy,” paper presented July 11, 2005, at the World Family Policy Forum, publication forthcoming; Craig H. Hart, “Do Parents Matter? Answers from Recent Studies in Various Cultures,” paper presented July 11, 2005, at the World Family Policy Forum, publication forthcoming.

63. See W. Bradford Wilcox, “The Complementarity of Motherhood and Fatherhood,” paper presented July 12, 2005, at the World Family Policy Forum, publication forthcoming; Camille Williams, “Theory, Tradition and Contemporary Marriage,” paper presented July 11, 2005, at the World Family Policy Forum, publication forthcoming.

64. See Center of the American Experiment; Coalition for Marriage, Family and Couples Education; and Institute for American Values, *Why Marriage Matters: Twenty-One Conclusions from the Social Sciences* (New York: Institute for American Values, 2002).

65. See Richard G. Wilkins and Jacob Reynolds, “International Law and Life,” publication forthcoming in *Ave Maria Law Review*, detailing the role of the World Family Policy Center during the negotiation of the Rome Statute for the Creation of an International Criminal Court in forestalling the creation of an international abortion right supported by legal scholars from law schools across the United States and Europe. See also reports of the efforts of the World Family Policy Center at the Rome ICC Conference, the International Conference on Ageing, and other events, on file with the World Family Policy Center.

66. See the official site of the “Group of 77,” describing its membership and functions, at <http://www.g77.org/main/main.htm> (last visited September 8, 2005).

67. These partners included CARE, London, England; The Family Research Council, Washington, D.C.; and the Catholic Family and Human Rights Foundation. Governmental partners included the Supreme Council for Family Affairs of the State of Qatar, the Malaysian Department of Population and Family Development, and distinguished Parliamentarians from throughout Scandinavia, the European Union, Africa, the Middle East, and Central and South America.

68. Language compiled by Susan Roylance and distributed at the 1999 Second World Congress of Families provided an early example of how long-standing international norms could be compiled into a document like the Doha Declaration.

69. UNGA A/RES/58/15 (December 15, 2003).

70. Copies of this report are available from the World Family Policy Center. This report was compiled by the Center’s service missionaries, Elder Gary Lundberg and Sister Joy Lundberg.

71. UNGA A/RES/59/111 (December 6, 2004).

72. Statement of Professor Richard Stith, Valparaiso University School of Law (June 6, 2005); see also Statement of Professor Bruce Logan, Maxim Institute, New Zealand (January 7, 2005), asserting that the Doha Declaration is “a major declaration on the family and marriage adopted by the UN; probably the most significant in two decades.” Letters on file with the author.

73. Mission Statement and Operational Objectives, Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development, Revised by The Doha Planning Committee, September 27–28, 2005, Doha, Qatar.

74. Hinckley, “Stand Strong against the Wiles of the World,” 100; Hinckley, *Discourses of President Hinckley*, 32.

75. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” 102.

76. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” 102.

77. “The Family: A Proclamation to the World,” 102.



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FIG. 1. St. George Temple, ca. 1877. The first endowments for the dead were performed in the St. George Temple. This view shows the temple as it was originally constructed, with a shorter spire than present. The spire was struck by lightning in 1878 and rebuilt with a higher, more majestic design.

“Line upon Line, Precept upon Precept”

Reflections on the 1877 Commencement of the Performance of Endowments and Sealings for the Dead

Richard E. Bennett

The first endowments for the dead in Latter-day Saint history were performed on January 11, 1877 in the St. George Temple (fig. 1). Seasoned Nauvoo Temple ordinance and Salt Lake City endowment worker, Alonzo H. Raleigh, wrote of the occasion:

Endowments commenced in the [St. George] Temple and for the first time Endowments for the Dead in this Dispensation. 72 persons received their Endowments. I took the lead in the washing and anointing and instructions in the same. Washed, anointed and clothed the first person and took the general lead of the same, all through by promptings by the direction of President Brigham Young through Elder Woodruff. We were late getting through. It was the most responsible and complicated day's work I [have] ever done, as most of the workmen were new in the labor and the prompting devolved almost entirely on me for nearly all the parts.¹

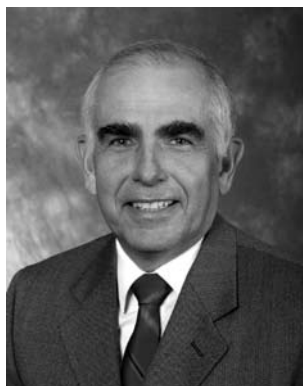
Surprisingly, in the modern temple-building and temple-conscious era, little, if anything, has been said or written about the beginnings of the endowment for the dead, either by way of quiet celebration or academic explanation. More attention has centered on the companion temple ordinance of baptism for the dead, which commenced in Nauvoo. While it is certainly not the purpose of this article to trespass upon the sacred precincts of temple covenants and worship, the purpose is, however, to explore those several impulses that led to the beginnings of endowments for the dead that winter day in St. George, Utah, in 1877. Considering the fact that this ordinance rewrote the nature of temple worship and vastly multiplied reasons for temple attendance, it is a topic worthy of reverent consideration and appreciation. As much an invitation for increased work

for the dead, it has been a call for increased consecration and obedience among the living.

The topic of endowments for the dead will be addressed through a series of questions. First, did the Prophet Joseph Smith teach the principle of performing ordinances for the dead, other than the ordinance of baptism, while he was alive in Nauvoo? Second, during the so-called “interregnum era” in Church history (1844–47), is there evidence for endowments for the dead in the Nauvoo Temple or during the Mormon exodus west? Third, what was the nature of temple work during the period without temples in the Great Basin from 1848 to 1877, and what were President

Richard E. Bennett

Professor Bennett points out the magnitude of the impact that temple endowments for the dead have had on Latter-day Saint modes of worship. “Before endowments for the dead, Latter-day Saints did not have a compelling reason to go back to the temple again and again,” notes Dr. Bennett. That all changed when the practice was instituted three decades after the Prophet Joseph Smith’s death. During his research, Dr. Bennett found that temple work



as we know it today was largely shaped through Wilford Woodruff’s visionary guidance. “One of the most interesting things I found about Wilford Woodruff was his unbending allegiance to revealed doctrine and prophetic direction coupled with his courage to proclaim new revelation and adaptations in policy.” Wilford Woodruff’s tenure as prophet saw many dramatic changes, from the Manifesto ending plural marriage to the way temple work was conducted. “As prophet, he was less tied to tradition and more attuned to change, where needed. His commitment to the development and growth of temple work is one of his most enduring legacies, one that changed profoundly the history of the Church.”

Brigham Young's views on the subject? Fourth, why did this ordinance work begin in the St. George Temple? And finally, what role did Wilford Woodruff play in the formative days of this new temple practice? As will become clear, it is far easier to explore where and when endowments for the dead began than to answer how or why.

“The Hearts of the Children Shall Turn to Their Fathers”

A review of the teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith indicates at least two truths about his understanding of the doctrine of salvation for the dead: first, that he spoke long and often and with great interest on the topic; and second, that his views and teachings on the subject progressed as new revelation was received. In the angel Moroni's initial visit to the young Prophet Joseph in September 1823, he referred to the coming of Elijah who would “plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers” (D&C 2:2). During the ensuing annual interviews with his apprenticed prophet from 1824 to 1828, Moroni further gave Joseph Smith “instruction and intelligence . . . [on] what the Lord was going to do and how and in what manner his kingdom was to be conducted in the last days” (JS-H 1:54). In his Articles and Covenants of the Church (D&C 20) presented at the organization of the Church in April 1830, Joseph Smith indicated that the first principles and ordinances of the gospel—faith, repentance, baptism by immersion, and the gift of the Holy Ghost—were necessary and available not only for those in this era but also for “all those from the beginning, even as many as were before he [Christ] came” (D&C 20:26), as well as for those who came after.

Joseph supervised the construction of the Kirtland Temple from 1833 to 1836, and in 1835 initiated a preliminary or preparatory endowment. In 1836 he saw in a vision his brother Alvin in the celestial kingdom and “marveled how it was that he had obtained an inheritance in that kingdom . . . and had not been baptized for the remission of sins” (D&C 137:6). Three months later, he recorded the visit of heavenly messengers including Elijah, who declared “the time has fully come . . . to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, lest the whole earth be smitten with a curse.” Elijah went on to say, “The keys of this dispensation are committed into your hands” (D&C 110:14–16). After the completion of the Kirtland Temple, the ordinances of washings, anointings, and sealing the anointings were performed there.²

Precisely when the revelation came to the Prophet Joseph defining and commanding baptism for the dead is not on record, but he first publicly

taught the practice on August 15, 1840, basing much of his discourse on the fifteenth chapter of Corinthians. One month later, on September 13–14, 1840,

Joseph assured his dying father that the Saints could now be baptized for the dead. Hearing this, his father asked Joseph to be baptized for Alvin “immediately.”

as his father lay dying in Nauvoo, Joseph assured him that it was now possible for the Saints to be baptized for the dead. Hearing this, his father asked Joseph to be baptized for Alvin “immediately.”³ On January 19, 1841, the Lord instructed Joseph Smith further on the importance of building the temple. From this revelation he learned that the ordinance of baptism for the dead had been “instituted from before the foundation of the world” (D&C 124:33).⁴ Later he taught that baptism for the dead was “the only way

that men can appear as saviors on Mt. Zion.”⁵ In 1842, Joseph Smith wrote two epistles comprising sections 127 and 128 of the Doctrine and Covenants in which he reemphasized the central place that work for the dead holds in Latter-day Saint theology. Said he:

It is sufficient to know, in this case, that the earth will be smitten with a curse unless there is a welding link of some kind or other between the fathers and the children, upon some subject or other—and behold what in that subject? It is the baptism for the dead. For we without them cannot be made perfect; neither can they without us be made perfect. . . . Now, what do we hear in the gospel which we have received? A voice of gladness! A voice of mercy from heaven; and a voice of truth out of the earth; glad tidings for the dead. . . . As the dews of Carmel, so shall the knowledge of God descend upon them! (D&C 128:18–19)

And how shall knowledge come? “Line upon line, precept upon precept; here a little and there a little; giving us consolation by holding forth that which is to come, confirming our hope” (D&C 128:21). Clearly, his understanding of baptisms for the dead had come very gradually.

Studies indicate that the early Saints in Ohio and Illinois experimented with the performance of the newly revealed ordinance. Some were baptized in rivers, men were baptized for women and vice versa, and records were not properly kept. It took further instruction to delineate the recording process. “When the Prophet Joseph had this revelation from heaven, what did he do?” Wilford Woodruff later asked,

There are witnesses here of what he did. He never stopped til he got the fulness of the word of God to him concerning the baptism for the dead. But before doing so he went into the Mississippi River, and so did I, as well as others, and we each baptized a hundred for the dead, without a man to record a single act that we performed. Why did we do it? Because

of the feeling of joy that we had, to think that we in the flesh could stand and redeem our dead. We did not wait to know what the result of this would be, or what the whole of it should be.⁶

Recent research has shown that baptisms for the dead were performed not only in Nauvoo, but also in the Chagrin River near Kirtland, Ohio, in 1841.⁷ Likewise, the Saints in Quincy, Illinois, performed the ordinance.⁸ And on April 4, 1848, at Winter Quarters, Wilford Woodruff performed nine baptisms for deceased persons in the Missouri River.⁹

Speaking shortly after Joseph Smith's death, Brigham Young reaffirmed the necessity of this ordinance while admitting to the process of adaptation and design: "When the doctrine of baptism for the dead was first given," he said in April 1845,

this church was in its infancy, and was not capable of receiving all the knowledge of God in its highest degree; this you all believe. . . .

The Lord has led this people all the while in this way, by giving them here a little and there a little, thus he increases their wisdom, and he that receives a little and is thankful for that shall receive more and more. . . .

Joseph in his life time did not receive every thing connected with the doctrine of redemption, but he has left the key with those who understand how to obtain and teach to this great people all that is necessary for their salvation and exaltation in the celestial kingdom of our God.¹⁰

As the doctrine of baptisms for the dead came line upon line, so too came the temple endowment. Early in 1842, while the Saints in Nauvoo were busying themselves with baptisms for the dead in the temporary font in the basement of the Nauvoo Temple, Joseph hinted that work for the salvation of the dead extended beyond baptism. "God will not receive them," he said in reference to the dead, "neither will the angels acknowledge their works as accepted, for they have not taken upon themselves those ordinances and signs which God ordained for man to receive in order to receive a celestial glory."¹¹

Joseph taught, however, that such ordinances, whether baptisms or endowments, were best reserved for the temple, which was then under construction. Said Wilford Woodruff on the subject:

Joseph Smith first made known to me the very ordinances which we give to the Latter-day Saints in our endowments. I received my endowments under the direction of Joseph Smith. . . . [He] himself organized every endowment in our Church and revealed the same to the Church, and he tried to receive every key of the Aaronic and Melchisedec priesthoods from the hands of the men who held them while in the flesh, and who hold them in eternity.¹²

In June 1843, Joseph Smith explained to an assembly at the Nauvoo temple grounds that the main object of the gathering

was to build unto the Lord an house whereby he Could reveal unto his people the ordinances of the house and glories of his kingdom and teach the people the ways of salvation. For there are certain ordinances and principles that when they are taught and practiced, must be done in a place or house built for that purpose. This was purposed in the mind of God before the world was and it was for this purpose that God designed to gather together the Jews oft but they would not. It is for the same purpose that God gathers together the people in the last days to build unto the Lord an house to prepare them for the ordinances and endowments, washings and anointings.¹³

And in early 1844, he said, “We need the temple more than anything else.”¹⁴

Joseph’s instructions on the matter of the endowment were reflected well by his closest associates. In the fall of 1843, Brigham Young said that “the Lord requires us to build a house unto his name that the ordinances and blessings of his kingdom may be revealed and that the Elders may be endowed and go forth and gather together the Blood of Ephraim . . . from the ends of the earth. Can you get an endowment in Boston? No and only in that place that God has pointed out.”¹⁵ Just three months later, Brigham Young further elaborated on the subject. “When the temple is done I expect we shall be baptized, washed anointed [and] ordained, and offer up the keys and signs of the priesthood for our dead that they may have a full salvation and we shall be saviors on mount Zion according to the Scriptures.”¹⁶

In 1843 the Prophet introduced endowments for the living among a select few of his close friends, known as the Anointed Quorum.¹⁷ Indeed, temple work, or what Joseph referred to often as “the spirit of Elijah,” took on greater urgency during the waning months of his life. As one eyewitness put it: “His soul was wound up with this work before he was martyred . . . [it] was upon his mind more than most any other subject that was given to him.”¹⁸ Joseph asked in January 1844,

But how are [the Saints] to become Saviors on Mt. Zion? By building their temples, erecting their baptismal fonts, and going forth and receiving all the ordinances, baptisms, confirmations, washings, anointings, ordinations and sealing powers upon their heads, in behalf of all their progenitors who are dead . . . [to] be exalted to thrones of glory with them; and herein is the chain that binds the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the children to the fathers, which fulfills the mission of Elijah. . . . I would advise all the Saints to go with their might and gather together all their living relatives to this place that they may be sealed and saved. . . . “Can we not be saved without going through with all those ordinances, etc?” I would answer, No, not the fullness of salvation.¹⁹

Speaking ever more boldly on the topic, Joseph once again referred to the spirit of Elijah in a sermon given in March 1844:

The spirit, power and calling of Elijah is that ye have power to hold the keys of the revelations, ordinances, oracles, powers and endowments of the fulness of the Melchizedek Priesthood and of the kingdom of God on the Earth and to receive, obtain, and perform all the ordinances belonging to the kingdom of God even unto the sealing of the hearts of the fathers unto the children and the hearts of the children unto the fathers even those who are in heaven.²⁰

Three months later, in April 1844, Joseph opened the door even wider on the doctrine of endowments for the dead. He declared, “When the House is done, baptismal font erected and finished and the worthy are washed, anointed, endowed, and ordained kings and priests, which must be done in this life, when the place is prepared you must go through all the ordinances of the house of the Lord, so that you who have any dead friends must go through all the ordinances for them the same as for yourselves.”²¹ Then on April 8, 1844, just weeks before his death at Carthage, Joseph said, “For every man who wishes to save his father, mother, brothers, sisters and friends, must go through all the ordinances for each one of them separately, the same as for himself.”²²

“We need not expect to do this last work for the dead in a short time; I expect it will take at least a thousand years.”

The dimensions of such a work appeared daunting, if not overwhelming, to those around him. Many wondered at the capability of the membership to accomplish such an enormous task. Said George A. Smith several years later:

The Twelve were then instructed to administer in the ordinances of the Gospel for the dead, beginning with baptism and the laying on of hands. This work was at once commenced. It soon became apparent that some had long records of their dead, for whom they wished to administer. This was seen to be but the beginning of an immense work and that to administer all the ordinances of the gospel to the hosts of the dead was no light task. Some of the Twelve asked Joseph if there would not be some shorter method of administering for so many. Joseph in effect replied: “The laws of the Lord are immutable; we must act in perfect compliance with what is revealed to us. We need not expect to do this last work for the dead in a short time; I expect it will take at least a thousand years.”²³

In summary, Joseph Smith unquestionably taught the doctrines of salvation for the dead, including baptisms, confirmations, ordinations, and related ordinances. Furthermore, he also introduced the need of the

temple endowment for the salvation of the living. And, although he did not refer to “endowments for the dead” in specific terms, the evidence points to his understanding of their necessity.²⁴

“With the Trowel in One Hand, the Sword in the Other”

If Joseph Smith anticipated the need for endowments for the dead, why is there no record of them in Nauvoo? One answer may lie in the premature death of the Prophet. Certainly he wanted to say much more to his people than he was able to do. Furthermore, as Illinois persecution increased, a forced timetable of exodus was imposed upon the Saints, leaving precious little time to understand and perform temple work for the living, let alone the dead. “Those who went through the Temple at Nauvoo,” Brigham Young recalled a few years later, “know but very little about the endowments. There was no time to learn them and what little they did learn they have most of them forgotten it.”²⁵ And on another occasion he said: “Everything at Nauvoo went with a rush. We had to build the Temple with the trowel in one hand, the sword in the other.”²⁶ Interest in temple work increased among the Saints in Nauvoo in direct proportion to the rising levels of persecution that eventuated in their forced exodus to the Rocky Mountains beginning in February 1846.

Designed to give, as Joseph once put it, “a comprehensive view of our condition and true relation to God,”²⁷ and to secure the fullness of divine blessings for the faithful Latter-day Saints, the endowment consisted of a ceremonial washing and anointing, a series of lectures and dramatizations on the purpose of earth life and the plan of salvation, the making of sacred covenants, and an enriching sense of the divine presence.²⁸ At the laying of the southeast cornerstone of the Salt Lake Temple, Brigham Young publicly defined the endowment as follows:

Your *endowment* is, to receive all those ordinances in the House of the Lord, which are necessary for you, after you have departed this life, to enable you to walk back to the presence of the Father, passing the angels who stand as sentinels, being enabled to give them the key words, the signs and tokens, pertaining to the Holy Priesthood, and gain your eternal exaltation in spite of earth and hell.²⁹

Thousands sought this blessing in the dying days of Nauvoo, even before the temple was fully completed. “The main and only cause for our tarrying as long [in Nauvoo],” said Brigham Young in March 1846 from somewhere west of the Mississippi, “was to give the brethren those blessings in the Temple for which they have labored so diligently and faithfully to build, and as soon as it was prepared we labored incessantly almost

night and day to wait on them until a few days prior to our departure.”³⁰ Between December 10, 1845, and late January 1846, the Quorum of the Twelve supervised three weeks of intensive temple ordinance work in which at least 5,200 members received their endowments.³¹

So far as is yet known, the nature of temple work in Nauvoo consisted of baptisms for the dead, endowments for the living, and marriage sealings for the living. Temple work, however, did not cease abruptly with the Latter-day Saint departure from Nauvoo. There is abundant evidence to show that during the Winter Quarters period of Church history, not only were baptisms for the dead performed by Wilford Woodruff in the Missouri River,³² but also marriages sealed for time as well as for eternity. These sealings were conducted in Willard Richard’s Octagon House in the winter of 1847–48.³³

Though anxious to preserve such ordinances within the walls of the temple, Brigham Young answered the pleas of his people, who were either about to march off to the Mormon Battalion, never perhaps to be seen again, or to confront the extremes and insecurities of a wilderness exodus. An immensely pragmatic religious leader, he knew that the priesthood and its keys were with them in the wilderness and that as important as temples were, wilderness exceptions could be made as directed by proper authority.

This same policy of exception can be seen during the exodus further west. In the mountain valleys east of Salt Lake, Church leaders, clothed in sacred temple vestments, sometimes assembled out of sight and in prayer circles to pray for direction, guidance, and most especially for Brigham Young, whose health was then precarious.³⁴

“We Administer Just as Far as the Law Permits Us to Do”

Brigham Young firmly believed that as Joseph Smith’s successor, to hold the keys of the priesthood meant, in part, to continue the kinds of temple work he ardently believed Joseph had initiated. Likewise, he believed the martyred Prophet had helped introduce missionary work in the spirit world.

When he died, he had a mission in the spirit world, as much so as Jesus had. Jesus was the first man that ever went to preach to the spirits in prison. . . . Joseph has not yet got through there. When he finishes his mission in the spirit world, he will be resurrected, but he has not yet

Though anxious to preserve ordinances within the temple, Brigham Young answered the pleas of his people and allowed wilderness exceptions to be made.

done there. . . . Joseph has restored those keys to the spirits in prison, so that we who now live on the earth . . . may go forth and officiate for all who died without the Gospel and the knowledge of God.³⁵

Once in the valley, a determined Brigham Young lost little time in identifying the spot on which to build a new temple. At five in the evening on July 28, 1847, though still sick and in a fragile condition from his recent bout with Rocky Mountain fever, Brigham identified a center spot between creeks and declared to his fellow apostles, as he waved his hands in the air, "Here is the 40 acres of temple lot." He went on to give instructions on how to build the basement and the baptismal font of the new temple.³⁶ Two weeks later he indicated that work on the temple would commence as soon as possible: as important as the physical temple was in administering sacred ordinances, he would not delay certain temple blessings unnecessarily while the temple was being built. Also, he wanted to teach the temple, not just build it, to give himself and his people, now preoccupied with making a living from the wilderness, ample time to understand and implement temple work in its fullness. "As soon as we get up some adobe houses for our families," he said, "we shall go to work to build another Temple and as soon as a place is prepared we shall commence the Endowments long before the Temple is built. And we shall take time and each step the Saints take, let them take time enough about it to understand it."³⁷ Although the site was identified in 1847, the demands of the wilderness were apparent as the groundbreaking for the Salt Lake Temple would not take place for another six years. "We want a temple more than we want dwelling houses," said Brigham Young in February 1853.³⁸

There was need for temple blessings long before the temple could be completed. Evidence shows that Brigham Young performed at least one endowment for a living person on Ensign Peak in 1849.³⁹ To further meet the Saints' immediate needs, both civic and religious, Brigham Young determined to build another Council House somewhat similar to the rudimentary edifice by that name erected in Winter Quarters. This structure would double as a "state house" or seat of government, with chambers for both the general assembly and senate of the proposed state of Deseret, and as a place for temple work. Designed by Truman O. Angell and built in two stages, the Council House was a rather simple forty-five-foot-square, two-story building with walls of stone and adobe. It was located on the southwest corner of East Temple (Main) and South Temple Streets. Financed through tithing funds, building construction was superintended by Daniel H. Wells.⁴⁰ Originally intended to be of grand design, fitting for temple ordinances, the Council House ran into various obstacles, which eventually determined a less imposing structure.

Even before the completion of the Council House, its offices were doubling as places for sealings and endowments for the living.⁴¹ “Our Council House was so far completed during the fall,” the First Presidency wrote in 1851, “that the several apartments have been occupied through the winter, to the great joy of this people.”⁴² William Carter Staines refers to “Endowment rooms” specially set aside in the Council House.⁴³ According to official records, ordinance work in this “House of the Lord” (as it was called) began “about 11:00 a.m.” on April 16, 1851, with work continuing throughout the summer.⁴⁴ At least 2,220 endowments were administered in the Council House between 1851 and 1854.⁴⁵ Those wishing to attend had to be full tithe payers and in good moral standing. Prior to receiving their endowments, candidates “bathed in the bathhouse” and were then washed and anointed.⁴⁶

The Council House, however, was but a temporary steppingstone to something greater.⁴⁷ “It is absolutely necessary that we should have a Temple to worship the Most High God in,” said Brigham Young at the dedication of the Council House. “A tabernacle is to assemble the multitude for meetings but a Temple is to gather the priesthood in that they may do the work of the Lord. . . . Is there a place prepared to go and redeem our dead? No there is not. We give Endowments here, but it is like trying to step on the top round first. . . . We do these things until we have time to build a Temple.”⁴⁸ Alonzo Raleigh wrote, “I have in the last two years spent considerable time in the endowments, given in the Council House by Pres Heber C. Kimball. . . . By advice and council I entered into or received the Celestial Law of Marriage including Plurality of Wives on the 28th of Feb. 1852.”⁴⁹

The record shows that Brigham Young was mindful of endowments for the dead very early in the Salt Lake period, and likely well before. Similarly, he saw it as something that could be conducted only in a temple. Back in Nauvoo, in December 1843, he had sermonized as follows: “When the Temple is done I expect we shall be baptized, washed, anointed, ordained, and offer up the keys and signs of the priesthood for our dead that they may have a full salvation and we shall be as saviors on Mt. Zion.”⁵⁰ In 1852, he said, “There cannot be any baptism, endowments, or ordinances in the Spirit World performed but we shall be called to perform in a Temple of the Lord all the ordinances for the dead, the same as for the living. All things will be sealed to the end of all things.”⁵¹

Speaking in 1854 he asked his followers, “What are we trying to build a temple [in Salt Lake City] for?” His answer:

We shall not only build a Temple here, if we are successful, and are blessed and preserved, but we shall probably commence two or three

more, and so on as fast as the work requires, for the express purpose of redeeming our dead. When I get a revelation that some of my progenitors lived and died without the blessings of the Gospel, or even hearing it preached . . . I will go and be baptized, confirmed, washed, and anointed, and go through all the ordinances and endowments for them, that their way may be open to the celestial kingdom.⁵²

Further to the need for future temples, Brigham Young soon afterwards said, “To accomplish this work there will have to be not only one temple but thousands of them, and thousands and tens of thousands of men and women will go into those temples and officiate for people who have lived as far back as the Lord shall reveal.”⁵³

Whether the press of secular and political business in the Council House was interfering with this work, whether the building was too small, or whether they realized that the temple would take years to complete—whatever the reasons, in the spring of 1854 Church leaders decided, one year after the cornerstones had been laid for the Salt Lake Temple, to erect a separate structure on the temple lot to be used solely for temple ordinances. On August 4, 1854, foundation work began on what was first called the “Temple pro tem,” or temporary temple, which came to be later known as the Endowment House.⁵⁴ Designed by Church architect Truman O. Angell and completed in one year’s time, this rather small, rectangular 34' x 44' two-story building, located on the northwest corner of Temple Square, opened May 5, 1855.⁵⁵ In his dedicatory remarks, Brigham Young distinguished this facility from a temple, calling each by a different name: “The President remarked the house was clean and named it ‘The House of the Lord.’ Said the spirit of the Lord would be in it for no one would be permitted to go into it to pollute it. Also said, ‘when the temple is built, we will call that The Temple of our God.’”⁵⁶ Nevertheless, as an early worker carefully recorded, “President Young stated that all Sealings and Endowments would be valued as though they were in a Temple.”⁵⁷

Supervised directly by Heber C. Kimball, the Endowment House (fig. 2), like its predecessor the Council House, provided a place for baptisms and confirmations for the living and the dead, endowments for the living (including washings and anointings), and marriage sealings for both the living and the dead.⁵⁸ Those wishing to attend were required to have a recommend from their local leaders. Like many others, Charles Walker, a St. George resident, traveled the 350 miles one way to Salt Lake City just to attend. “D. H. Wells . . . cordially invited [me] to the Endowment House to witness the baptism for the dead,” he recorded in the summer of 1872.

I went with him to the font and acted as a witnes, after which Br J F Smith very cortously asked me to assist in confirming. I spent the day



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FIG. 2. Endowment House, Temple Square, ca. 1885, photographed by F. I. Monson and Company. Endowments for the living were performed here for thirty-four years. The cut and numbered stones in the foreground are for building the Salt Lake Temple.

there and assisted in baptizing and confirming over 500. Never felt better in my life . . . and tho I had to travel 350 miles to attend to it, and 350 back again, I do not think it too much.⁵⁹

Nevertheless, it was always understood that the Endowment House was but another substitute for a temple, a precursor to something greater. “In the days of our poverty, and while we had no Temple in which to administer ordinances for the dead . . . the Lord permitted us to erect an Endowment House,” the First Presidency wrote in 1877 on the eve of the dedication of the St. George Temple. “This we have used for many years, and many ordinances have been administered therein; but there are other important ordinances which have not been, and cannot be, administered, except in a Temple built and dedicated to the Most High for that purpose.”⁶⁰

During the thirty-four-year lifespan of the Endowment House,⁶¹ the unofficial count of ordinances performed was 134,053 baptisms and confirmations for the dead, 68,767 marriage sealings of both living and deceased couples, and 54,170 endowments for the living.⁶² Apparently, however, no children, either living or dead, were sealed to their parents, and no endowments for the dead were yet performed.⁶³

As useful as the Endowment House proved to be, especially for marriage sealings, it was not a place of repeated and continuous attendance to most people. Temple work was not yet a staple in the worship of most Latter-day Saints, primarily because no temples were completed between

“A portion of the endowments are going on, but there are other things that never will until the Temple is built.”

1845 and 1877. Even during the zeal of the Mormon Reformation of 1856, the symbol of recommitment among the Saints was not increased temple worship but rather rebaptism. Emphasis was placed not on the law of consecration but on the payment of tithes.⁶⁴

Had there ever been a better time to introduce endowments for the dead, a practice which clearly would have demanded

more temple attendance, it would have been during these Reformation years. However, such was not the case. The Saints still waited on the Lord for the completion of a temple. Joseph Young, President of the Quorum of Seventy and older brother to President Brigham Young, speaking in conference in April 1857, called for a recommitment to build the Salt Lake Temple so “that we may have a renewal of our endowments.”

“Why,” says one, “the endowments are going on.” That is true, a portion of the endowments are going on, but there are other things that never will until the Temple is built; of which are . . . our endowments proxy for our dead friends. Are they going on? No. Will they before that house is built? No, not that I know of.⁶⁵

The Utah War, the coming of Johnston’s army, the evacuation of Salt Lake City, and the razing of the Salt Lake Temple postponed temple building in the “City of the Saints” even longer than anticipated. The conflicting feelings that the Saints held toward the United States at the time, coupled with the sounds and fury of America’s Civil War and the possibility of a national rupture, led Brigham Young and other Church leaders to reconsider the possible return of the Saints to Missouri and the building of the temple there. “If we do not hurry with this,” he said in August 1862, referring to the recurring problems encountered with building the Salt Lake Temple, “I am afraid we shall not get it up until we have to go back to Jackson County which I expect will be in 7 years. I do not want to quite finish this temple for there will not be any temple finished until the one is finished in Jackson County, Missouri pointed out by Joseph Smith.”⁶⁶

In 1863, during the height of the Civil War, Brigham Young reiterated his view that the Endowment House was but a temporary measure, an inadequate substitute for the temple—whether the one presently under construction in Salt Lake City or, as he dearly hoped, the one back in

Missouri.⁶⁷ “There are some of the sealing ordinances that cannot be administered in the house that we are now using,” he remarked in October of that year.

We can only administer in it some of the first ordinances of the Priesthood pertaining to the endowment. There are more advanced ordinances that cannot be administered there; we would, therefore, like a Temple, but I am willing to wait a few years for it. I want to see [it] built in a manner that it will endure through the Millennium. This is not the only Temple we shall build; There will be hundreds of them.⁶⁸

Speaking in conference the year following, George Q. Cannon addressed the same theme. “The Lord has not yet revealed to us all that is to be revealed. There are many great and glorious principles and truths pertaining to exaltation in the kingdom of God which we are not yet prepared to receive.”⁶⁹

On another occasion, Brigham Young differentiated even more clearly between what could and what could not be done outside the temple, although the precise reasons why were rarely spelled out. “We can, at the present time,” he said, “receive our washings and anointing, etc. . . . We also have the privilege of sealing women to men, without a Temple . . . but when we come to other sealing ordinances . . . they cannot be done without a Temple. . . . We can seal women to men, but not men to men”⁷⁰ [see discussion on Law of Adoption below].

It would appear that intergenerational linkages, at least further back than one generation, was the critical element of proxy work not available without a temple. Brigham Young said as much when referring to his own father who died and was buried in Quincy, Illinois.

My father died before the endowments were given. None of his children have been sealed to him. If you recollect, you that were in Nauvoo, we were very much hurried in the little time we spent there after the Temple was built. The mob was ready to destroy us. . . . Our time, therefore, was short, and we had no time to attend to this. . . .

Some brethren here are anxious to know whether they can receive endowments for their [deceased] sons or for their daughters. No, they cannot until we have a Temple. . . . A man can be baptized for a son who died before hearing the Gospel . . . but no one can receive endowments for another, until a Temple is prepared. . . . We administer just so far as the law permits us to do.⁷¹

“It Seems More Like the City of the Dead Than the Living”

Why was St. George selected as the place to build a temple, and why was it here that endowments for the dead began? Of early St. George, a once reluctant resident had this to say:

Here we have a fine view of the rocks and sands and barren desolation of sterile Dixie of southern Utah and a more forbidding aspect man never saw. . . . This place when contrasted with the bustle and business of Salt Lake seems very dull. A person can walk up and down this town for hours and scarce see a man—no business, no railroad nor locomotive whistle, nor express wagon, nor auctions, nor saloon, music, no theatres or circus or dances—all still and peace. In fact, it seems more like the city of the dead than the living.⁷²

And yet it was here that the first temple in the Great Basin was completed. How fitting that the temple in the “city of the dead” would be the first to administer endowments for the dead.

With the Civil War long over and an immediate return to Missouri not an option, Brigham Young moved forward with temple building. It was clear the Salt Lake Temple would take years to build. Not wanting, no doubt, to go down in history as the president who never completed a temple, Brigham Young considered his options. At a meeting held January 31, 1871, in the home of the resident Apostle and president of the Southern Mission, Erastus Snow, Brigham asked the local leaders in attendance “what they thought of building a Temple in St. George.” The record then says: “The bare mention of such a blessing from the Lord was greeted with: ‘Glory Hallelujah’ from Pres. Erastus Snow and all present appeared to share the joy. The brethren unanimously voted in favor of the measure.”⁷³

How well they were able to keep the secret is not known, but a few months later, on April 15, 1871, several other locals first heard the news at a meeting of the St. George School of the Prophets. “A letter was read from Br. Brigham,” reads Charles Walker’s account,

stating that the time had come that the Saints could build a Temple to the most high in St. George. A thrill of joy seemed to pass over the Assembly of Elders present, at the announcement. It is to be built of stone plastered inside and out. The length 196’, width 142, and 80’ high, two stories with a large hall on each story with room on each side, and a baptismal font in the basement. Br. Brigham and George A. Smith will be down next October to commence the work and give directions concerning its erection.⁷⁴

So again, why St. George? Certainly one reason was as a reward to the faith and perseverance of those who had sacrificed so much to settle the hard, arid country of southern Utah and northern Arizona. “This is a desert country,” Brigham admitted,

but it is a splendid place to rear the Saints. I regret to hear of any wishing to leave; these, however, are but few. . . .

We want to build a Temple here and we can do this. You may take the people of St. George, or you may take the little settlements of Washington, Harrisburg, and Leeds and I will say that the people of St.

George, or the people of these little settlements . . . are better able to build the contemplated Temple in St. George than the whole Church could build the Temple in Kirtland, or than the whole Church could build the temple in Nauvoo. I was there. I knew the circumstances of the Church at the building of the Temple at Kirtland and at Nauvoo. And I know the circumstances of the people in St. George and in these settlements named.⁷⁵

As one local poet put it:

Now boys pray don't get weary, there's plenty of work ahead.
God says build ye a temple through Brigham Young, our head.
In which we can go forth soon and baptize for our dead,
And thus be rewarded in Dixie.⁷⁶

There were other equally compelling reasons for the red sands of Dixie. The leader of the Latter-day Saints had long recognized that for a battery of reasons—a faulty initial foundation, the Utah War, a host of transportation problems, his own “go-slow” attitude in case the Church should decide to move back to Missouri—he would not live to see the completion of the Salt Lake Temple. With the rising din over plural marriage and the inevitable squeeze upon the Church by a federal government determined to stop the practice, even if it meant the destruction of the Church, St. George would also provide an “asylum,” Zion’s Zion, a place of quiet refuge from the encircling storm. Furthermore, it was closer to the Lamanite missions, and for the improvement of his health, Brigham had spent his winters there.

If all these were reasons for announcing the *construction* of the temple, the catalyst for *completing* it as quickly as possible was Brigham Young’s determination to reestablish the united order among the Saints and with it, a return to living the law of consecration. Students of community, economics, and cooperation among the Saints in Deseret have long argued that Brigham consistently tried to revive the law of consecration and stewardship among his people. Such efforts occurred throughout the 1850s and were followed by the cooperative mercantile and manufacturing associations of the 1860s. Designed to ensure economic self-sufficiency, such efforts were based on the overriding conviction that for any individual to have or “acquire rights that would conflict with the best interests of the group was,” as historians Dean May, Feramorz Fox, and Leonard Arrington have argued, “repugnant to Mormon philosophy.”⁷⁷ At its core, the law of consecration took issue with the inequities of laissez-faire capitalism and rampant individualism. Money, at least the accumulation of such, was never to be the goal; rather, the building of the kingdom of

God upon the earth and of serving others selflessly were principles of far greater value.

Building upon the success of the cooperative movements of the 1860s, and convinced that the law of consecration and stewardship outlined by Joseph Smith forty years before was still an attainable goal, Brigham Young inaugurated the united order of Enoch in 1874, first in St. George and then in many of the northern Utah settlements. Unlike the cooperatives, the united order “contemplated the pooling of labor as well as capital

and would realize the economies theoretically possible by the pooling or joint use of capital and by the division or classification of labor.”⁷⁸

“This Temple in St. George is being built upon the United Order; and when we cease our selfishness we can then do anything that we want to.”

Far more than a self-sufficing economic system, the united order also called for the rededication of personal obedience, of following specific rules of conduct, and of living a better life. A ‘mini-reformation,’ the order’s aspect of personal rededication has perhaps been understudied. Although there

are several other reasons for the adoption of the endowment for the dead in St. George, some of which have already been discussed, there also seems to have been a connection between it and efforts to reestablish the united order among the Saints. “There are many things which the Lord would have bestowed upon His people,” Brigham said in St. George in March 1874, “but they were not ready to receive them. He still wishes to do so, and will, just as soon as we prepare ourselves.”⁷⁹

Later he tied the temple and the united order even more tightly together: “You may not understand one fact that is before our eyes—that this Temple in St. George is being built upon the principle of the United Order; and when we cease our selfishness, and our whole interest is for the building up of the kingdom of God on the earth, we can then build Temples, and do anything that we want to, with united voice and hands.”⁸⁰ Clearly he hoped that those working in the temple and those attending it would be more consecrated than ever before in living the gospel.

Apostle George A. Smith, beloved by many in southern Utah, in speaking to the temple builders on Christmas Day in 1874, “warmly and most earnestly exhorted the people to energetically prosecute the work on the Saint George Temple so that President Young and the Twelve may have the opportunity of going therein to communicate the keys of knowledge and power which the Prophet Joseph had conferred upon them and which can only be conferred to others in a Temple.”⁸¹

Eventually, and for reasons beyond the scope of this paper, the united order failed as an economic system. However, the adoption of the endowment for the dead with its emphasis on obedience, sacrifice, and consecration coincided with and fulfilled the contemporary impulse to rebuild a Zion community and reestablish a consecrated people.

As much as this paper has endeavored to show that Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and others anticipated endowments for the dead, preliminary research into the diaries of the time indicate that most members were as unprepared for the doctrine as they were unschooled in the practice. When talk was made of redeeming the dead, most referred to it in terms of baptisms for the dead. Conspicuously absent in contemporary literature among the Latter-day Saints from 1850 to 1877 was any mention of endowments for the dead.

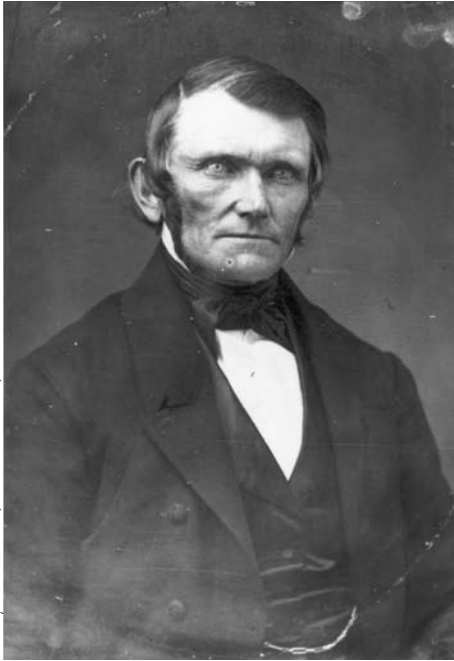
For example, during the construction of the temple, Charles Walker listened to several sermons on work for the dead and commented often in terms as follows: “Went to meeting. . . . Brother [Erastus] Snow spoke very good on the ordinances of the Lord’s supper and baptizing for the Dead. Showed that by this ordinance that they [the dead] might be judged according to God in the spirit, and be judged according to the works done for them by men in the flesh.”⁸²

Precisely when and why Brigham Young determined to restore endowments for the dead into the fabric of temple work has not yet been determined. However, it was a matter of ascending importance to Brigham’s deepening understanding of both salvation and exaltation of the dead and of rededicating the living to the law of consecration.

“I Have Had This Spirit upon Me Since I First Entered This Church”

The final purpose of this study is to consider the influence Wilford Woodruff (fig. 3) brought to bear on the nature of temple work in St. George. We have already reviewed the influences of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and other Church leaders, but what of this man? What role did he play? Pending further study, it would appear that his influence was pivotal. While some will ever associate him with missionary work, his most long-lasting contributions to the history of the Church may well have occurred within temple walls.

Since his conversion in 1833, he had viewed his membership as incomplete without the companionship of family and friends. Later, in July 1838 he returned as a missionary to his beloved Connecticut, teaching and converting members of his immediate family. There he baptized his father, Aphek, his stepmother, his uncle, and several others. As he left for Nauvoo,



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FIG. 3. Wilford Woodruff, ca. 1850, photographed by Marsena Cannon. President Woodruff was highly influential in establishing the practice of performing endowments for the dead. Inspired from his earliest days to seek after the spiritual welfare of his deceased mother and ancestors, President Woodruff had a profound impact on temple worship and modern Latter-day Saint temple attendance.

Woodruff recorded the following: "A peculiar charm was thrown around my soul as I left the threshold of my father's house, having the confidence that if I never see my father in the flesh again I shall meet him in the first resurrection. I had a desire in my heart that all the ordinances of the fullness of the gospel might also be administered unto father and mother Carter that they may sleep in peace."⁸³

Meanwhile, Woodruff harbored a special interest in his mother, who had died when he was but an infant. While in Nauvoo he was baptized in behalf of his mother, two of his brothers, both sets of grandparents, and many other deceased kin.⁸⁴

Wilford Woodruff was well aware that he possessed this interest in even greater measure than did his colleagues among the leadership circles of the Church. "I have had this spirit upon me since

I first entered this Church," he once confided in his journal. Driven to record his feelings and the events of his life in the minutest detail, Woodruff knew this compulsion extended to family history and temple work as well. In 1875 he wrote,

This was the gift of God to me and the question has often rested [upon] me, 'Why are these things so? Why has this subject rested upon me more than other men?' . . . For I seem a marked victim for the devil from the day I was born. . . . [T]he devil knew if I got into the Church . . . I would write the History . . . and leave on record the doings, works and teachings of the prophets and Apostles, Elders and Saints in the latter days, and that I would attend to the ordinances of the House of God for my father's household and friends, both for the living and the dead.

I am the only person in all the lineage of my father's household, either on my father or mother's side, who has been in the Church and in a situation to do anything for my father's house. I baptized my father and all his household that he had with him at the time including my step mother and half sister. I am the only person that has attended to any of the ordinances of the Church for my dead.⁸⁵

Wilford Woodruff shared many of the same views on salvation for the dead as did Brigham Young and, in some ways, Brigham deferred to him in such matters. A man of recurring dreams and numerous visions, Woodruff had long envisioned the preaching of the gospel to the dead in the spirit world beyond the grave and had called for the full blessings of the temple in their behalf. "I believe it will take all the ordinances of the gospel of Christ to save one soul as much as another," he said in 1868.

Those who have died without the gospel will have to receive the gospel in the spirit world from those who preach to the Spirits in Prison and those who dwell in the flesh will have to attend to all the ordinances of the gospel for and in their behalf by proxy and it will take 1,000 years . . . before the work will be finished attending to all the ordinances for all the dead who have died without the gospel.⁸⁶

No one was likely more excited about the completion of the St. George Temple than Wilford Woodruff and, in preparation for that event, he had busied himself in family history work throughout the summer and fall of 1876. "Glory, hallelujah," he confided in his journal for June 20, "for in spite of the Devil through the blessing of God I have had the privilege this day of going into the Endowment House and with my family have been baptized for 949 of my dead relatives." David, a son, was baptized for 305 of them alone, "the most," Woodruff noted, "any one person was ever baptized for in one day in this church and kingdom. . . . I felt to rejoice that after forty three years labor in the Church . . . that I had the privilege of going into a baptismal font with my eldest brother, Azmon Woodruff, and my children, to redeem our dead."⁸⁷

Little wonder that Brigham Young invited him to the dedicatory services in St. George in January and directed him to stay on after his return to Salt Lake in the spring of 1877 as the first president of the temple so as to oversee and implement such new practices as endowments for the dead.⁸⁸

On New Year's Day 1877, just as he had done at the Endowment House twenty-one years before, Wilford Woodruff dedicated the basement, lower level, foundation, and baptismal font of the new temple.⁸⁹ Some 2,000 people crowded into the basement for the noon meeting. Ten members of the Quorum of the Twelve were in attendance. Other dedicatory prayers were offered by Erastus Snow and Brigham Young Jr., before Brigham

Young, so lame from rheumatism in his feet that he had to be carried through the temple in a chair by three men, made several critically important remarks. It was as if he had willed himself to live long enough to see this day:

We that are here are enjoying a privilege that we have no knowledge of any other people enjoying since the days of Adam. . . . Brethren and sisters, do you understand this? It seems that a great many of the people know nothing about it. It is true that Solomon built a Temple for the purpose of giving endowments but from what we can learn of the history of that time they gave very few if any endowments. . . .

We as Latter-day Saints have been laboring for over forty years, and the revelations given us in the first were to establish the kingdom by gathering the Saints, building Temples, and organizing the people as the family of heaven here on the earth. We reared up a Temple in Kirtland, but we had no basement in it, nor a font, nor preparations to give endowments for the living or dead. . . . We built one in Nauvoo. . . .

Now we have a temple which will all be finished in a few days, and of which there is enough completed to commence work therein which has not been done since the days of Adam, that we have any knowledge of.⁹⁰

If baptism for the dead was the justifying ordinance for the dead, without which no one could be redeemed and enter the celestial kingdom, then endowments on their behalf was the sanctifying ordinance of exalta-

“All the angels in heaven are looking at this little handful of people. So are the devils in hell. . . . [for] now we are ready to give Endowments.”

tion within the highest degree of the celestial kingdom. All those who had been sealed together in years past and had not been endowed before they died, from Nauvoo to Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley, would now receive this ordinance by proxy. Children of faithful Latter-day Saint parents who had lived beyond the years of accountability before dying would be similarly endowed and then sealed to their parents by proxy. Faithful men and their families

would be endowed and then “adopted” into a faithful Latter-day Saint leader’s family line, pending further instruction. As Apostle Brigham Young Jr. put it, “We anticipate performing the ordinances of sealing women to men, children to their parents, and man to his fellow man that the bond may reach unto heaven.”⁹¹ While there was much yet to learn, the essential piece of the plan beyond mere baptism was now in place.

“What do you suppose the fathers would say if they could speak from the dead?” Brigham asked. “What would they whisper in our ears? Why if they had the power the very thunders of heaven would be in our ears if

we could but realize the importance of the work we are engaged in. All the angels in heaven are looking at this little handful of people. So also are the devils in hell. . . . Now we are ready to give Endowments.”⁹² It was determined that Tuesdays and Wednesdays would be reserved for baptisms and Thursdays and Fridays for endowments for the dead and sealings. The entire proceedings of this special day went off well with one observer concluding, “There was much good advice and counsel given which, if I can remember and put in practice in my life, I will be a good man.”⁹³

Baptisms for the dead began in the St. George Temple on January 9, 1877, when, according to one observer, Wilford Woodruff “went into the font and baptized Suzie Amelia Young Dunford for and in behalf of her friend, Mary Sheppard (an English girl). Brother Brigham, lame as he was, by the aid of his crutch and stick ascended the steps up to the font and witnessed the first Baptism. I stood near the font, and watched them baptize and could not refrain from shedding tears of joy on beholding the commencement of so great a work.”⁹⁴ Two days later, on Thursday, January 11, endowments for the dead were first administered in the St. George Temple. Likewise, the first sealings of deceased women to deceased men took place, Wilford Woodruff performing the sealing. The second sealing for the dead was performed by President Brigham Young.⁹⁵

What followed in the days and weeks thereafter was nothing less than a schooling in matters of the temple. One month later, on February 12, Alonzo Raleigh recorded that he was “engaged all day and evening with President Woodruff, [John D. T.] McAllister, and [L. John] Nuttall under the direction of President B. Young in reorganizing parts of the endowment”—a reference to their perceived need to make certain needed adjustments for proxy work.⁹⁶

Part of the adjustment unquestionably pertained to the logistics of handling so many patrons coming through at one time. “At work in the endowments,” Raleigh again confided, “136 persons were passed through. The house was tolerably crowded, though we got through in good season, having two vails to work at which doubles the capacity of the House in that respect, a thing not practiced before as far as we have any knowledge.”⁹⁷ A careful student of such things, Raleigh wrote, after noting further modifications made by the President, “I have endeavored to fully understand the principle as it has been revealed, having worked in them for over 25 years and the last half of that time constantly, when there was any endowments given, which no other person has in this generation.”⁹⁸

After several weeks of such work, supervised almost daily by President Young, Brigham instructed Raleigh and others to write out the revised

ceremony from beginning to end for consistency and accuracy in all future applications.⁹⁹ Recalled Wilford Woodruff:

President Brigham Young requested me to take charge of the temple, which I did. He also requested me to write all the ordinances of the Church, from the first baptism and confirmation through every ordinance of the Church. G[eorge] Q. Cannon assisted some in this writing. And when I had finished it to the satisfaction of the President, he said to me:—"Now you have before you an ensample to carry on the endowments in all the Temples until the coming of the Son of Man." . . . I parted with Brigham Young for the last time in the flesh at 9:30 am on April 16, 1877 when he started for Salt Lake City. . . . When I left St. George I placed the Presidency of the Temple in the hands of John Daniel Thompson McAllister who was to preside over it in my absence.¹⁰⁰

Finally, by the first day of spring, the first winter temple semester was complete. Wrote a triumphant Wilford Woodruff, "President Brigham Young has been laboring all winter to get up a perfect form of endowments, as far as possible. They having been perfected, I read them to the company today."¹⁰¹ Said a jubilant Brigham Young on April 7, "The Lord had accepted this Temple and the labors of the Saints. A great joy and rejoicing had been manifested in the Spirit World on account of the labors performed by the Saints for the Dead."¹⁰²

Regarding his three month's work in Dixie, Alonzo Raleigh stated: "I spoke to [Brigham Young] in relation to returning North immediately after conference. He remarked that we would both go and that he considered that we had done an excellent work since coming down. I realize it to be far the best winter's work that I have ever done."¹⁰³ Several lectures were given in the temple and many sermons in the St. George Tabernacle on temple matters.¹⁰⁴

The Law of Adoption

For which of the dead were these ordinances performed? Early patrons were anxious to perform proxy work for Latter-day Saint family members who had died without their endowment, including men and women who had been previously sealed but who were now deceased. Plural marriages or multiple sealings among the dead were likewise performed. In addition, they sought to seal deceased children to their parents.

Furthermore, a great many "adoptions" were performed in which faithful living men, their wives, and children were sealed not to their own ancestral families—for fear that they had rejected the gospel—but to leading General Authorities, living or dead. One example, of many, was the adoption of John D. T. McAllister, second president of the St. George

Temple, to Brigham Young on April 10, 1877.¹⁰⁵ The overriding principle was that family salvation lay in the keys and powers of the priesthood. Such priesthood adoptions had occurred frequently in Nauvoo and even more so at Winter Quarters and in the Salt Lake Valley. These adoptions had also had a social impact, and they often dictated social spheres of influence and one's circle of friends and associates. For instance, those adopted into Brigham Young's family lived close together and often shared resources. There was an expectation that in return for the spiritual blessings that came through adoption to Brigham Young, the adopted families would give physical help and assistance where needed. Although it eventually proved a failure as a social principle of organization, the law of adoption was emphasized at this time as a sealing practice among both the living and the dead.¹⁰⁶

This practice of sealing families to proven priesthood leaders was related to the doctrine of redemption for the dead—a fuller understanding of which would later mature into the current practice of intergenerational family sealings. The doctrine of adoption allayed some concerns about the daunting challenges involved in redeeming all of one's kindred dead before the millennial reign. Said Brigham Young in Winter Quarters some thirty years previously:

Before I close I will answer one question that has been asked me repeatedly. Should I have a father [who is] dead that has never heard this gospel, would it be required of me to redeem him and have him adopted unto some man's family and I be adopted [sealed] unto my father? I answer, No. If we have to attend [to] the ordinances of redemption for our dead relatives we then become their saviors and were we to wait to redeem our dead relatives before we could link the chain of the Priesthood, we would never accomplish it.¹⁰⁷

It was not yet clear that a modern priesthood-led generation could be linked to former priesthood-led dispensations through linking generations of families that had been dissipated and disrupted over the centuries of history when no priesthood was found on earth. Again, Brigham Young:

I have gathered a number of families around me by the law of adoption and sealed the covenant according to the order of the priesthood and others have done likewise, it being the means of salvation left to bring us back to God. But had the keys of the priesthood been retained and handed down from father to son throughout all generations up to the present time then there would have been no necessity of the law of Adoption for we would have all been included in the covenant without it, and would have been legal heirs instead of being heirs according to promise. . . . But man through Apostasy, which is entire disobedience, has lost or suffered the keys and privileges of the Priesthood to be taken

away from them and they [were] left to wander in darkness and practice all manner of wickedness until thousands became the vessels of wrath and were doomed to destruction. . . . Suffice it to say that I will extend the chain of the Priesthood back through the apostolic dispensation to Father Adam just as soon as I can get a temple built.¹⁰⁸

Between 1877 and 1894, thousands of living persons chose to be adopted into the families of general authorities or of temple presidents, living or dead. Many sought adoption into Joseph Smith's family.¹⁰⁹ In St. George a great many were adopted to Elder Erastus Snow, the area's long-standing and beloved Apostle-leader.¹¹⁰ It is estimated that between 1877 and 1893, slightly over 13,000 such adoptions occurred.¹¹¹

Proxy work went beyond family kinships; indeed, there was also much interest in doing work for deceased friends. Wrote one patron, "At night getting a recommend for my wife, Abigail, to go through the Temple for her mother and friends."¹¹² Temple workers completed work for their friends after having completed their immediate family names.¹¹³ Such deceased friends, though not Latter-day Saints, were seen as sympathetic to the gospel. Orson W. Huntsman, who lived twenty miles from St. George, recorded that on March 8, 1877, he and his family set off to the temple "for some of our dead friends and kin folks." For three days, they "attended to the endowments" for both family and friends.¹¹⁴

If Brigham Young spent his time perfecting the endowment ceremony itself, Woodruff focused on its scope and application. He attended the temple almost every working day throughout the winter, sometimes when sick, presiding over most sessions, instructing and lecturing on a wide range of topics from wording to clothing. On February 1, as an example to others, he arrived dressed in pure white doe skin from head to foot, white pants and vest, "the first example in any Temple of the Lord in this last dispensation."¹¹⁵

One month later on March 1 (his seventieth birthday) he recorded that several sisters joined him at the temple for the purpose of proxy endowments for several women who had been sealed to him in past years. Woodruff told the company that ever since he had been in St. George, his mind had been "exercised in behalf of the dead." Said he,

Ever since I have been working in this Temple my mind has been exercised in behalf of the dead and I have felt a great desire to see my dead redeemed before I passed away. A few days ago I went into the sealing room where I often go to pray for I consider there is no spot on this Earth more acceptable than this Temple. And while there I went before the Lord with this subject resting upon my mind. . . . And while I prayed the Spirit of the Lord rested upon me and conveyed the following testimony to me:

Let my servant Wilford call upon the [sisters] in Zion and let them enter into my Holy Temple . . . and there let them receive their . . . endowments for and in behalf of the wives who are dead and have been sealed to my servant, Wilford, or those who are to be sealed to him, and this shall be acceptable unto me, saith the Lord.¹¹⁶

The point was that whereas previously, with either baptisms or endowments, only family members could stand as proxy for family names, now others could participate as if family members. Furthermore, because the time involved in a single endowment could then take several hours, proxy work by others for family names greatly accelerated the process for a particular family. “This was merely a key to me,” Woodruff told the assembly. “Light burst upon my understanding. I saw an Effectual door open to me for the redemption of my dead. And when I saw this I felt like shouting Glory Hallalulah to God and the Lamb.” That night, Woodruff recorded in his journal that the day had been “among the most wonderful events of the last dispensation. . . . This door which is open for the redemption of the dead in this manner will accomplish great and important results. . . . By this labor in redeeming our dead, by proxy much can be accomplished.”¹¹⁷

Soon after Brigham Young’s departure for the north, during which trip he broke ground for both the Manti and Logan Temples, Wilford Woodruff assumed the presidency of the St. George Temple, a fitting tribute to his dedication to such work.¹¹⁸ During the summers that followed, Woodruff broadened temple work in yet another significant way. Well known in Church history is his vision in August 1877 of scores of famous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century women and men, including the signers of the Declaration of Independence and most of the deceased presidents of the United States, as well as writers, discoverers, and philosophers from Europe.¹¹⁹ Wilford Woodruff and John D. T. McAllister worked together on August 21 baptizing in behalf of 121 of these famous luminaries. Wilford Woodruff said of this experience: “It was a very interesting day. I felt thankful that we had the privilege and the power to administer for the worthy dead, especially for the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that inasmuch as they had laid the foundation of our Government that we could do as much for them as they had done for us.”¹²⁰ While this experience is often referred to in the spirit of American patriotism, in its time its significance lay in extending the parameters of salvation for the dead.

Speaking later that summer at a conference held in Salt Lake City immediately following the death of President Brigham Young, Woodruff elaborated on this experience.

We have labored in the St. George Temple since January, and we have done all we could there and the Lord has stirred up our minds, and many things have been revealed to us concerning the dead. President Young has said to us . . . if the dead could they would speak in language loud as ten thousand thunders, calling upon the servants of God to rise up and build Temples, magnify their calling and redeem their dead. . . .

Two weeks before I left St. George, the spirits of the dead gathered around me, wanting to know why we did not redeem them. Said they, “You have had the use of the Endowment House for a number of years, and yet nothing has ever been done for us. We laid the foundation of the government you now enjoy, and we never apostatized from it, but we remained true to it, and were faithful to God.” These were the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and they waited on me for two days and two nights. I thought it very singular, that notwithstanding so much work had been done, and yet nothing had been done for them. The thought never entered my heart, from the fact, I suppose, that heretofore our minds were reaching after our immediate friends and relatives.¹²¹

Whereas much has been made in the past of the fact that baptisms were performed for these famous dead persons, the more significant

“We have not got through revelation. [Brigham Young] did not receive all the revelations that belong to this work; neither did President Taylor, nor has Wilford Woodruff.”

point for this study is that endowments were also administered in their behalf. Immediately after Lucy Bigelow Young had been baptized for Martha Washington and seventy other “eminent” women of the world, Wilford Woodruff “called upon all the Brethren and Sisters who were present to assist in getting endowments for those that we had been baptized for”—a work that consumed the following three days.¹²² Although baptisms for the

dead had been performed already for many of them, they had never been endowed—which blessing they were now afforded.¹²³

The importance of extending this higher ordinance to this particularly unique group of people, unconnected as they were to any families in the Church, reinforced the doctrine that all the “worthy dead,” whether family or friend, would be taught the gospel and the ordinances of salvation should be offered to all through proxy work. Woodruff’s 1877 vision of the dead anticipated his later revelation of 1894, which ended the practice of “adoptions,” and it also set the stage for Joseph F. Smith’s vision of the spirit world and of the redemption of the dead some forty-two years later (see D&C 138). Such understandings accompanied an increased application of temple work for the dead.

In his 1894 revelation ending the practice of adoptions in favor of sealing present to past families, President Woodruff attributed the change to continuous revelation. “We have not got through revelation,” he said. “[Brigham Young] did not receive all the revelations that belong to this work; neither did President Taylor, nor has Wilford Woodruff. There will be no end to this work until it is perfected.”¹²⁴ It is doubtful that he felt he was countermanding any of his predecessors; rather, he was fulfilling their vision. The law of adoption was, in Brigham Young’s words, “a school master to bring [the children of men] back into the Covenant of the Priesthood. . . . When it is necessary I will attain to more knowledge on the subject and consequently will be enabled to teach and practice more and will in the mean time glorify God. . . . We are all dependent one upon another for our exaltation.”¹²⁵

On April 21, 1894, Woodruff’s entire sermon was published in the *Deseret Weekly* and a few weeks later was printed in the *Millennial Star* in England. As Elder Boyd K. Packer has said, “This attests to the great significance the Brethren placed on the Sermon.” Quoting President Woodruff’s entire revelation, Elder Packer states that although not included in the Doctrine and Covenants, it is nevertheless of great interest to, and binding upon, the Church. “As Latter-day Saints we are under commandment to listen to the prophet. Not all revelation is yet in the standard works.”¹²⁶

Ever searching for more answers, Brigham Young had earlier admitted that more truth and knowledge on the topic would later be revealed at which time the work would accelerate. “After Joseph comes to us in his resurrected body,” he said, “he will more fully instruct us concerning the baptism for the dead and the sealing ordinances. He will say ‘Be baptized for this man and that man, and that man be sealed to that man, and such a man to such a man,’ and connect the Priesthood together. . . . I say to you ‘don’t hurry in the ordinances.’ Don’t do what you ought not. It is not time to hurry. We should not undertake to do now what we ought to do 50 years hence. What have we to do today? Purify [our] hearts that [we] may receive the manifestation of the Spirit of God.”¹²⁷

Conclusion

A final look at some of the St. George Temple’s first year statistics is revealing. By the end of 1877, 30,384 baptisms for the dead, 1166 living endowments, and 13,160 endowments for the dead had been performed.¹²⁸ Clearly the invitation and opportunity to attend the temple and renew the covenants of the endowments had struck a responsive chord among the Saints, with over ten times as many receiving endowments for the dead as per those for the living. Temple attendance noticeably increased.

By mid-1879, after just two and a half years of operation, almost 40,000 endowments for the dead had been performed.¹²⁹

Since then the pattern of temple attendance and devotion in behalf of the dead has only intensified. In mid-August of 1988 the combined total of all endowments for the dead throughout the Church had reached one hundred million, according to Temple Department estimates.¹³⁰ As Church membership has increased and temple construction worldwide has accelerated, the figures have increased dramatically.

It is impossible to fathom the profound influence increased temple attendance has had upon the pattern and degree of personal obedience, consecration, and righteousness in the lives of the Latter-day Saints. Statistics will ever fail as an accurate measure of the faith so greatly intensified through temple attendance. What happened in St. George over 125 years ago marked the arrival of the time when this part of the plan, envisioned by Joseph Smith, could be acted upon, as directed by those holding priesthood authority. It also prepared the membership of the Church to accept revealed changes in Church policy and practices. These temple matters have continued to hold great significance for the Saints as the years have passed, reaching to the heart and essence of the Church.

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1. Alonzo H. Raleigh, Journal, January 11, 1877, photocopy of original holograph, 1861–85, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

2. 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), 2:379–80 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*). See also Donald Q. Cannon, Larry E. Dahl, and John W. Welch, “The Restoration of Major Doctrines through Joseph Smith; Priesthood, the Word of God, and the Temple,” *Ensign* 19 (February 1989): 11. Speaking of the Kirtland Temple, Brigham Young said that it had no basement, “nor a font, nor preparations to give endowments for the living or the dead.” See Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 18:303, January 1, 1877.

These ceremonies in the Kirtland Temple were not as complete as those administered in Nauvoo but were sufficient for their time in keeping with the commandments of the Lord. The Kirtland Temple was, in reality, a preparatory temple and as such pointed the way for more complete work in the years to come.

3. Scot Facer Proctor and Maurine Jensen Proctor, eds., *The Revised and Enhanced History of Joseph Smith by His Mother* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1996), 432–33. That Joseph Smith may have explored the doctrine as early as May 1840, see Ronald O. Barney, “Letters of a Missionary Apostle to His Wife: Brigham Young to Mary Ann Angell Young, 1839–1841,” *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 178–81.

4. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1972), 308.

5. Smith, *Teachings of the Prophet*, 195. For a thorough review of this doctrine, see Robert L. Millet, *Life after Death: Insights from Latter-day Revelation* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1999), 57–74. See also Richard E. Turley, Jr., “Latter-day Saint Doctrine of Baptism for the Dead,” *BYU Family Historian* 1 (Fall 2002): 23–39, and H. David Burton, “Baptism for the Dead,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 1:95–96.

6. Wilford Woodruff, *The Discourses of Wilford Woodruff, Fourth President of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, sel., arr., and ed. G. Homer Durham (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969), 153.

7. Alex Baugh, “The Practice of Baptism for the Dead Outside of Temples,” *Religious Studies Center Newsletter* 13, no. 1 (September 1998): 3–5.

8. See “A Record of the Branch in Quincy,” November 9 and 15, 1840, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives). See also 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), 2:76, 92.

9. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff’s Journal 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 3:336. See also Baugh, “Baptism for the Dead Outside of Temples,” 3–5; Richard E. Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri, 1846–1852: “And Should We Die . . .”* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 189.

10. Brigham Young, Speech, April 6, 1845, *Times and Seasons* (July 1, 1845): 954–55.

11. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:161, March 20, 1842.

12. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 23:131, May 14, 1882.

13. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:240, June 11, 1843.

14. *History of the Church*, 6:230.

15. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:289, September 9, 1843.

16. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:333–34, December 28, 1843.

17. Andrew F. Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Mormon Succession Question” (master’s thesis, Brigham Young University, 1982), 106–7.

18. Woodruff, *Discourses*, 156.

19. *History of the Church*, 6:184. See also Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:341–42, January 21, 1844.

20. Woodruff, *Journal* 1833–1898, 2:361–62, March 10, 1844.

21. Woodruff, *Journal* 1833–1898, 2:388, April 8, 1844. See also Wandle Mace, *Journal*, May 12, 1844, typescript, 358–59, Perry Special Collections.

22. *History of the Church*, 6:319.

23. George A. Smith, talk delivered December 25, 1874, St. George, Utah, in “Annals of the Southern Mission, 1869–1877,” comp. James G. Bleak. Also available in facsimile format at the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. See also Woodruff, *Journal* 1833–1898, 6:390, January 24, 1868.

24. While some historians infer that the Latter-day Saints knew of endowments for the dead in Nauvoo (see James B. Allen, Jessie L. Embry, and Kahlile B. Mehr, *Hearts Turned to the Fathers: A History of the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1894–1994* (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 1995), 20–21, the evidence in general is not compelling.

25. Woodruff, *Journal* 1833–1898, 4:6, January 19, 1851.

26. Woodruff, *Journal* 1833–1898, 3:259, August 15, 1847.

27. *History of the Church*, 6:50.

28. Alma P. Burton, “Endowment,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:455. The endowment, as one leading LDS scholar has described it, “consisted of the ordinances of washing and anointing, followed by instructions and covenants setting forth a pattern or figurative model for life. . . . Participants were reminded that in addition to the Savior’s redemptive gift [of the atonement] they must be obedient to God’s commandments to obtain a celestial glory.” Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2002), 258–59.

29. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:31, April 6, 1853, emphasis in original.

30. Brigham Young to James Emmett, March 26, 1846, Brigham Young Papers, Church Archives.

31. For more on the historical development of temple work, see Ehat, “Joseph Smith’s Introduction of Temple Ordinances.”

32. Baugh, “Baptism for the Dead Outside of Temples,” 3–5.

33. See Joseph Grafton Hovey, *Journal*, typescript, 47, Perry Special Collections. See also Jacob Gibson, *Book of the Generations of Jacob Gibson*, September 19, 1848, Church Archives. Elder L. Tom Perry, during the dedicatory services of the Winter Quarters Nebraska Temple, referred to the fact that his own ancestors were sealed at Winter Quarters. Unpublished Winter Quarters Nebraska Temple dedicatory address. For more on Winter Quarters, see Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, especially 184–98.

34. One afternoon, “Elders Kimball, Richards, Smith, Benson, and others went onto a mountain to clothe and pray for President Young who continues very sick.” *William Clayton’s Journal: A Daily Record of the Journey of the Original Company of “Mormon” Pioneers from Nauvoo, Illinois, to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake* (Salt Lake City: Clayton Family Assoc., 1921), 298, July 17, 1847. See also *Journal History of the Church*, July 18, 1847, Church Archives, microfilm copy in Harold B. Lee Library. The *Journal History* is a massive, unpublished, scrapbook-like compilation of events and happenings in Church history as compiled by the Church Historical Department. For an electronic version of the *Journal History*,

see *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), DVD 2:2.

Prayer circles began in the school of the prophets in Kirtland, Ohio, as early as 1833. They became a part of Nauvoo Temple worship in 1843 and were common in Utah for well into the twentieth century. Since 1978, prayer circles have been reserved only for temple worship. For more on the topic of prayer circles being an integral part of Nauvoo temple practices, see George S. Tate, "Prayer Circles," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 3: 1120–21, and sources cited therein.

35. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 5:285, March 15, 1857; See also 7:288–89, October 9, 1859.

36. Theodore Bullock, Journal, July 28, 1847, Church Archives. See also Bennett, *Mormons at the Missouri*, 229.

37. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 3:259–60, August 15, 1847.

38. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 4:196, February 14, 1853.

39. Brigham Young notes that Ensign Hill was dedicated July 21, 1849, for the purpose of giving endowments. History of Brigham Young, 1849, 107, Church Archives. Brigham Young dedicated Ensign Peak as a "natural temple" where the endowment was first given to Addison Pratt and other missionaries prior to their departure to the Society Islands to preach the gospel. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 3:386. See also Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology: A Record of Important Events Pertaining to the History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2d. ed., rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1914), 37.

40. Truman Osborn Angell, Council House Blueprints, Church Archives. See Gilbert Bradshaw, "The Council House as a House for Sacred Ordinances in the Early Church," 3–4, unpublished undergraduate research paper, in possession of the author.

41. Roberts, *Comprehensive History of the Church*, 4:13. The Council House was a \$45,000, two-story sandstone structure that was not entirely completed until 1855. It was used by the Church, city, county, and territorial officials until its destruction by fire in 1883. Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), 54, 111.

42. *Messages of the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1833–1964*, comp. James R. Clark, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1965), 2:65.

43. William Carter Staines, Journal, February 2, 1854, Church Archives.

44. "Endowment House Records 1851–1855," Special Collections, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. According to another source, endowments were being given in the Council House beginning January 26, 1852. See Journal History, January 26, 1852. According to yet another source, Staines began giving endowments as early as February 28, 1851. See William C. Staines, "Reminiscences of William C. Staines, *Contributor* 12 (November 1890–October 1891): 123.

45. "Endowment House Records 1851–1855." Two-hundred ninety more female names than males were recorded, as found in Bradshaw, "Council House," 6.

46. "Living Endowments," Family History Library; see Bradshaw, "Council House," 6.

47. The Council House eventually burned to the ground in June 1883 in a fire that began from an explosion in a nearby wagon yard. Through the heroic action of William H. H. Sharp, who ran back into the burning building, many church and ordinance records were miraculously preserved. See Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff, His Life and Labors*, comp. Matthias F. Cowley (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1916), 546; see also Bradshaw, "Council House," 8.

48. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 4:123, April 9, 1852.

49. Alonzo Raleigh, *Journal*, September 25, 1853.

50. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:333–34, December 28, 1843.

51. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 4:148, September 12, 1852.

52. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 2:138, December 3, 1854.

53. Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 3:372, June 22, 1856.

54. Raleigh, *Journal*, August 4, 1854. See Lamar C. Berrett, "Endowment Houses," in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 2:456. Very little else has been written on the Endowment House. James Dwight Tingen, "The Endowment House, 1855–1889," unpublished research paper written in 1974, Perry Special Collections, is one of the few meaningful studies on the topic.

55. Tingen, "Endowment House, 1855–1889," 5, 7, 9.

56. *Journal History*, May 5, 1855. It was not until early in 1855 that the phrase "the Endowment House" was used in reference to this building. See Tingen, "Endowment House, 1855–1889," 7.

57. Staines, *Journal*, August 15, 1855. The Endowment House was a slightly rectangular building. The first floor consisted of the Washing and Anointing Room, the Garden Room, the World Room and the Terrestrial Room. The Celestial Room and sealing rooms were located on the second floor. Tingen, "Endowment House, 1855–1889," 9–10.

58. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:231, June 16, 1875. Some deceased were sealed to living partners. See Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:280, July 26, 1876; see also Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 193.

59. Charles L. Walker, *The Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, ed. A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1980), 19.

60. First Presidency to the Church, October 25, 1876, cited in Kirk M. Curtis, "History of the St. George Temple" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 1964), 106–7.

61. Although closed in 1876, the Endowment House re-opened for special prayer circle ceremonies in behalf of President Young who was then terminally ill. See Raleigh, *Journal*, August 29, 1877. Upon Brigham Young's death in 1877, at John Taylor's request, it was re-opened on a very limited basis to serve the needs of the youth who wanted to marry and the aged and infirm who could not make the trip south. By late 1879, the Endowment House had returned to its regular schedule but never enjoyed the patronage of earlier days.

A target of the antipolygamy raids and cohabitation trials of the 1880s and a symbol of what some perceived as continued permission to practice plural marriage, the Endowment House was finally torn down in November 1889 on order of President Wilford Woodruff. See B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 139–40.

62. These figures are given in Tingen, "Endowment House, 1855–1889," 15.

63. Said Brigham Young on this matter of children: "Children born unto parents before the latter enter into the fulness of the covenants [endowment], have to be sealed to them in a Temple to become legal heirs of the Priesthood. It is true they can receive the ordinances, they can receive their endowments and be blessed in common with their parents; but still the parents cannot claim them legally and lawfully in eternity unless they are sealed to them." *Journal of Discourses*, 16:186–87, September 4, 1873.

64. As one careful student of the Mormon Reformation has observed, "Consecration was never a major consideration during the Reformation of 1856–57, the stress being placed instead on payment of tithes. This lack of emphasis on consecration was deliberate as Reformation missionaries were instructed . . . to be cautious and circumspect when discussing it with Church members." See Paul H. Peterson, "The Mormon Reformation" (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1981; Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2002), 37–38.

As for the practice of rebaptism, it flowered during the Reformation and became a "binding directive." Brigham Young set the pattern himself by being rebaptized on October 2, 1856, as was Heber C. Kimball. Peterson, "Mormon Reformation," 66.

65. Joseph Young, Address, *Journal History*, April 18, 1857.

66. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 6:71, August 23, 1862.

67. In the fall of 1860, Brigham Young delivered a talk concerning the return to Missouri: "Brother Brigham showed how we should return to Jackson County, Missouri. The Lord would open the way before us. Said that he asked no odds of our enemies or their riches and expected to see the time when we should ride in our carriages while they were naked and barefoot. . . . [He] touched on the resurrection and ordinances pertaining to the Dead." Walker, *Diary*, October 21, 1860, 177.

68. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 10:254, October 6, 1863. See also *Journal History*, October 9, 1863. On another occasion when referring to the building of the Salt Lake Temple he said that it "was for the use of the Priesthood for them to receive instructions in." He said, "We were but babes and sucklings in the things of God. Said he wished to build a Temple to the Holiness of the Lord." Walker, *Diary*, October 8, 1860, 175; see also Gordon Irving, "The Law of Adoption: One Phase of Development of the Mormon Concept of Salvation, 1830–1900" *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (1974): 291–314, especially 308.

69. *Journal History*, October 23, 1864.

70. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 16:186, September 4, 1873.

71. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 16:187–88, September 4, 1873. Years later, Brigham said, "The Lord permitted us to erect an Endowment House in this city. This we have used for many years, and many ordinances have been administered therein; but there are other important ordinances which have not been, and cannot be, administered except in a Temple built and dedicated to the Most High for that purpose." First Presidency and the Twelve, To the Bishops and Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Residing in the Various Settlements throughout these Mountains, October 25, 1876, St. George Temple Letter file, Church Archives, as quoted in Curtis, "History of the St. George Temple," 106–9.

72. Walker, *Diary*, October 5 and 6, 1872.

73. James Bleak, *Diary*, January 21, 1871, Perry Special Collections.

74. Walker, Diary, April 15, 1871, 418. The groundbreaking of the St. George Temple took place November 9, 1871, with Brigham Young turning the first shovelful of earth and George Albert Smith offering the dedicatory prayer. Walker, Diary, November 9, 1871, 427.

75. Bleak, Diary, November 3–5, 1871. See also James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Mission,” Book “B,” 1:175–80. As John Taylor put it, “It was found that our Temple in Salt Lake City would take such a long time to build, it was thought best to erect one down here. Why? Because there was a people living here who were more worthy than any others. Who were more worthy of the blessings of a Temple than those who had displayed the self-abnegation exhibited by the pioneers of the south?” *Journal of Discourses*, 23:14, November 9, 1881; see also Janice Force DeMille, *The St. George Temple: First 100 Years* (Hurricane, Utah: Homestead Publishers, 1977), 5.

76. Walker, Diary, December 29, 1871, 431. Sung to the tune “Marching to Georgia.”

77. Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 57.

78. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, 146.

79. Brigham Young, March 18, 1874, in “Annals of the Southern Mission.”

80. Brigham Young to the Saints at St. George, January 16, 1876, in “Annals of the Southern Mission.” Evidence points to the fact that later temples would also be built on this premise. Speaking at the St. George Tabernacle in November 1876, Brigham Young said that “there was no difference between temporal and spiritual things in the Kingdom of God. Wished the people to engage in building temples—one in Logan, Cache Valley, and one in Manti, Sanpete County.” Walker, Diary, November 12, 1876, 555.

81. George A. Smith, talk given December 25, 1874, in “Annals of the Southern Mission.” In response, “the hands of the assemblage rose as the hands of one man in token that they were willing to use their powers and substance in building up the temple and the Kingdom of God on the earth.”

82. Walker, Diary, January 12, 1873, 455.

83. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:430–31, July 23, 1844, see also 1:264, July 1, 1838.

84. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:177, May 29, 1842.

85. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:55, January 20, 1875.

86. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 6:390, January 15, 1868.

87. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:277, June 20, 1876.

88. See Richard O. Cowan, “History of Latter-day Saint Temples from 1831 to 1990,” *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4:1450–52.

89. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:303–11, January 1, 1877. The Endowment House was closed in late 1876 to encourage temple attendance in St. George. Under John Taylor, however, it reopened until 1889.

90. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 18:303–4, January 1, 1877. See also Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:316–17, January 1, 1877.

91. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:314–15, January 1, 1877.

92. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:318, January 1, 1877.

93. Orson Huntsman, Diary, January 1, 1877, Perry Special Collections. Besides baptisms for the dead, rebaptisms of the living “for health” were occasionally performed. “Today my wife was baptized seven times in the font for her health.” Bigler, July 9, 1878, 129–30.

94. Walker, Diary, January 9, 1877, 569. Surely this brought back fond memories for Elder Woodruff, for on November 21, 1841, he had been in attendance in the Nauvoo Temple when the font was first used for baptisms for the dead. See Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 2:138–39, November 21, 1841.

95. Annals of the Southern Mission, Book “B”, January 11, 1877, 3:692; see also Journal History, January 11, 1877.

96. Raleigh, Journal, February 12, 1877.

97. Raleigh, Journal, February 15, 1877, 210. This particular vail had been brought down from Salt Lake City by Raleigh which D. H. Wells had intrusted to him especially for the occasion. Raleigh, Journal, November 29, 1876. A third vail was soon added which allowed a faster flow through.

98. Raleigh, Journal, February 16, 1877, 210.

99. Raleigh, Journal, February 24, 1877, 211. Wilford Woodruff refers to beginning the book of record as early as January 14, 1877. See Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:322, January 14, 1877. Refinements would, of course, be made over the years with Wilford Woodruff playing a central role. As late as 1893, as aging President of the Church, Wilford Woodruff and all four temple presidents of that time “spent three hours in harmonizing” aspects of the endowment. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 9:267, October 17, 1893; see also Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991), 192.

100. Wilford Woodruff, signed statement, March 26, 1883, entitled “History of the St. George Temple. Its Cost and Dedication and the Labor Therein,” in Letter File of David H. Cannon, Church Archives.

101. Journal History, March 21, 1877.

102. Walker, Diary, April 7, 1877, 584. Nine days later, Brigham Young left St. George for the last time and on the way back to Salt Lake City dedicated the site for a temple at Manti on April 25, 1877. Less than a month later, on May 18, he dedicated the ground for the Logan Temple.

By the end of January, Brigham Young was ready to make further temple assignments. On January 31, he appointed the following to officiate in the St. George Temple: Wilford Woodruff to preside and as workers John D. T. McAllister, Henry Eyring, David H. Cannon, James G. Bleak, Henry W. Bigler, John L. Smith, Anson P. Winsor, John Lytle, William Fawcett, John M. Moody, John O. Angus, William H. Thompson, Alonzo H. Raleigh, L. John Nuttall, Jesse W. Crosby, and Alexander F. MacDonald. Among the sisters, he called Minerva W. Snow, Lucy B. Young, Annie L. I. Ivina, Eliza S. Calkin, Eudora L. Young, Sarah A. Church, Hannah G. Perkins, Hanna E. B. Crosby, Susan A. Y. Dunford, Frances C. Brown, Elizabeth P. Bentley, Sarah P. Alger, Annie T. Wells, and Nariette S. B. Calkin. Journal History, January 31, 1877.

103. Raleigh, Journal, March 31, 1877, 213.

104. “At Sunday School in the A.M. P.M. at meeting Bro. [Erastus] Snow and Woodruff preached very powerful discourses on the importance of the Saints availing themselves of the opportunity now offered and do the work necessary for the dead.” Walker, Diary, January 21, 1877, 571.

105. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:344, April 10, 1877.

106. The practice was ended by Wilford Woodruff just seventeen years later with the instructions that all families were to be sealed solely to their own ancestors. For more on this topic, see Irving, “Law of Adoption,” 291–314. See also Bennett, *Mormons as the Missouri*, 191–95.

107. From a talk by Brigham Young as recorded in Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 3:136–37, February 16, 1847.

108. From a talk by Brigham Young as recorded in Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 3:130–32, February 16, 1847. LDS Church Archivist Gordon Irving, in writing on this topic, corroborates this view. “Inasmuch as the Priesthood had been lost through apostasy, a new and higher law of adoption was presented whereby Mormons could be ‘grafted’ into the patriarchal order, thus becoming ‘legal heirs’ and acquiring the ‘fathers in the Priesthood’ necessary to link each one to the chain of families built up in the days of the patriarchs.” Irving, “Law of Adoption,” 294.

109. Besides such work for themselves, patrons who performed endowments for their deceased kin would then proceed to have them adopted into priesthood lines. Many chose to have deceased relatives “adopted into the same family into which they had been adopted so all could be together in the celestial kingdom.” Irving, “Law of Adoption,” 308.

110. Irving, “Law of Adoption,” 309–10.

111. Irving, “Law of Adoption,” 309.

112. Walker, Diary, January 29, 1877, 573. This is one of the earliest references of the phrase “to go through the temple”—reference to proxy endowment work for another. Later, on March 21, Walker “went through the Temple for a friend of Brother Folsom. This is the first time I have been through the endowments for the Dead. Reuben Clark was the one I went through for. I felt happy and blessed.” Walker, Diary, March 21, 1877, 578. Walker and others performed such temple work often for friends before performing it for family members.

113. Raleigh, *Journal*, February 27, 1877, 211. Wrote Raleigh for March 16, 1877, 212: “Had four persons go through for my friends of youthful times.”

114. Orson Welcome Huntsman, Diary, March 8, 1877, p. 105, typescript, Huntington Library.

115. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:325, February 1, 1877.

116. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:331, March 1, 1877.

117. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:332–33, March 1, 1877. Confirming this point, Wilford Woodruff recorded six years later that “through the Blessings of God [I] have been Enabled in Connexion with my family, of being Baptized for about 3,000 of my Dead Relatives and Also through the Assistance of friend[s] I have been Enabled to get Endowments in the Temple of St George for about 2,500 of my relatives.” Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 8:156, March 1, 1883.

118. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:359, July 5, 1877.

119. See Brian H. Stuy, “Wilford Woodruff’s Vision of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence,” *Journal of Mormon History* 26 (Spring 2000): 64–90, for one of the best and most recent studies of this event.

120. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:369, August 21, 1877.

121. Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 19:229, September 16, 1877.

122. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:369, August 21, 1877.

123. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 7:369, August 21–24, 1877. Whether or not Wilford Woodruff knew these men had been previously baptized, as Stuy argues, is incidental. The key point is that Wilford Woodruff “felt an anxiety about redeeming the souls of these distinguished figures and acted upon it.” Stuy, “Woodruff’s Vision,” 81.

124. Wilford Woodruff, 64th Annual Conference of the Church in the Tabernacle, Salt Lake City, April 8, 1894, found in *Collected Discourses Delivered by President Wilford Woodruff, His Two Counselors, The Twelve Apostles, and Others (1894–1896)*, ed. Brian H. Stuy, 4 vols. (Burbank: BHS Publishing, 1991), 4:71–72.

125. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 3:134–35, February 16, 1847.

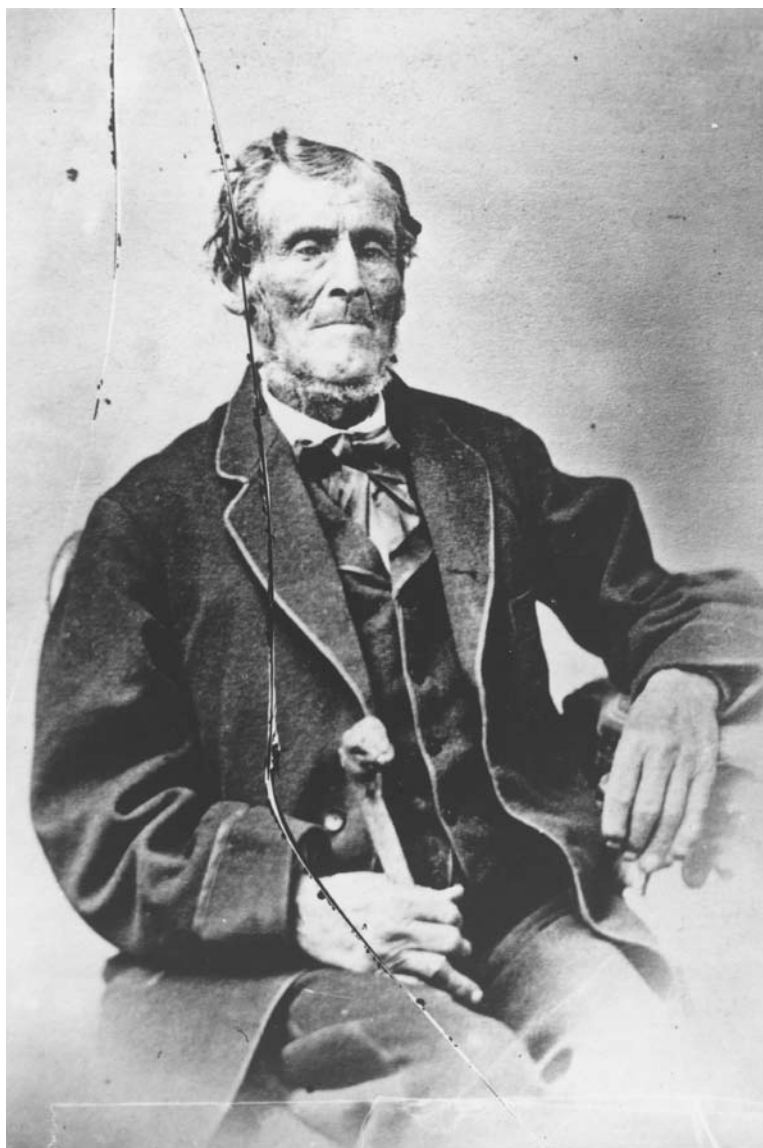
126. Boyd K. Packer, *The Holy Temple* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1991), 196.

127. Woodruff, *Journal 1833–1898*, 4:391, January 13, 1856.

128. Henry W. Bigler, *Journal*, December 29, 1877, Huntington Library. Other temple ordinances included baptisms for health, ordinations of deceased elders and high priests, marriages for both the living and the dead, sealings of living and of dead children to parents.

129. Bigler, *Journal*, June 27, 1879, Huntington Library.

130. “News of the Church,” *Ensign* 18 (November 1988): 111.



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FIG. 1. Martin Harris (1783–1875). Harris was one of the Three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon.

A Witness in England

Martin Harris and the Strangite Mission

Robin Scott Jensen

Throughout his long life, Martin Harris (fig. 1) consistently testified that he knew Joseph Smith translated the Book of Mormon from golden plates. At first affiliated with Joseph Smith and the main body of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, for a time Harris associated with a schism led by James J. Strang. He served a mission in England in 1846 for the Strangites,¹ but he claimed to the end of his life that he had never preached against Mormonism or against the Book of Mormon.² Indeed, he was a powerful witness of the Book of Mormon during his mission.

Martin Harris was closely associated with Joseph Smith at the time of the founding of the LDS Church. He contributed significant funds for the costs of printing the Book of Mormon. Soon thereafter, Harris, along with Oliver Cowdery and David Whitmer, became the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon. The three declared that an angel of God had shown them the golden plates.³ After years of selfless service, Harris distanced himself from the LDS Church, although he still believed in a majority of its teachings.

Harris's detachment was in part due to the failure of the Kirtland Safety Society in 1837.⁴ Harris began to doubt the continued inspiration of Joseph Smith, and when the Church moved from Ohio, Harris remained behind, residing in Kirtland until 1870. He then moved to Utah and was rebaptized into the LDS Church, remaining a member until his death in 1875. However, even during his time away from the LDS Church, he remained adamant about the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon.

During his years in Kirtland, Harris was involved with many different churches: the main body of the LDS Church, schismatic groups (including

the Strangites), and other churches not at all affiliated with the doctrines of Joseph Smith. Before becoming involved with the Strangites, Harris was a member of the Church of Christ along with Warren Parrish, Luke Johnson, and other former Saints.⁵ By 1844, Harris was affiliated with the Shakers in Kirtland. It was rumored that Harris was “a firm believer in Shakerism,” so much so that “his testimony is greater [in Shakerism] than it was of the Book of Mormon.”⁶ In contrast, William Capener, a Latter-day Saint who knew Harris and later went to England with Harris, said, “Harris visited their home often and . . . where ever [Capener] saw Martin Harris he always had a book of Mormon under his arm.”⁷

Robin Scott Jensen

My interest in the history of James J. Strang and the people who followed him began when I discovered that my great-great-grandfather, William Capener, then a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints for only a few years, joined Strangism. Having heard very little of Strang and being naive concerning the environment of the LDS Church at the time of Joseph Smith, I did not understand how my ancestor could have left



the Church. Now, after three years of studying Strangism, I not only understand why he made that choice, but I am impressed that he showed his faith in the Mormonism he knew by following Strang.

I also found Martin Harris’s involvement with Strangism to be a fascinating story of a man with strong religious convictions who was not sure how to express them. Harris’s and Capener’s religious searchings represent many people who believed in Mormon tenets during the succession crisis but chose different religious paths. To label these two men and the many other women and men like them as “apostates” is to do injustice to their genuine faith in Mormonism.

James Strang and the Strangite Church

After the deaths of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in June 1844, confusion and aggression over the question of succession spread within the Church. Among those attempting to establish themselves as the leader was James J. Strang (fig. 2). Strang's claim to succession was founded upon a letter said to have come from Joseph Smith, dated just days prior to Smith's death, in which Smith appointed Strang to be the next leader of the Church. The main body of the LDS Church, as well as other schismatic groups, denied the letter's existence and rejected Strang's succession,⁸ but Strang quickly gained a following large enough to continue, in his and many of his followers' view, leading the church set up by Joseph Smith.⁹

Strang's claim was not based on lengthy membership in the Church, since he had been baptized only months before Smith died. Strang was born in Scipio, New York.¹⁰ He was sickly as a child and developed into a short and frail man, but his strong mental capacity compensated for any physical weakness he may have had. Strang was an intelligent man, at times described as a genius, being "a man of unusual talents in many respects."¹¹ Strang read extensively, skillfully retained his knowledge, and was a charismatic speaker and debater. He practiced law, but soon moved to other tasks, becoming the local postmaster and the editor of the Randolph, New York, *Herald*. His uncle-in-law, Moses Smith, an early convert to the LDS Church in Wisconsin, enticed Strang to the territory of Wisconsin. While there, Strang learned more about the LDS Church and traveled to Nauvoo, where, in February 1844, he was baptized by Joseph Smith. After the martyrdom, Strang made his claim for leadership based on the letter and also claimed that at the moment Joseph and Hyrum Smith lay dead at Carthage, Strang was anointed by an angel to be the successor of the

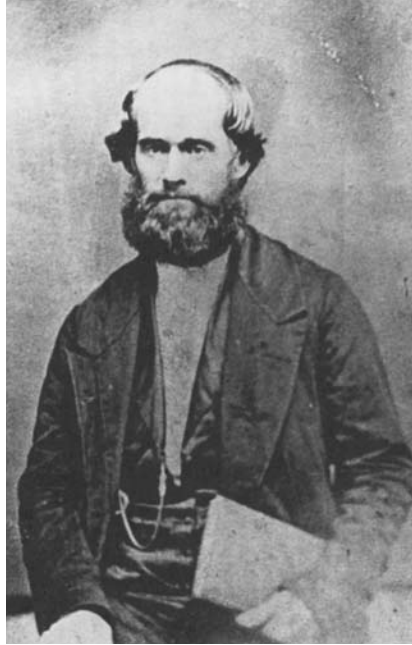


FIG. 2. James J. Strang (1813–1856).

Courtesy Church Archives © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

church. This and other claims of miraculous visions and events proved to many that Strang could rightfully assume the appointment of prophet of the church.¹²

To distance his group from the main body of the Church, Strang excommunicated Brigham Young and other members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles.¹³ As evidence that he was divinely appointed, Strang expressed approval of Joseph Smith as a prophet of God and never rejected the Book of Mormon or the Doctrine and Covenants. He further displayed his prophetic prowess by claiming to receive a revelation of the location of ancient plates buried under a tree. Four witnesses dug up the plates, and Strang translated them, unveiling a sacred prophecy that a prophet would be raised up after the forerunner was killed.¹⁴

Many frustrated Latter-day Saints who were unable to conscientiously follow the Twelve nor ignore the rumors of polygamy looked to Strang for leadership. Martin Harris was one such devotee. The degree to which Harris believed in Strang as Joseph Smith's rightful successor cannot be unearthed easily, but he certainly was affiliated with Strang. It is most likely that Harris was not baptized into the Strangite Church; most of Strang's followers formerly affiliated with the LDS Church were not. Strang, in speaking about baptism, said, "When you have a new presiding Elder in your branch do you all go and be baptized again? No. . . . It is never necessary to be baptized again because some other person has been appointed to a particular priesthood."¹⁵ Harris attended a Strangite meeting and was put in the high council, presumably in connection with the office of high priest that he had held since 1831. Had Harris not been a believer of the position that Strang put forth, he would have rejected the offer to be a member of the Strangite high council.¹⁶

Strang Calls His Missionaries

In August 1846, the newly organized Strangite Church held a conference in the Kirtland Temple, at which they established a stake and set apart missionaries for the spreading of the religion beyond American boundaries, namely in England.¹⁷ Strang saw an expedition to England, a source of many Latter-day Saint converts, as critical to his success. In writing of the LDS branches in England, he said that they were "in great confusion in consequence of the . . . oppressions of the Brighamites," and continued by saying that it "is necessary to preach the true order to them now before a general apostacy shall take place."¹⁸ The missionaries called were Martin Harris, Lester Brooks (who, at the same conference, was ordained an Apostle), Moses Smith (already a Strangite Apostle),¹⁹ Hazen

Aldrich,²⁰ and unnamed “Highpriests with several Elders.”²¹ Of the four who were named, only Harris and Brooks actually went to England; of the unnamed high priests and elders, only one elder, William Capener, is known to have gone to England.²²

Brooks, before joining the Strangites, had been a local leader in the LDS Church at Kirtland. When Joseph Smith called for the Kirtland Stake to be reorganized in 1840, the leader of the stake, Almon Babbitt, chose Brooks as one of his counselors.²³ Besides serving in the presidency of the stake, Brooks, a member as early as 1837, did much in Ohio to further the causes of the LDS Church, including acting as clerk for many meetings and also later being the presiding elder in Kirtland.²⁴ Precisely when he joined Strang is not entirely clear. In late 1844, Brigham Young appointed many high priests, including Brooks, to “preside over the branches . . . to go and settle down, where they can take their families.”²⁵ However, by May 1846, Brooks is mentioned as working for the Strangite cause, and by the August conference that same year, Brooks was ordained an Apostle in the Strangite Church.²⁶

In 1846, William Capener had been a member of the LDS Church for only two years. Capener moved to America from England in 1834, and six years later was working as a carpenter in the shipyards of Cleveland, Ohio. While in Ohio, Capener became acquainted with Thomas Wilson, a leader of the Cleveland LDS Branch. Capener was soon baptized and thereafter ordained an elder in the Kirtland Temple in January 1845.²⁷ By October 1845, he was still a member of the LDS Church, being mentioned in LDS conference minutes.²⁸ Like Brooks, the date Capener joined Strang is unknown; however, by October 1846, all three Strangite missionaries were on their way to England.

LDS Leaders and Missionaries in England in 1846

Strang was not wrong when he wrote that Mormons in England were in “confusion.”²⁹ Not only was the Church in England shaken by the news of the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, but Reuben Hedlock, the presiding leader of the LDS Church in England, was accused of embezzling from the LDS Church–sponsored Joint Stock Company.³⁰ Leaders of the LDS Church, perhaps spurred by news of the financial difficulty in England, sent an increased number of missionaries over to England in 1846.

Many of the LDS missionaries had contact with Strangism before leaving America and were prepared to encounter the Strangite trio in England. For example, in February 1846, Samuel W. Richards, an LDS missionary

called to England, “attended meeting at the [Nauvoo] temple [and heard] Preaching by Orson Pratt, followed by Moses Smith, who presented the claims of ‘Strang,’ as President of the Church. He was followed by Brigham Young and Orson Hyde, who used him up, by tearing down the Principles of his foundation. When by vote of church, Moses Smith . . . was disfellowshipped by the Church and J. J. Strang, given over to the Devil.”³¹ Other LDS missionaries had experiences similar to Richards’s, and many went to England prepared to combat the new schism.

After hearing of the difficulties transpiring in the LDS Church in England, Brigham Young sent three of the Twelve Apostles to England: Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor. Orson Hyde already had experience combating the growth of Strangism in Nauvoo.³² The three Apostles were instructed to ask the British government to give the LDS Church Vancouver Island as a colony. Along with talking with government officials, the three were to investigate English LDS leaders Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward for their involvement in the fiscal difficulties relating to the Joint Stock Company.³³ Many English Latter-day Saints had invested considerable sums, much of which was now lost, leading to distrust and dissension. In due course, Hedlock was excommunicated, but not before damaging the trust of many English LDS Church members.

The three LDS Apostles, on arriving in England, set about immediately to disband the Joint Stock Company. Anticipating the arrival of the Strangites in England, they also began to prepare the LDS Saints in England to reject the “apostates.” The *Millennial Star* spoke out strongly against Strang, Brooks, and Harris before they even set foot on English shores, and the printed attacks intensified after they arrived. LDS leaders in England preached against them in meetings as well. In one of the first meetings that the LDS Apostles attended, Orson Hyde made several remarks against Strang: “When Jesus left the earth, who stepped in between him and the Twelve Apostles to preside over the church? No one! But if Strang had lived at that period, he would have attempted it. . . . To talk of appointing another in Joseph Smith’s place . . . exhibits a specimen of the most consummate ignorance, stupidity, and willful blindness.”³⁴ LDS missionary Lucius Scovil spoke in a meeting against the “course and conduct of Martin Harris, Strang and company and others.”³⁵

The Three Strangite Missionaries in England

Upon arrival in England, Martin Harris and the other two Strangite missionaries began to work. On October 25, 1846, the LDS Birmingham Branch was assembled in a conference to discuss the gospel and review

business. Martin Harris, perhaps with the other Strangites, came to the meeting as an “advocate for Strang.”³⁶ Of Harris’s efforts, Cyrus Wheelock recorded the following:

This day we held our quarterly Conference and had Large Congregation the forenoon was Occupied by the Business of the Conference in the afternoon our Conference was hounered by the August presence of Martin Harris who had Came all the way from America to tell of the wonderful things performed by the wicked Twelve apostles and also that he was a wittnys of the Book of Morman and Brotherinlaw to Presdt B Yong I felt it my Duty to give a short history of the Character of said H[arris] which seemed to be anything but Edifying to him he was verry Desirous of speaking but the Conference with united voice informed him that they did not need his instructions he Reluctantly withdrew

he however he was not to be put of[f] so he must and would preach and Accordingly Decampt to the Street and Cammenced holding forth to the annoyance of the people while thus [engaged] t[w]o policemen Verry politely wa[i]ted upon him Each affectionately taking an arm and thus the Curtain fell and the Drama Closed to the great Amusement of the Spectators.³⁷

Harris, though led away by the policemen, was probably not convicted, as he was soon after found at another meeting.³⁸

This encounter had a lasting impression upon the Saints’ view of Harris. Years later in Utah, Harris’s son Martin Harris Jr. reported that Wheelock had told the congregation in that 1846 meeting that Harris “was cut off from the church and that the curse of God was resting upon him.”³⁹ Such talk pained the Harris family, as Martin had never denied his Book of Mormon testimony.

Charles Derry, later a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, provides another record of the Birmingham meeting:

My first wife . . . told me that she saw him [Martin Harris] in Birmingham, in the Saint’s Meeting House. He had gone there from this land to oppose the pretentions of Brigham Young and the Twelve apostles, who were then laying the foundations for polygamy and the Brighamite rule. A young man of her acquaintance, in the presence of the assembly, presented to him his testimony with his name in connection with the other two witnesses’ names, and asked him if that was his name. Martin replied, “It is.” “Did you put your name to that testimony?” Martin answered, “I did; and that Book of Mormon is the Book of God. I know more about that book than any man living.”⁴⁰

Another member at the conference later recollects that

an elderly man [at the conference] asked permission to speak a few words to us. . . . [Cyrus Wheelock] told us that it was Martin Harris, an

apostate from the faith; that he had abused him and his brethren coming across the sea, and he would not allow him to speak. . . . When we came out of the meeting Martin Harris was beset with a crowd in the street, expecting that he would furnish them with material to war against Mormonism; but when he was asked if Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God, he answered yes; and when asked if the Book of Mormon was true, this was his answer: "Do you know that is the sun shining on us? Because as sure as you know that, I know that Joseph Smith was a true prophet of God, and that he translated that book by the power of God."⁴¹

These recollections show that Harris, though choosing a different path from the majority of the audience at Birmingham, stayed true to his testimony of Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon—a common foundation of belief that he held with the English Saints.

Lester Brooks, after his mission, wrote several letters to members of the Strangite leadership explaining what transpired in England. He complained of the presence of so many "Brighamites" in England. "All [the Brighamites'] bullies . . . [are] over evry Conference and over evry large branch of the Church. [T]hey are determined to maintain the ground in that Country at all hazards."⁴² The Birmingham conference, with its unwelcoming attitude, foreshadowed what was to come of the Strangite cause in England.

Already distanced from the English LDS Church members as a result of the statements printed in the *Millennial Star*, Harris attended another meeting, where clues hint that he was beginning to separate from the Strangites as well. At Birkenhead, close to Liverpool, apparently near to the time of the Birmingham conference, Harris again encountered LDS opposition:

Elder [James] Marsdon, of this town [Liverpool], handled them [Harris and presumably Brooks] so effectually in Birkenhead, and made Strangism look so contemptibly mean, that Martin [Harris] publicly denied being sent by Strang, or being in any way, connected with him. This he did in presence of many witnesses, and not in some remote region where nobody could ascertain the fact, but here in Birkenhead, where we all know it.⁴³

Many members, both LDS and Strangite, began to see the folly of taking Harris to England on a Strangite mission. Orson Hyde, in his notice of the arrival of Harris, said Harris was "afraid or ashamed of his profession as a Strangite . . . [and] he tells some of our brethren on whom he called, that he was of the same profession with themselves. . . . [but the] very countenance of Harris will show to every spiritual-minded person who sees him, that the wrath of God is upon him."⁴⁴ Harris became the target of both the

LDS leaders in England as well as the Strangite missionaries, who felt that it was time for Harris to end his mission.

Despite Harris's apparent change of heart, LDS Apostles Hyde, Pratt, and Taylor did not relent in attacking Harris and his companions. By means of the *Millennial Star*, the LDS Apostles provided the English Latter-day Saints with "Sketches of Notorious Characters,"⁴⁵ in which they presented short descriptions of three individuals: James Strang, Lester Brooks, and Martin Harris. The description of Strang began, "Successor of Sidney Rigdon, Judas Iscariot, Cain . . . & Co. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Gracious Majesty, Lucifer."⁴⁶ The other sketches were similar in nature. The LDS Apostles accused Brooks of teaming up with one Nelson Millet, who swindled the Saints in Ohio out of money in a bogus speculation scheme.⁴⁷ The longest of the three sketches featured Harris having "yielded to the spirit and temptation of the Devil a number of years ago . . . [being] filled with the rage and madness of a demon. One day he would be one thing, and another day another thing."⁴⁸ Despite that rhetoric, the Apostles stated, "We do not feel to warn the Saints against Harris, for his own unbridled tongue will soon show out specimens of folly enough to give any person a true index to the character of the man."⁴⁹ It seems Harris could not satisfy anyone in England.

As the leaders of the LDS Church in England censured the Strangite envoy, the Strangite mission found yet more difficulty while in England. This event involved the LDS Apostles indirectly with all three Strangite missionaries. The *Millennial Star*, with Hyde and Taylor as editors, convey the story:

We thought proper to send them [Harris, Brooks, and Capener] an invitation to meet with us, as their operations had been mostly limited to one or two persons who had been excommunicated from our church for some time. We thought that if the Lord had sent them, they might accept our invitation and come, but if the devil had sent them, we were confident they would not come to the light.⁵⁰

Accordingly, they sent the invitation by Elder Thomas Brown, who left it with the Styles family—new Strangite converts recently excommunicated from the LDS Church who were housing the Strangite missionaries.⁵¹ The Strangite missionaries were not there at the time, but the LDS Apostles sent Elder Isaac Brockbank, well before the meeting was to start, to see that Harris and his companions had received the letter. The *Millennial Star* continues, "[Brockbank] found that they had received [the letter] in due time, but declined improving the admirable opportunity which we offered them on this occasion."⁵² The LDS Apostles, who in America had

refused a public meeting with Strang, in turn offered the same to Strang's missionaries, only to be refused themselves.⁵³

Sometime during their sojourn in England, Lester Brooks wrote back to James Strang the news of the progress of the Strangite Church's foreign mission. Though the letter is not extant, a summary of it was printed in *Zion's Reveille*:

L. Brooks (the apostle) writes from Liverpool the most cheering intelligence. Although the . . . *Brighamatic clique* had forestalled public opinion, and placed every possible obstacle in the way, many of the brethren stood ready to receive the truth. . . . The apostate[s] . . . could not so pervert the right ways of the Lord as to turn the saints from the true faith. The brethren in the Isle of Man have written Brother Brooks to visit them, the *interdiction* of . . . John Taylor . . . to the contrary notwithstanding. The church may soon expect interesting and highly important information from that quarter. Martin Harris and William Capner, from Ohio, are the travelling companions of Brother Brooks. May Prosperity crown their efforts.⁵⁴

Even before this announcement in the Strangite newspaper, Strang had written that the work in England was "progressing."⁵⁵ The LDS Apostles in England were quick to counter this report, and the Strangite missionaries would eventually find that prosperity would not crown their efforts.⁵⁶

There is another probable appearance of Harris that is important to discuss but impossible to place. The difficulty of relying on this event is that only one person is known to have recorded the incident. Though the event may be the same as that reported from Birkenhead, it appears more likely that this occurrence is distinct. Joseph Tuttle, writing to a Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints newspaper, relates that Martin Harris stopped at his house in America both before and after traveling to England. Harris related to Tuttle that he was going to England to "destroy the work [of Mormonism] as far as everything pertaining to it except the connection [Harris] had with the Book of Mormon."⁵⁷ Tuttle tried to convince Harris otherwise, but Harris said his "mind was fully made up that he would deliver a course of lectures against Mormonism."⁵⁸ Tuttle continues that when Harris arrived in England, he

rented a hall; had large circulars posted, announcing that Martin Harris, one of the three special witnesses to the Book of Mormon, would . . . lecture to the people, exposing Mormonism; and all were invited to come and hear. . . . 'I remember,' said Martin Harris [to Tuttle upon returning from England], 'of announcing my subject to the people, and of feeling a pain at my heart when I saw that little handful of Saints sitting before me, and realized that what I had to say would be as death to them; but I know of nothing more, I can tell you of nothing which occurred until [after speaking] I found myself surrounded by those Saints, who, with

streaming eyes and broken utterances, were thanking me for the glorious manner in which I had defended the faith, and the powerful testimony I had borne to the truth of the work.⁵⁹

In attempting to “destroy the work” of Mormonism, Harris found that his testimony of the Book of Mormon confirmed the faith of the LDS Saints.

A Mission Cut Short

Martin Harris, when he left America, had planned “to go to Europe and remain there one year or more.”⁶⁰ His “one year” would actually turn into less than two months. With Harris failing to testify of Strangism, Lester Brooks decided to end Harris’s mission. Brooks wrote to a fellow Strangite that if “Martin Harris ever knew any thing about the principles of the gospel he has lost that knowledge.”⁶¹ Harris’s departure from Strangism never stopped him from proclaiming the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon. Preaching Strangism, however, was what Brooks needed Harris to accomplish. Brooks, seeing Harris fail in his mission, began to do all he could to stop Harris.

With the probable help of Capener, Brooks “saw fit to persuade Martin [Harris] to return to America, which [Harris] did by way of Liverpool.”⁶² Because Martin Harris had the potential of being such a great asset to the Strangites, one can safely conclude that though Harris bore a powerful testimony of the Book of Mormon, there was a rift between what Harris taught and the Strangite doctrine. The distance between Brooks and Harris was finalized, and Brooks claimed later that he did not “want to go to the heaven that . . . Harris will lead men to.”⁶³

The LDS Saints in England, however, were not as negatively affected as Brooks. Less than half a year after Harris had left England, the *Millennial Star*, in considering Harris’s standing in the church, wrote this of Martin Harris:

now that [Harris] is *not* numbered among us, and has since been in this country, has any one ever heard him say that Joseph Smith—a prophet of God—was a bad man, or addicted to visionary habits? or that the Book of Mormon was not true? or that this work was not of God? No! and he is miserable until he again be numbered with us. I pray my Father that he may do what is right, and again be numbered and saved in the Kingdom of God.⁶⁴

On December 8, 1846, less than one and a half months after their first documented meeting in England, Harris and Brooks arrived in New York.⁶⁵ Brooks reported to James M. Adams, a leader in the Strangite Church, and told of his difficulties in England.⁶⁶ Brooks said he suffered from ill health the entire time in England, but he did not come back

because of his health. "I thought it very necessary that Martin Harris leave that country and there was no other way only for me to come with him."⁶⁷ Brooks continued to Adams, "The Brighamites have as many as fifty [missionaries] . . . in England . . . they teach that Brigham Young was appointed President of the Church by revaluation."⁶⁸ Brooks also told Adams that "the work is well begun in that Country[.] Brother William Capner from Cleveland I left in Charge."⁶⁹

With Harris and Brooks home from their mission, Strang naturally was concerned with continuing his movement in England. Brooks, in two letters written shortly after his return home, expressed a desire to return himself, but certainly not with Harris. Brooks expressed a desire to have "Br Strang if possible Brother Greenhow Br. Page [and] William Smith"⁷⁰ sent over to England. And several months later, at the annual conference, it was proposed that "John Greenhow, W[illiam] Smith, (patriarch,) and John E. Page (if his circumstances will admit) [will] go on a mission to England."⁷¹ However, in the same newspaper announcing these appointments, Greenhow's suspension of duties was also published, and he and William Smith shortly thereafter were excommunicated.⁷² Strang also excommunicated John E. Page before Page could get to England.

Robin Jensen's article on Martin Harris in England as a conflicted Strangite missionary is a laudable extension of this budding scholar's MA thesis on James J. Strang and his missionary endeavors of the late 1840s and early 1850s. Strang, a contender for Church leadership after the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, for a period of time posed a far more formidable challenge to Brigham Young's leadership than any other claimant—Sidney Rigdon included. Jensen's extensive research into primary sources sheds much new information not only on the complex personality of Martin Harris but also on how serious a problem Strang and his enthusiastic force of missionaries posed to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as it struggled to find a new refuge in the West.

—Richard Bennett, Brigham Young University

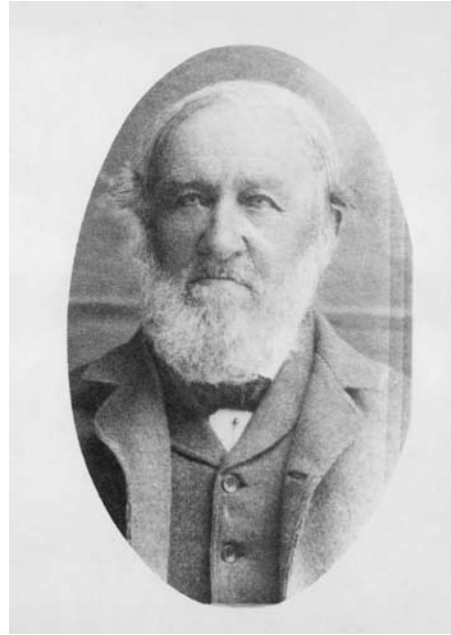
Aftermath

Strang, although leading his church for some time, would never again see the day when Strangite missionaries would return to England. James Strang continued leading the Strangite Church as its prophet, and later as self-proclaimed King of Beaver Island in Michigan, until a disaffected Strangite Church member killed him in 1856.

Lester Brooks, after his mission to England, stayed with the Strangites for several years. His faithfulness came into question on several occasions to the point of a possible excommunication, yet Brooks wrote several letters to Strang reaffirming his loyalty.⁷³ Having moved to New York by 1850, he did not “perform his duty as an apostle” and eventually, on July 6, 1850, it was moved and seconded in a conference that “the Priesthood be taken from Lester Brooks and given to some one that will fill the calling.”⁷⁴ In 1878, Lester Brooks died in New York.⁷⁵

For some unknown reason, when William Capener (fig. 3) returned from England, he had completely forsaken the Strangite movement and told Brigham Young he was prepared to go to Utah. Young instructed him instead to stay in Ohio and provide lodging for the traveling Mormon elders going on missions, which he did with much enthusiasm.⁷⁶ Back home in Cleveland among LDS Church members described as “warm hearted saints,”⁷⁷ he became the clerk for the branch. On one occasion he even helped the presiding LDS elder conduct Church business at Martin Harris’s home.⁷⁸ Capener migrated to Utah in 1852 and died in Centerville, Utah, in 1894.⁷⁹

After his mission to England, Martin Harris continued to testify of the Book of Mormon. Shortly after his return to America, Harris preached to a Strangite congregation. One witness praised him: “We also had Martin Harris, here about two weeks since, and was very glad to see him. We had often heard of him, but until then we never had the pleasure of seeing him.



Courtesy Robin Jensen

FIG. 3. William Capener (?–1894).

This man, although he has been buffeted and scoffed at by the world made our hearts glad in consequence of the unwavering testimony which he bore with regard to the origin of Mormonism.”⁸⁰ The majority of the Strangite Church, however, including Strang himself, agreed with Brooks when Brooks said that “the greatest blunder that ever I committed was in taking Harris to England.”⁸¹ Harris was perhaps excommunicated by Strang, or, just as likely, they simply went their separate ways, but by early 1847, Lester Brooks had heard that Harris was “at Kirtland Doing all he can against [James Strang].”⁸² Harris did not cease from exploring other churches. He joined William McLellin’s church for a time, and then several other organizations, yet he continued to preach the truthfulness of the Book of Mormon.⁸³ Harris dreamed of going to England again⁸⁴ but would remain in Kirtland until his move to Utah, where he died in 1875.

The Strangite mission with Harris, Brooks, and Capener exemplifies how Harris acted throughout his life. Though vacillating in his religious affiliation, Harris stayed firm to his testimony of the Book of Mormon. He turned for a time from Joseph Smith and the LDS Church but never from the Book of Mormon. When he died in Utah, his son wrote a letter to George A. Smith and, analyzing not only his last moments, but much of his life, Martin Harris Jr. wrote, “He [Martin Harris] has continued to talk about and testify to the truth of the Book of Mormon and was in his happiest mood when he could get somebody to listen to his testimony.”⁸⁵ True to the Book of Mormon and constantly seeking opportunities to preach of its truthfulness, no better statement can summarize the life of Martin Harris.

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The author is indebted to Dr. Richard Lloyd Anderson for many resources and materials used for this paper.

1. As this paper will deal with two different churches both based on the teachings and leadership of Joseph Smith, it will be necessary to differentiate between the two and stay uniform with that separation. The main body of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which followed Brigham Young, will be referred to as the LDS Church. Those who followed James Strang, also being called the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, will be called the Strangite Church, Strangites, or Strangism.

2. See, for example, Martin Harris to H. Emerson, January 1871, *Saints' Herald* (Plano, Ill.), October 15, 1875, 630. A reprint of this letter is found in *Millennial Star* 39 (January 1, 1877): 5.

3. "The Testimony of Three Witnesses," which is found in the introduction of the Book of Mormon.

4. Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981), 110.

5. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 164–66; and H. Michael Marquardt, "Martin Harris: The Kirtland Years, 1831–1870," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 35, no. 3 (2002): 1–40.

6. Phineas Young, J. Knight, Hiram Winters, and Ira Tuft to Brigham Young, December 31, 1844, transcribed into the Journal History of the Church, December 31, 1844, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives). For an explanation of Harris's alleged connection with the Shakers, see Anderson, *Book of Mormon Witnesses*, 165.

7. Louisa Rebeckah Taylor and Margaret Wicks Taylor Cluff, "Sketch of the Life of William Capener," n.d., 4, Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City.

8. Both John Taylor of the LDS Church and Joseph M. Cole of Sidney Rigdon's group claimed that they were with Joseph Smith the whole day the letter was supposed to have been written. Both said Smith did not write to Strang. Handwriting and postmarks were also compared with other letters sent out the same day. The argument against Strang was that Joseph Smith would have notified the leading councils if he had appointed a successor. Both contemporary and modern claims of the originality of the letter are mixed, but most today agree that it was a forgery. John Taylor, *Millennial Star* 8 (October 15, 1846): 94; Joseph M. Cole, "Communications," *Messenger and Advocate*, 1846, 480; Charles Eberstadt, "A Letter That Founded a Kingdom," *Autograph Collectors' Journal* (October 1950): 3–8; Richard E. Bennett, *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846–1848* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1997), 17–18; and Robin Scott Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest: Strangite Missionary Work, 1846–1850" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2005), 6.

According to a later report, Caleb Barnes reportedly stated that he, Strang, and two others "got up the letter of appointment, and that Joseph Smith was dead when they got it up, also that Strang dictated every word of it." The letter was supposedly a succession plan "for speculation, to sell lands which they owned where they intended to build Voree [Wisconsin]," and that Strang's "aim, in the first place, was to have Joseph Smith appoint a gathering place, or Stake, on their lands, but as Smith was killed about this time they changed their plans and concluded to make Strang Smith's successor and that would make a sure thing of building up Voree." Isaac F. Scott, "James J. Strang in Voree," *Saints' Herald*, December 29, 1888, 832.

9. For a good study on Strang's vie for power, see Milo M. Quaife, *The Kingdom of Saint James: A Narrative of the Mormons* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1930), 14–30; Bennett, *We'll Find the Place*, 12–18; and Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest."

10. Much of the information of this paragraph comes from Quaife, *Kingdom of Saint James*, 1–13. Strang was given the name Jesse James Strang, but he later changed his name to James Jesse Strang for unknown reasons.

11. "Narrative of Ludlow P. Hill," in Henry E. Legler, "A Moses of the Mormons," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society* 32 (1903): 213.

12. For more information about Strang's early career in Mormonism, see Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest," 3–12, and "A Record of the Establishment and Doings of the Stake of Zion Called Voree in Wisconsin, Made by the Scribes Appointed to That Office," 6–12, microfilm copy, Brigham Young University, original in private hands, hereafter cited as "Chronicles of Voree." The "Chronicles of Voree" is apparently a contemporary, dated journal of the Strangite Church of unknown authorship. A transcription of this manuscript has been compiled by John J. Hajicek (Burlington, Wisc.: J. J. Hajicek, 1992).

13. "Chronicles of Voree," 72–76.

14. "Chronicles of Voree," 26–31; Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest," 8–9.

15. "Re-Baptisms," *Voree Herald* March 1846: 1.

16. Martin Harris was "ordained to the High Priesthood" on June 3, 1831. Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *Far West Record: Minutes of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983), 7. For information on Martin Harris as a member of the Strangite High Council in Kirtland, see "Kirtland," *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 2. When called to England at the Kirtland council, Martin Harris is named a high priest. Strang to Brethren and Sisters, in "Chronicles of Voree," 102.

17. "Kirtland," *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 1.

18. "English Churches," *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 3.

19. Moses Smith was a member of the LDS Church as early as 1839. Failing to go to England because of internal division in the Strangite Church, Smith later moved away from Voree and died in 1849. For more information on Moses Smith, see David L. Clark, "Moses Smith: Wisconsin's First Mormon," *Journal of Mormon History* 21, no. 2 (1995): 155–70.

20. Hazen Aldrich had been a president of the LDS Church's original First Quorum of the Seventy in 1835–37. He was affiliated with the Strangites until 1848. Later, Aldrich is found in Ohio printing *The Olive Branch*, a paper sustaining another faction group led by James C. Brewster. D. Michael Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature, 1994), 535.

21. "Kirtland," *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 1; Strang to Brethren and Sisters, "Chronicles of Voree," 102.

22. It is likely that it was only these three that went to England. *Zion's Rev-eille*, a Strangite newspaper in Voree, Wisconsin, printed news from England and mentioned that "Martin Harris and William Capner [*sic*], from Ohio, are the travelling companions of Brother [Lester] Brooks." "News from England," *Zion's Rev-eille*, December 1846, 3.

23. See "Minutes of the General Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, held in Nauvoo, Hancock County, Ill. October 3rd 1840," *Times and Seasons* 1 (October 1840): 185–86, for the reestablishment of the stake of Kirtland. For the choosing of Brooks as a counselor, see "Minutes of a Conference, Held in Kirtland, Ohio, May 22nd 1841," *Times and Seasons* 2 (July 1, 1841): 458.

24. See *Times and Seasons* for the various conference minutes in Kirtland. For example: "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 2 (July 1, 1841): 458–60; "Conference Minutes," *Times and Seasons* 3 (November 5, 1841): 587–89; and "Conference Proceedings," *Times and Seasons* 4 (August 1, 1843): 282–86. See

also Lyndon W. Cook and Milton V. Backman Jr., eds., *Kirtland Elders' Quorum Record, 1836–1841* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Book, 1985), 74.

25. 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), 7:305–6.

26. *Voree Herald*, May 1846, 3; “Kirtland,” *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 1.

27. Very little is known of Capener's life in the LDS Church at this time. What little information there is comes from life sketches by Capener's daughter, Elizabeth Ann Capener Hardy, and others. However, the difficulty in relying on the life sketches of William Capener for his history is that, for whatever reason, the fact that Capener was a Strangite is ignored, and it is said that Capener went over to England simply to settle to some personal business.

28. “Minutes of a Conference Held in This, the Cleveland Branch, Ohio, October 30, 1845,” *Times and Seasons* 6 (November 15, 1845): 1030–31.

29. “English Churches,” *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 3.

30. The Joint Stock Company was a way in which British Saints could immigrate to America less expensively. Richard Bennett, “‘We Might Have Gone to Vancouver's Island’: The Mormon Exodus, British Emigration, and the Pacific Northwest,” *Regional Studies in Latter-day Saint Church History: Western Canada*, ed. Dennis A. Wright and others (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2000): 13–33. Strang jumped at the chance to publicly display this debacle. “Fruits of Wickedness,” *Voree Herald*, August 1846, 2.

31. Samuel W. Richards, Diary, February 1, 1846, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter cited as Perry Special Collections).

32. While in Nauvoo, Hyde preached and wrote against Strangism, including receiving a revelation against Strang and his followers. Jensen, “Gleaning the Harvest,” 96–97.

33. On the attempt at settling on Vancouver Island, see Bennett, “‘We Might Have Gone to Vancouver's Island;’” Richard Bennett and Arran Jewsbury, “The Lion and the Emperor: The Mormons, the Hudson's Bay Company and Vancouver Island, 1846–1858,” *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, 128 (Winter 2000/2001): 37–62; and Lewis Clark Christian, “A Study of the Mormon Westward Migration between February 1846 and July 1847 with Emphasis on and Evaluation of the Factors That Led to the Mormons' Choice of Salt Lake Valley as the Site of Their Initial Colony” (PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1976), 124–36.

34. “General Conference at Manchester,” *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 120.

35. James Ure, Diary, November 2, 1846, Church Archives.

36. John Freeman, Diary, October 25, 1846, Church Archives. Because Harris was by far the most famous of the three missionaries, perhaps the eyewitnesses do not bother to mention any companions of Harris. Cyrus Wheelock's notice of Harris's activities at the Birmingham conference states that “Martin Harris and his escort have paid them a visit.” “Notices,” *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 128. Brooks mentions hearing Wheelock testify against Strang, placing Brooks in the company of Wheelock. Lester Brooks to James M. Adams, January 12, 1847, holograph, Strang Collection. The three Strangite missionaries could have stayed together, but, perhaps more likely, the three separated into their

several directions with perhaps two of them (probably Harris and Brooks) staying together, as hinted by the life sketch of William Capener: "When they [Harris and Capener—no mention of Brooks] reached England they separated, each going about his own business." Taylor and Cluff, "Sketch of the Life of William Capener," 4.

37. Cyrus Wheelock, Diary, October 25, 1846, Church Archives. The letter written by Wheelock to the *Millennial Star* puts the incident in another way: Martin Harris and his escort have paid them a visit. He introduced himself to their conference meeting and wished to speak, but on being politely informed by Elder Banks that the season of the year had come when Martins sought a more genial climate than England, he had better follow. On being rejected by the united voice of the conference, he went out into the street, and began to proclaim the corruption of the Twelve; but here the officers of government honoured him with their presence—two policemen came and very gently took hold of each arm and led Martin away to the Lock-up. "Notices," *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 128.

38. A search of the "Warwickshire Quarter Sessions Calendars of Prisoners, 1801–1850," for reference to Harris, Brooks, or Capener in Birmingham during October and November 1846 resulted in nothing. Microfilm copy, Family History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

39. Martin Harris Jr. to George A. Smith, July 13, 1875, Church Archives.

40. W. W. B., "'Mormonism' Reviewed," *Saints' Herald*, April 1, 1876, 198.

41. George Mantle, "Martin Harris in England," *Autumn Leaves* (Lamoni, Iowa) 2 (March 1889): 141.

42. Lester Brooks to James M. Adams, January 12, 1847, Strang Collection, punctuation added.

43. "Strangism.—Invitation to Imposters," *Millennial Star* 8 (November 20, 1846): 137.

44. "Notices," *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 128.

45. "Sketches of Notorious Characters," *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 123–26.

46. "Sketches of Notorious Characters," 123.

47. "Sketches of Notorious Characters," 124. See also Simeon Carter to Brigham Young, October 1, 1844, incoming correspondence of Brigham Young, Church Archives.

48. "Sketches of Notorious Characters," 124.

49. "Sketches of Notorious Characters," 124. There is no indication why Capener escaped from the full force of the *Millennial Star* editors' ridicule. One possibility is that Strang, Brooks, and Harris were known to one degree or another in the LDS Church, whereas Capener, newly baptized in Ohio away from the main body, was unknown to the Twelve Apostles or many of the American missionaries or British members.

50. "Strangism.—Invitation to Imposters," 137–38.

51. Liverpool Branch Minutes, Church Archives. "Deacon George Styles and wife Margaret" were excommunicated for following the "Imposter James J. Strang."

52. "Strangism.—Invitation to Imposters," 138.

53. "Copy of a Letter from James J. Strang, to Orson Hyde and John Taylor: Answer to the Above," *Millennial Star* 8 (October 15, 1846): 94. The letters were also printed in "Discussion," *Voree Herald*, August 1846, 4.

54. "News from England," *Zion's Reveille*, December 1846, 3.

55. "Progress of the Work," *Voree Herald*, September 1846, 4.

56. "That imposter publishes in his paper, in America, that his cause is very prosperous in England. All the Saints here know that he lies; and if he will lie about things that we do perfectly know and understand, can we trust his word in things that we do not know?" "To the Presiding Elders Abroad: Greeting," *Millennial Star* 8 (November 15, 1846): 122.

57. "Ye Are My Witnesses," *Autumn Leaves* 1 (April 1888): 182.

58. "Ye Are My Witnesses," 183.

59. "Ye Are My Witnesses," 183.

60. Martin Harris, "Martin Harris Affidavits," Manuscript A, September 4, 1846, Perry Special Collections.

61. "Letter from Brother Brooks to Brother Adams," *Zion's Reveille*, March 11, 1847, 36.

62. Gates and Hardy, "Sketch of William Capener," 5. Another sketch of William Capener stated Harris's return thus: "Later on one of [Capener's] trips to London he was attracted by a crowd gathered on the street and went to see what it was all about and to his astonishment, there was Martin Harris standing preaching Mormonism. He looked very unkept and ragged and like he was hungry. Grandfather took him, fed him and bought him a new suit of clothes that he might look more respectable but grandfather chided him for going there without an appointment by the proper authority." (Taylor and Cluff, "Sketch of the Life of William Capener," 4. As noted above, life sketches of William Capener ignore the fact that Capener was a Strangite missionary.)

63. "Letter from Brother Brooks to Brother Adams," *Zion's Reveille*, February 10, 1847, 36.

64. "Religious Impostors," *Millennial Star* 9 (March 15, 1847): 86.

65. For the notice of the arrival of their ship *Sea*, see "Arrived," *New York Herald*, Maritime Herald, December 8, 1846, 2. For a list of passengers, including Brooks and Harris, see Passenger List of Vessels Arriving at New York 1820–1897, List for Ship *Sea* of New York #1043, Family History Library.

66. Brooks to Adams, January 12, 1847.

67. Brooks to Adams, January 12, 1847.

68. Brooks to Adams, January 12, 1847.

69. Brooks to Adams, January 12, 1847. Quaife, *Kingdom of Saint James*, 244, transcribes "Capner" as "Cosmer." A close inspection of the original, however, proves that it is indeed "Capner."

70. Brooks to Adams, January 12, 1847.

71. "The Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Held at Voree April the 6th, 1847," *Zion's Reveille* 2 (July 8, 1847): 68.

72. "Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, at Voree," *Zion's Reveille*, October 14, 1847, 122.

73. In one letter, Brooks writes to Strang, "Let me remain a member in the church[.] I <am> not a rebellious man." Lester Brooks to James Strang, March 14, 1847, Strang Collection. Brooks wrote to Adams, stating, "You can assure Brother Strang of my friendship towards him, and that I shall do all that I have power to do to build up the church." "Letter from Brother Brooks to Brother Adams," *Zion's Reveille*, March 11, 1947, 36.

74. *A History of the Church at the City of James, Beaver Island, State of Michigan, U.S.A. 1847-1855; Commonly called the "Beaver Island Record,"* reproduced by John J. Hajicek (Burlington, Wisc., 1992), [69].

75. Dean C. Jesee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989-92), 2:530.

76. Taylor and Cluff, "Sketch of the Life of William Capener," 2; Gates and Hardy, "Sketch of William Capener," 5. LDS missionary James Willard Bay mentions staying with Capener on many different occasions. See James Willard Bay Journal, 1850-52, Church Archives.

77. James W. Bay to Brigham Young, March 24, 1851, Church Archives.

78. The Church business was confronting Gladden Bishop, a man who claimed to receive revelation for the Church. Bishop was asked about "his character of . . . faith" and "also about going west." Gladden Bishop to Brigham Young, July 30, 1851, Church Archives. James W. Bay stated the following: "I and Br Capener went [to] Br Harises saw gladden Bishop talked with him som[e] on the gathering of the s[a]ints." James W. Bay, Journal, July 17, 1851, Church Archives.

79. Gates and Hardy, "Sketches of William Capener," 7. The Daughters of Utah Pioneers Memorial Museum in Salt Lake City contains several life sketches of William Capener written by various people. According to the histories, Capener kept a diary "in which is recorded in very detail of a trip to various cities of England in 1846." Gates and Hardy, "Sketch of William Capener," 5. Despite a thorough search, the author has yet to locate this diary.

80. James Smith to James Strang, [ca. January 1847,] *Zion's Reveille*, February 11, 1847, 19.

81. Brooks to Strang, March 14, 1847. In a later reference to the Strangite British mission, the *Gospel Herald* said, "Lester Brooks and Martin Harris . . . [went on the mission together], the folly of the latter defeated their work." "Obituary," *Gospel Herald*, June 14, 1849, 55.

82. Brooks to Strang, March 14, 1847.

83. *Gospel Herald*, July 5, 1849, 74; Anderson, *Book of Mormon Witnesses*; Marquardt, "Martin Harris: The Kirtland Years," 1-40.

84. David B. Dille, on his way to a mission to England in 1853, writes of meeting Martin Harris: "[Harris] said to me, 'Just let me go with you to England, I see you can preach . . . You do the preaching and I will bear testimony to the Book of Mormon and we will convert all England.[']" David Buel Dille, *Reminiscence*, Church Archives.

85. Martin Harris Jr. to George A. Smith, July 9, 1875, Church Archives.

The Dedication of the Oliver Cowdery Monument in Richmond, Missouri, 1911

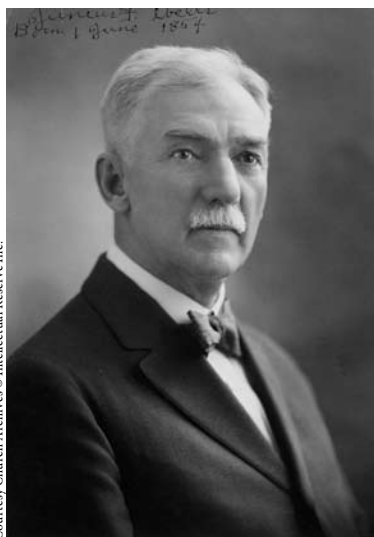
Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Robert F. Schwartz

As one of three witnesses, Oliver Cowdery testified that “an angel of God came down from heaven” to display an ancient record—a record known then and now as the Book of Mormon. Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer affirmed in written testimony that they saw “the engravings thereon,” and more surprisingly that the voice of God declared Joseph Smith’s translation of the record to be true.¹ Even though all three men eventually disassociated themselves from Joseph Smith, later members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints felt to commemorate Cowdery, Whitmer, and Harris for their role in the Church’s genesis. In 1911, Church member Junius F. Wells² erected a monument in Richmond, Ray County, Missouri, toward this end (figs. 1, 2).

Wells wrote an account of his efforts to erect the monument, which he published in January 1912.³ His article focuses on interviews that he conducted in Richmond with the nearest of kin of Cowdery and descendants of Whitmer, as well as on his efforts to gain both their trust and the trust of Richmond’s citizens. The present article covers some of the same ground as Wells’s published article but adds to the story by using primary source data from Wells’s personal papers, held in trust by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This article likewise makes public, for the first time, photographs taken by George Edward Anderson that capture many events involved in creating and dedicating the monument. Happily, the story provides remarkable views of a productive, friendly, cooperative effort between Missourians and Mormons in an area where only a few decades earlier the two parties had been at war with one another.



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FIG. 1. Unveiling ceremony at the Oliver Cowdery Monument, November 22, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson.

George Edward Anderson (1860–1928), the first Latter-day Saint to professionally photograph Church historic sites, began his effort to document the Mormon past through his camera in 1907 on his way to serve a mission in the British Isles. After a year of searching out Mormon sites in the settlements in the West, Anderson arrived in England in 1908. After completing his proselytizing mission in Europe, he sailed for America in August 1911, but he did not return home immediately. He stayed in South Royalton, Vermont, continuing his quest to capture Church history through his glass plate negatives. After ending his six-year mission in 1913, he returned home to Utah.

The complete collection of Anderson photographs related to the Oliver Cowdery Monument may be seen at byustudies.byu.edu.

FIG. 2. Junius F. Wells, ca. 1924.

A Promise to Commemorate Oliver Cowdery

President John Henry Smith, Second Counselor in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, traveled to Independence, Jackson County, Missouri, in 1910, where the Church had only recently reestablished a presence after an absence that began with its expulsion in 1833. President Smith, along with Samuel O. Bennion, John L. Herrick, and Joseph A. McRae, visited nearby Mormon historical sites, and on November 30, 1910, the party visited Richmond, located thirty miles northeast of Independence.

Like Independence, Richmond has a past rich in Latter-day Saint history. Joseph Smith and other Latter-day Saint Church leaders were imprisoned in a makeshift Richmond jail following their arrest at Far West on October 31, 1838. Later, after the Mormons were driven from Missouri in 1838–39, the Richmond area became home to several former leaders of the Church who no longer accepted Joseph Smith’s leadership. This group included David Whitmer, Jacob C. Whitmer, Hiram Page, and Oliver Cowdery, each of whom played key roles in the Church’s founding events. Cowdery and his wife, Elizabeth Whitmer,⁴ moved to Richmond in 1849, shortly before he passed away. Cowdery was estranged from Joseph Smith by 1838 and was excommunicated from the Church in Far West, Missouri. Before his death in 1850, however, Cowdery rejoined the Church and planned to gather with its members in Utah.⁵ Maria Louise Cowdery (1835–92), the daughter of Oliver and Elizabeth Cowdery and the only Cowdery child to live to maturity, married Dr. Charles Johnson and died without any living descendants in South West City, Missouri, in 1892.

While in Richmond, John Henry Smith and his party visited local cemeteries, trying to locate the graves of Cowdery, Page, and David Whitmer.⁶ President Smith wrote, “We went to the old grave yard to visit the grave of Oliver Cowdery and Hyrum Page but we could not locate them but were told they were in the north end of the Cemetery.”⁷ (In fact, Hiram Page was not buried in Richmond. David Whitmer was buried in a different Richmond cemetery.) President Smith and his company apparently came into contact with George W. Schweich. Schweich was the nearest living family member to Oliver Cowdery in the Richmond area as his mother, Julia Ann, was the daughter of David Whitmer, Cowdery’s brother-in-law. President Smith promised Schweich that the Church would erect a monument in Cowdery’s memory.⁸ Schweich and A. K. Raeburn—a ninety-three-year-old former sheriff who claimed to be present when Cowdery was buried in March 1850—aided President Smith in identifying the location of Cowdery’s final resting place.⁹



FIG. 3. Joseph Smith Jr. birthplace, Sharon, Vermont, 1907, photographed by George Edward Anderson. Junius F. Wells managed the creation and installation of the monument to Joseph Smith in 1905.

When President Smith returned to Salt Lake City, he approached Junius F. Wells about the possibility of erecting a monument in Richmond. Wells had already successfully purchased, on behalf of the Church, Joseph Smith's birthplace in Sharon, Vermont and had erected there a large granite monument in Smith's honor in 1905 (fig. 3).¹⁰ In fact, Wells had already given thought to erecting a monument in Cowdery's honor when Smith approached him. He afterwards wrote, "I had a very clear notion of the kind of monument and suitable inscriptions thereon."¹¹ He also planned to erect additional monuments at the grave sites of David Whitmer and Martin Harris.¹² The decision to build a monument to Joseph Smith in 1905 and to Cowdery in 1911 reflect broader national trends in monument building that took hold after the Civil War. During this period, a multitude of monuments sprung up at Civil War sites, town squares, and cemeteries throughout the country.¹³

After personal reflection and planning, Wells decided on a text that would honor not only Oliver Cowdery but Joseph Smith and all three

witnesses, even though he hoped to erect separate monuments to Harris and Whitmer later. He submitted his proposal for the monument—including inscriptions and cost estimations—to the First Presidency, which at the time included President Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, and John Henry Smith. Wells reported, “This was approved by the First Presidency and Twelve, and I was commissioned to carry it out.”¹⁴ The text appears in the sidebar below.

The Text of the Oliver Cowdery Monument

Front of monument:

Sacred to the memory of Oliver Cowdery, witness to the Book of Mormon and to the translation thereof by the gift and power of God.

Born 3rd October, 1806, Wells, Rutland Co., Vermont.
Died 3rd March, 1850, Richmond, Ray Co., Missouri.

He was the scribe of the translation as it fell from the lips of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. He copied the original manuscript for the printer’s use and was proof-reader of the first edition. He was the first person baptized in the Latter-day Dispensation of the Gospel; and was one of the six members of the Church of Jesus Christ at its organization, on the sixth day of April, A.D., 1830, at Fayette, Seneca Co., New York. Though separated from it for a time, he returned to the Church. He died firm in the faith.

This Monument has been raised in his honor by his fellow-believers; and also to commemorate the Testimony of Three Witnesses, the truth of which they maintained to the end of their lives. Over a million converts throughout the world have accepted their testimony and rejoice in their fidelity. Dedicated 1911.

Reverse of monument:

The Book of Mormon. An account written by the hand of Mormon upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi. Translated and published by Joseph Smith Junior, Palmyra, 1830.

On the other two sides appears the text of The Testimony of the Three Witnesses, printed in the Book of Mormon.

Preparing a Monument

Wells immediately set about working to build Oliver Cowdery's monument. He contacted R. C. Bowers, president of R. C. Bowers Granite Company in Montpelier, Vermont, sometime before the middle of February. Bowers was the general contractor who organized the logistical efforts involved in constructing the 1905 Vermont monument. In contracting Bowers, Wells was freed from worrying about the details involved in monument construction such as quarrying, polishing, inscribing, and transporting.¹⁵

On February 13, 1911, Bowers responded to Wells's inquiry: "Referring to your favor of recent date in regard to design of the monuments, the monument[s] alone would be worth \$900.00 each F. O. B. cars here, and would weigh about 36000 lbs. each. The V sunk inscription letters would be worth 18 cents each. If the continuous inscription of 1264 letters is smaller letters, they would be worth from 12 to 15 cents each."¹⁶ Wells agreed, sent a check for \$30, and asked for a perspective drawing of the design. It was weeks before he received this note from Bowers: "Just got word from the man that makes our designs that he has been sick but he will get right at your design and lose no time in finishing it. Sorry to have delayed you and hope to send it to you shortly."¹⁷ On April 19, Bowers sent by "express this morning" the examples of the design.¹⁸

On May 19, 1911, Wells, still in Salt Lake City, formalized his obligations regarding the monument's erection when he signed an agreement with President Joseph F. Smith, promising "to procure the requisite consent of the parties lawfully interested and secure the site in the cemetery at or near the burial place of Oliver Cowdery, to erect thereon a monument of dark barre granite accord to the design and inscription submitted."¹⁹ Presidents John Henry Smith and Anthon H. Lund also signed the document as witnesses.²⁰

Soon thereafter, Wells traveled to Richmond for the first time.²¹ Wells indicated that he hoped to accomplish several important objectives during this visit: first, visit the cemetery; second, identify Cowdery's grave; third, obtain the consent of the local officials to erect a monument; fourth, obtain approval from the nearest of kin living there; fifth, select a site for the monument; and finally, secure the goodwill of the people of Richmond.

Obtaining the goodwill of the people was not necessarily as easy as it might appear to the modern reader. Controversy surrounding polygamy generated ill will toward the Church's members through the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Although the Mormon practice of polygamy had officially ended in 1890, controversy and misunderstanding

continued. The situation came to a head in the early years of the twentieth century when Apostle Reed Smoot was elected to the US Senate. Public senatorial hearings regarding his suitability for office ensued, and newspapers nationwide criticized Utah.²² The years 1910 and 1911 witnessed a significant recurrence of anti-Mormon feeling throughout the country resulting from the negative fallout generated by Smoot's reelection. It might, indeed, be assumed that the monuments of 1905 and 1911 were constructed partly in the hope of engendering goodwill for the Church.

Wells, contrary to what he might have expected in the political climate, was pleasantly surprised by the welcome he received from the hospitable people of Richmond. He received solid support from George W. Schweich, who emphasized his willingness to help and expressed his feelings about erecting another monument in Richmond to honor his grandfather, David Whitmer.²³

Wells went to the Old City Cemetery, known today as the Pioneer Cemetery (fig. 4²⁴). He described his visit:



FIG. 4. Old City Cemetery, Richmond, Missouri, November 21, 1911, photographed by George Edward Anderson. More than just a photograph of tombstones, this view reveals the history of the Whitmer family and their relatives in Richmond's Old City Cemetery, known today as the Pioneer Cemetery. Note the tombstone of Jacob Whitmer (1800–56) with the opened book, Book of Mormon (second row, right).

Among the earliest graves within this sacred acre are those of Father Peter Whitmer's family and kindred, whose burying lots appear to have occupied about sixteen by sixty feet, along the east side of a central drive, entering at the north end of the cemetery. Within this boundary, and in the southern part, are buried the bodies of Peter Whitmer, and his wife, Mary Musselman Whitmer—father and mother of the Witnesses,—Jacob Whitmer, one of the Eight, and two more of his daughters, and other members of his family. I counted thirteen graves, most of them unmarked, except by crude stones without inscriptions.²⁵

Wells looked specifically for Cowdery's grave. With the help of several individuals, including A. K. Raeburn, he found the site.

After making initial contacts in Richmond, Wells made his way to Vermont to select the stone for the monument. In June 1911, President John Henry Smith, traveling in the East, met up with "J. F. Wells, Ben E. Rich and a Mr. Milne and Mayor Boutwell of Montpelier, Vermont who took us in his Auto to the Joseph Smith Monument where Bro. Brown gave lunch. We planted 6 trees. We called at the Barre Marble Quarries."²⁶ Apparently, they "selected the stone, and the order was given for the manufacture of the [Cowdery] monument" on this occasion.²⁷

During the first week of August 1911, Bowers contacted Wells, who was staying in South Royalton, Vermont. He wrote, "We have your monument all ready to letter and have the lettering drawn up for it, and would be pleased to have you come up at once and look the lettering over as we wish to start lettering it Monday."²⁸ Due to a misunderstanding, Wells failed to contact Bowers to approve the lettering, causing additional delay.

Days later while on another visit to Richmond, Wells met with several of Cowdery's family members, including Philander A. Page, Julia Ann Schweich, and George W. Schweich, in an effort to obtain their legal consent to erect the monument.²⁹ Each said they would not oppose Wells's efforts. Page said he "preferred not to sign his approval, as he was not in favor of so much display."³⁰ The Schweich family, on the other hand, were not only supportive but also helped in every way to assist Wells. Regarding Julia Ann Schweich, daughter of David Whitmer, Wells stated, "She was seventy-six years old in September, and is a very smart, clear-minded lady of remarkable memory, firm convictions, honest, outspoken, and independent. I became much attached to her, and enjoyed repeated interviews with her, in which she told me many things concerning her father, his family and the family connections."³¹

On August 8, Wells obtained the legal consent of Cowdery's relatives to proceed with the project. The document states that Cowdery's relatives "approve of this undertaking and freely consent to it and thereby authorize Junius F. Wells acting for himself, ourselves and fellow believers

in the above testimony [testimony of the Three Witnesses to the Book of Mormon], to take every necessary step to locate the site of said grave and erect said monument thereon only hold the undersigned free from expense connected therewith.”³²

Still concerned that Oliver Cowdery’s grave site had not been correctly identified, Wells visited the graveyard on August 9, 1911, with A. K. Raeburn. Wells did this again on August 18 and on November 23 to gain complete assurance that Raeburn provided the same description.

After repeatedly hearing Raeburn’s description, Wells went to the cemetery to carefully review what he had been told. He wrote:

I found by measuring the distance between the graves, and between the headstones and footstones, that there were two graves, shorter than the grave of a full grown man, north of the depression which was supposed to be the grave of Oliver Cowdery. By some digging, we found the rotting stones that had supported the headstone, which was gone, and six and half feet eastward, a large, though crumbling, footstone. This supplied whatever assurance was lacking as to the identify of the grave we sought—especially as the next grave, seven feet southward, was that of a child.³³

With written permission of Cowdery’s surviving family now in his possession, Wells met with the mayor of Richmond and some of the city councilmen and “arranged with the city engineer to establish the grade of the street—Crispin avenue—on the north line of the cemetery—and to stake out and set the levels of the foundation of the site selected for the monument.”³⁴ The city engineer billed Wells \$3.00 for survey work and setting the corners.³⁵ The city’s final approval was granted on August 15, 1911.³⁶

Once approved by the city council, preparations at the site itself continued as J. W. Hagans graded the spot for the monument and prepared a six-foot-square concrete foundation at a cost of \$67.50.³⁷ On October 26, 1911, Wells and Schweich placed a metal box in the foundation—a time capsule that contained a number of books, periodicals, pictures, and miscellaneous items.³⁸

While efforts in Richmond to erect the monument proceeded, work on the monument itself ceased for a few weeks when unusually hot weather in Vermont “shut down work in the stonecutter’s sheds.”³⁹ Since Wells had failed to authorize the lettering of the monument, Bowers wrote: “I am in receipt of your favor of the 18th inst. and regret to say we were delayed two weeks on your monument on account of the lettering not being approved, as I did not feel safe in starting it until I heard from you. The lettering is all that will hold us up now and I assure you that we will do the very best we can in rushing the work out.”⁴⁰



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FIG. 5. Construction of the Oliver Cowdery Monument, October 10, 1911, at R. C. Bowers Granite Company, Barre, Vermont, photographed by George Edward Anderson. Often misidentified as the base of the Joseph Smith monument in Sharon, Vermont, this piece belongs to the Oliver Cowdery Monument.

Originally, Wells and President John Henry Smith desired to dedicate the monument on October 3, 1911, the anniversary of Oliver Cowdery's birth.⁴¹ However, due to these delays, they set back the date for the dedication.

A few weeks later, Utah portrait and landscape photographer George Edward Anderson visited the workshops at Barre, Washington County, Vermont. In his first photograph related to the erection of the Oliver Cowdery monument, Anderson captured in black and white a craftsman engaged in his work on the monument (fig. 5).⁴²

A Change of Plans

President John Henry Smith had been busy during the first half of 1911 fulfilling Church, business, and governmental responsibilities. Few knew that his health was failing rapidly. President Smith passed away on October 13, 1911. Wells revealed, "The lamentable death of Elder Smith occurring on the thirteenth [October], caused a complete change in the plans respecting the dedication."⁴³ Wells decided to work for a date later

in the year to coincide with the Mormon Tabernacle Choir's six-thousand-mile national tour, which began on October 23, 1911. Wells hoped to arrange for the choir to stop briefly at Richmond on its return trip to Salt Lake City, following a scheduled concert in Kansas City on November 21 and before another scheduled concert in Topeka on November 22. While the choir's tour was generally considered a success, especially in light of the anti-Mormon mood that prevailed nationwide, the choir encountered stiff opposition in various places. In some cases, they could not secure places to perform, and, in the end, incurred a deficit of some \$20,000. In the face of the budgetary concerns that surfaced during the tour, Wells needed to demonstrate that a side trip to a small Missouri town would not push the choir further into the red and that they would be received warmly by the local people.

Getting Everything in Place

Assuring that work on the monument was moving forward also consumed Wells's efforts. On October 10, Bowers wrote Wells: "Monument will



FIG. 6. Transporting the Oliver Cowdery Monument to cemetery from the railway, ca. November 1, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson.

leave here tomorrow.”⁴⁴ Once Wells received the notification, he contracted with Thomas B. Blount, a house-moving company in Richmond, to transport the monument from the railway station to the old city cemetery. Wells wrote to Blount, “Accept your offer. Please be ready to receive monument shipped from Montpelier eleventh. I shall be there by twentieth. Make sure that every rope, chain, pulley, and anchor are sound and strong. I may bring men to assist in erection but do not depend on that. Be prepared.”⁴⁵ The men “had quite a time hauling it on the house-moving trucks and setting it, but finally got it up without accident”⁴⁶ (fig. 6). The monument was in place in the Old City Cemetery by November 1, 1911 (fig. 7). The total expense for transporting and setting the monument was \$100.00.⁴⁷

Wells still had not yet secured the commitment for the two-hundred-member Mormon Tabernacle Choir to participate in the services. They were already in New York when Wells appealed to George D. Pyper, the choir’s tour manager, trying to persuade him to make the necessary arrangements for the proposed stop:

Upon arriving here, I found that they have a very nice little opera house practically new and clean and well furnished, there are actually six hundred orchestra chairs, and other seats for at least four hundred with the boxes and standing up twelve hundred people can be admitted. The people here are sufficiently interested in having you come that they have assured me if I find that you can do so, they will tender us the free use of the opera house, warmed and lighted.⁴⁸

After providing several more issues for Pyper’s consideration—including further description of available facilities and necessary costs—Wells concluded: “I sincerely hope that nothing will occur to prevent carrying



FIG. 7. Oliver Cowdery monument, November 21, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson.

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out this program. It will be very delightful for everybody and will do a lot of good.”⁴⁹

Eventually, choir leaders agreed that the choir would perform at the dedication, and Wells began the Herculean task of arranging for the visit of so large a party to Richmond. Additionally, some fifty people, most of them family of the choir members, accompanied the choir on their tour. Their presence brought the total number of Latter-day Saints present on this occasion to about two hundred and fifty. Wells wrote the owner of the local hotel in Richmond: “Dedication service Wednesday morning, twenty-second, ten o’clock sharp. Choir must have breakfast and be seated in Topeka House by nine forty-five. Dinner must be all ready twelve thirty, and over by two. Train leaves two thirty for Topeka.”⁵⁰

Wells received an official invitation for the use of the Opera House from Richmond’s “principal bankers, merchants, one of the ministers, the Mayor of the City, hotel proprietors, and the owner of the Opera House.”⁵¹ Wells was “deeply grateful for this courtesy”⁵² and reported to President Joseph F. Smith that there was “a feeling of great interest and enthusiasm, already manifest by the people at the prospect of so large a company being present.”⁵³ Wells awaited President Smith’s approval and information concerning who would be present on the occasion. Mindful of the weather, he noted: “If we can only have a pleasant day, it promises to be a very fine affair.”⁵⁴

President Joseph F. Smith wrote back that the gathering would be more limited than Wells may have anticipated. He assigned Heber J. Grant of the Council of the Twelve to conduct the affairs of the Church at the services.⁵⁵ Wells noted in later reflections why other general church officers were not sent to attend the occasion: “Conditions at home were so forbidding that the Presiding Authorities were not able to go to the service.”⁵⁶ The conditions referred to were the November municipal elections in Utah. Since 1905, the anti-Mormon third party, known as the American Party, controlled several local governments in the northern part of the state, including Salt Lake City. The two national parties made every effort to defeat the American Party. Mormon Church leaders joined in forces with non-Mormons in both parties to help accomplish the defeat. The campaign successfully brought about the demise of the American Party and allowed political affiliation in the state to be based on political preference instead of Church membership.⁵⁷

President Smith indicated in his letter that he did not feel it necessary to invite representatives from the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints or the Church of Christ (Temple Lot). This decision is significant because of the Reorganized Church’s ties to the American

Party. Joseph Smith III (cousin of President Joseph F. Smith) and his son, Fredrick M. Smith, had worked with Frank Cannon and ex-Senator Kearns to form the American Party in Salt Lake City.⁵⁸ Moreover, in July 1905, when the American Party first began to take root, Frederick Smith wrote a full-page protest of the Joseph Smith monument that the Latter-day Saint Church had recently erected in Vermont under Wells's supervision.⁵⁹

After receiving President Smith's reply, Wells ordered 750 formal invitations, printed at a cost of \$15. The invitations were sent not only to local citizens but to all Church mission, temple, stake, and Church college presidents to notify them of the event.

On November 16, Wells wrote Bowers regarding final payment for the monument and added his impressions regarding the final product: "I think the material and workmanship of the monument are very good, and that it will be much admired."⁶⁰ Work began on preparing the ground around the monument for the unveiling ceremony. Wells contracted with Charles E. Prispin to grade the area and Powell Brothers to fence the west and north side of the cemetery.⁶¹

The citizens of Richmond not only offered the use of the Opera House for the dedication service, but they also graded streets, paved sidewalks, and laid plank crossings at several corners. Several individuals, especially George W. Schweich, offered more assistance than Wells ever expected. So it was with great hope and a sense of satisfaction that Wells greeted the long-awaited day of the dedication service and unveiling ceremony on November 22, 1911.

The Dedication Services and Unveiling Ceremony

A train of Pullman Palace sleeping cars pulled into Richmond from Kansas City during the early morning hours of November 22, 1911 (fig. 8). While the train sat on a side track, members of the Mormon Tabernacle Choir continued to sleep until sunrise. Wells provided a description of the choir's arrival: "The train bringing the choir from Kansas City arrived during the night, or early in the morning of the 22nd. It was not easy to rouse the weary sleepers, and get them out, under lowering skies, at half-past seven for early breakfast, at the hotel. It was, however, loiteringly accomplished, but not until the prince and power of the air, or whoever has charge of the storm clouds, had taken vicious control and started a down-pour of chilling rain that continued for the greater part of the day."⁶²

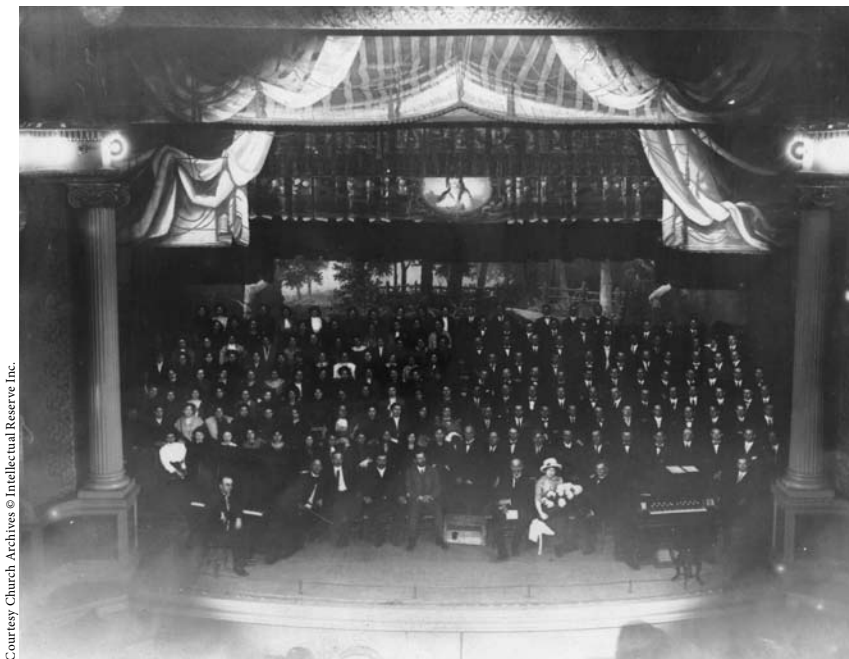
Following breakfast at the hotel, the choir made its way to the Farris Opera House. Wells paid \$12.00 for Manley & Wading to transport the "choir from the Hotel to the Opera House" in the rain.⁶³



FIG. 8. Mormon Tabernacle Choir Train, November 22, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson. A chartered train brought the choir from Kansas City, where they performed the night before, and took them on to Topeka after the dedication of the monument. Here several members, including Evan Stephens (arms outstretched), pose for the photographer.

Wells had prepared 1,500 programs for the dedication service and unveiling ceremony,⁶⁴ and the Opera House “was well filled, there being hardly a vacant seat in the building.”⁶⁵ Elder Heber J. Grant greeted the crowd, followed by the Tabernacle Choir performing the first hymn: “An Angel from On High”⁶⁶ (fig. 9). President Samuel O. Bennion offered the invocation and the Tabernacle Choir sang the anthem “Hosannah!” Then Junius F. Wells “spoke in brief as to why we were assembled, reviewing the story of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon, the life of Oliver Cowdery, the history of the monument itself.”⁶⁷ In the end, he spoke to the local residents suggesting “that the cemetery be improved and that the citizens of Richmond would regard that monument as a credit to the place.”⁶⁸

The Tabernacle Choir sang one of its favorite hymns, “Oh! My Father!” followed by comments from Mayor James L. Farris in behalf of the city: “Take possession of the City of Richmond, today we are your servants.”⁶⁹ The assembled group then heard brief remarks from George W. Schweich, who represented Oliver Cowdery’s family, welcoming everyone present to the occasion.



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FIG. 9. Dedication service in the Farris Opera House, November 22, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson. Front row, from left: John J. McClellan (organist), Willard A. Weihe (violinist), George W. Schweich (grandson of David Whitmer), Samuel O. Bennion (Central States Mission President), Bishop David A. Smith (Presiding Bishop's Office), Evans Stephens (Tabernacle Choir director, behind the wooden platform), Elder Heber J. Grant (Council of the Twelve), Katherine Schweich (great-granddaughter of David Whitmer), and Junius F. Wells.

Heber J. Grant then spoke and noted how pleased President Joseph F. Smith was that a monument had been erected to honor Oliver Cowdery. He went on to relate that he had always admired Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris, who played such crucial roles in establishing the Church. As he drew near to the close of his remarks, Grant "bore his testimony of the gospel to the assemblage, gave words of praise to the Choir for their conduct and singing. Also expressed his pleasure in accepting hospitality of Richmond people. Also stated that on account of the storm they would be unable to go to the cemetery to dedicate the grave."⁷⁰

After Grant's remarks, Wells introduced Katherine Schweich, grandniece of Oliver Cowdery, to the assembled group. He noted that she

would unveil the monument when weather permitted. She “very modestly acknowledged the honor before the audience.”⁷¹

Elder Heber J. Grant then dedicated Oliver Cowdery’s grave from the Farris Opera House, thanking God “for the feeling of goodwill and fellowship that has been manifest by the inhabitants of this City during the erection of this monument and we pray Thee that it may continue and that the bond of love and sympathy between the believers of the Book of Mormon and the people of Richmond and those who read the message may grow and increase in strength every year.”⁷²

Time was allotted for George Edward Anderson to take a photograph of the event (see fig. 8).⁷³ George Schweich made the program’s closing remarks, saying that he was as proud to be a descendant of David Whitmer as of “any monarch that ever lived.”⁷⁴ He asked the Tabernacle Choir to perform a few concluding numbers before the program ended, including



FIG. 10. Unveiling ceremony at the Oliver Cowdery Monument, November 22, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson. Katherine Schweich holds the bouquet of flowers following the unveiling of the monument, and Junius F. Wells stands at her right, in the front row.



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FIG. 11. Junius F. Wells (standing by the fence) offers a prayer following the unveiling of the monument, November 22, 1911, Richmond, Missouri, photographed by George Edward Anderson.

“Lucia Sextet.” The choir performed and Bishop David A. Smith then offered the benediction to close the service. Wells reported that “the visitors [Tabernacle Choir and Church representatives] hurried through the rain to the hotel for dinner, and about half-past one, their train pulled out for Topeka, Kansas. . . . Elders Grant and Bennion accompanied them.”⁷⁵

Later in the afternoon, when the weather permitted, Wells and a small party proceeded to the cemetery. George Edward Anderson accompanied them and provided some beautiful black-and-white images of the occasion (figs. 10 and 11).

Wells preserved the details regarding the monument’s unveiling: “The following named Elders, Geo. W. Schweich & his daughter Kathryn met with Geo. Ed Anderson & me at about 3 p.m. at the monument and I spoke to them & offered prayer & Kathryn held the flag that veiled the monument while we all had our pictures taken.”⁷⁶

Assessment

The local paper in Richmond provided its assessment of the service: “The musical numbers rendered by the choir were excellent and showed their fine training and splendid voices. . . . The remarks by the speakers were to the point and interesting. Apostle Heber Grant of Salt Lake City, made the longest talk and was very interesting. . . . The arrangements and plans were carried out and everything worked smoothly. Mr. Wells had been here for several days and with Geo. W. Schweich, a grand son of David Whitmer, had everything in readiness for the event.”⁷⁷

Everyone seems to have been pleased with the events of the day and happy to have participated in celebrating the life of Oliver Cowdery. Wells may have captured, at least on one level, the significance of the day when he talked about the members of the community, including clergymen, bankers, merchants, county and city officials, and the leading citizens who gathered in the Opera House and “wept for joy, as they participated in this song service. They were also admonished in words of stirring testimony and convincing reason of the truth, the life, the immortality and saving grace of the doctrines and government of the Church, as they fell from the lips of descendants of the very men who had been well nigh hounded to death in the public square near by.”⁷⁸ This day, however, provided a different setting for the interaction between the Latter-day Saints and the people of Missouri as they celebrated together to honor one of their own.

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1. Oliver Cowdery, Martin Harris, and David Whitmer, “The Testimony of the Three Witnesses,” in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. B. H. Roberts, 2d ed., rev., 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1971), 1:57.

2. Junius F. Wells (1854–1930), son of Daniel H. and Hannah C. Free Wells, was asked to organize the Church’s Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association (YMMIA) in 1875 and became its first president.

3. Junius F. Wells, “The Oliver Cowdery Monument at Richmond, Missouri,” *Improvement Era* 15 (January 1912): 251.

4. Elizabeth Ann Whitmer Cowdery (1815–92) was the daughter of Peter and Mary Musselman Whitmer.

5. Richard L. Anderson, *Investigating the Book of Mormon Witnesses* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1981).

6. David Whitmer is buried in the Richmond City Cemetery, located on Highway 10 just west of Richmond City Center. Oliver Cowdery, along with many other Whitmer relatives, including Peter Whitmer Sr. and Mary Musselman Whitmer, are buried in the Pioneer Cemetery located on Highway 13 just north of the center of town. See Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and T. Jeffery Cottle, *Old Mormon Kirtland and Missouri: Historic Photographs and Guide* (Santa Ana, Calif.: Fieldbrook, 1991), 215–16.

7. John Henry Smith, Diary, November 30, 1910, John Henry Smith Papers, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives). All quotations from Smith's diary are from Jean Bickmore White, ed., *Church, State, and Politics: The Diaries of John Henry Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990).

8. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

9. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

10. See Keith A. Erikson, "American Prophet, New England Town: The Memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002).

11. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

12. Junius F. Wells to Heber J. Grant, August 26, 1924, Church Archives. All primary source material is found in the Junius F. Wells Papers, 1867–1930, at the Church Archives unless otherwise noted. In the letter, Wells maintains that John Henry Smith promised him that additional monuments would be erected. He writes:

In 1918 the matter came up again for completing the plan and after a long consideration and favorable report being made by a committee of the Apostles a contract with me was authorized for the immediate erection at the grave of Martin Harris for the sum of \$5800, with the further recommendation that I should also have the contract to erect the one promised at David Whitmer's grave later on—(The promise to do this was originally made by President John Henry Smith & virtually repeated at the dedication of Oliver Cowdery's in 1911.) As I was called to go upon a mission to Europe before the contract for the Harris monument was actually executed, it was decided to postpone the matter until my return. (Wells to Grant, August 26, 1924)

Neither a monument to Harris nor to Whitmer came to fruition under Wells's direction.

13. See Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1995); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001).

14. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

15. Erikson, "Memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont," 59–101.

16. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, February 13, 1911. Bowers's reference to multiple monuments presumably has to do with Wells's ostensible desire to erect a monument for each witness.

17. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, April 7, 1911.

18. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, April 19, 1911.

19. "Agreement," May 19, 1911.

20. Anthon H. Lund (1844–1921) had served as first counselor since April 7, 1910.

21. Wells's published timeline, written nearly six months after the event, does not match the primary source record. Because he made several visits to Richmond within the space of three months, he probably could not recall the exact details of what happened during each visit. See Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

22. Milton R. Merrill, *Reed Smoot: Apostle in Politics* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1990), 33.

23. George Schweich to Junius F. Wells, May 27, 1911.

24. George Edward Anderson's notation on the glass plate edge of this photograph proves that this image was taken in 1911 and not, as previously thought, in 1907.

25. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 253.

26. Smith, Diary, June 12, 1911, in White, *Church, State, and Politics*, 673.

27. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 251.

28. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, August 4, 1911.

29. Philander Alma Page (1832–1919) was the son of Hiram Page, Cowdery's wife's brother-in-law. Julia Ann Whitmer Schweich (1835–1914) was David Whitmer's daughter and Cowdery's niece. George W. Schweich (1853–1926) was son of Julia Ann Whitmer Schweich, grandnephew of Cowdery.

30. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 255–56.

31. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 257.

32. "Certificate of Authority," August 8, 1911.

33. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 254–55.

34. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 259–60.

35. Junius F. Wells to W. A. Mullins, August 18, 1911.

36. "Petition," August 15, 1911; I. R. E. Brown to Honorable Mayor and City Council of Richmond, Mo., August 16, 1911.

37. Junius F. Wells to J. W. Hagans, August 18, 1911.

38. "Certificate," October 26, 1911. The books included the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, Pearl of Great Price, and volume one of *History of the Church*. The periodicals included issues of publications then printed by various church organizations as well as a few that were no longer in publication. Wells chose a volume from the discontinued *Contributor* because it contained the history of the coming forth of the Book of Mormon by George Reynolds and a beautiful steel engraving of the Three Witnesses: Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and Martin Harris. The photographs deposited included views of Salt Lake City and portraits of U.S. President William H. Taft, Oliver Cowdery, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Lucy Smith, Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, John Taylor, Lorenzo Snow, Joseph F. Smith, Anthon H. Lund, John Henry Smith, David Whitmer, George W. Schweich, and Julia Whitmer Schweich. The miscellaneous items included statistical information about Utah and the Church (sixty-two

stakes, twenty missions, and 690 wards), a current Church directory of officers, programs from an “Old Folks Reception to William H. Taft, President of the U.S.” and the “Proceedings of the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Monument, at his birth place Sharon, Vermont, 1905.”

39. See Susan Easton Black, “Pioneer Cemetery: Richmond, Ray County, Missouri,” *Mormon Historical Studies* 2 (fall 2001): 183.

40. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, August 21, 1911.

41. Wells, “Oliver Cowdery Monument,” 263.

42. This photograph has been mistaken to be “the base of the obelisk erected in 1905 at Joseph Smith’s birthplace in the township of Sharon, Vermont.” Richard H. Jackson, “Historical Sites,” in *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, ed. Daniel H. Ludlow and others, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2:592; see also Douglas F. Tobler and Nelson B. Wadsworth, *The History of the Mormons in Photographs and Text: 1830 to the Present* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1989), 63.

43. Wells, “Oliver Cowdery Monument,” 263.

44. R. C. Bowers to Junius F. Wells, October 10, 1911.

45. Junius F. Wells to Thomas Blount, October 14, 1911.

46. Junius F. Wells to R. C. Bowers, November 16, 1911.

47. Junius F. Wells to Thomas B. Blount, November 4, 1911.

48. Junius F. Wells to George D. Pyper, October 29, 1911.

49. Wells to Pyper, October 29, 1911.

50. Junius F. Wells to H. B. McIntyre, November 9, 1911.

51. Junius F. Wells to Joseph F. Smith, November 11, 1911.

52. Junius F. Wells to J. M. Ferguson and others, November 11, 1911.

53. Wells to Smith, November 11, 1911.

54. Wells to Smith, November 11, 1911.

55. Heber J. Grant (1856–1945) was ordained a member of the Council of the Twelve Apostles in 1882. Later he served as president of the Church from November 1918 to May 1945.

56. Wells, “Oliver Cowdery Monument,” 265.

57. See Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 16, 29–30, 32–33, 38–39, 201.

58. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 16, 29–30, 32–33, 38–39, 201.

59. Frederick M. Smith, “Open Letter to All People,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 1, 1901, 3. Smith’s article was actually less of a protest against the monument and more of a polemic against the Latter-day Saint Church’s practice of polygamy, including the controversy surrounding Apostle Reed Smoot’s senatorial candidacy. His mention of the monument was a foil used to initiate arguments against the church that, given the contemporary political climate and his involvement in the American Party’s organization, might have been posed as political concerns that would become the tenets of the American Party.

60. Wells to Bowers, November 16, 1911.

61. Junius F. Wells to Charles E. Prispin, November 23, 1911; “Powell Brothers Receipt,” November 23, 1911.

62. Wells, “Oliver Cowdery Monument,” 267.

63. “Manley & Wading Receipt,” November 23, 1911.

64. Junius F. Wells to L. H. Biglow, November 15, 1911.

65. "Tabernacle Choir Here," *Richmond Conservator*, November 23, 1911.

66. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument," November 22, 1911. Apparently, the report was prepared by Louise Dansie of the Central States Mission Office; see Louise Dansie to Junius F. Wells, November 27, 1911.

67. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

68. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

69. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

70. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

71. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

72. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument." President Grant's comment regarding David Whitmer being buried in the same cemetery as Oliver Cowdery is inaccurate. Whitmer was in fact buried in the New City Cemetery west of Richmond.

73. George Edward Anderson was apparently not the only photographer present for the occasion. On November 23, Wells paid John Encoe \$8.40 "for pictures." John Encoe Receipt, November 23, 1911. Anderson and Encoe were well acquainted, having met in 1907 when Anderson was taking his first photographs of Church historical sites in Missouri. Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, T. Jeffery Cottle, and Ted D. Stoddard, *Church History in Black and White: George Edward Anderson's Photographic Mission to Latter-day Saint Historical Sites* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, 1995), 75–76.

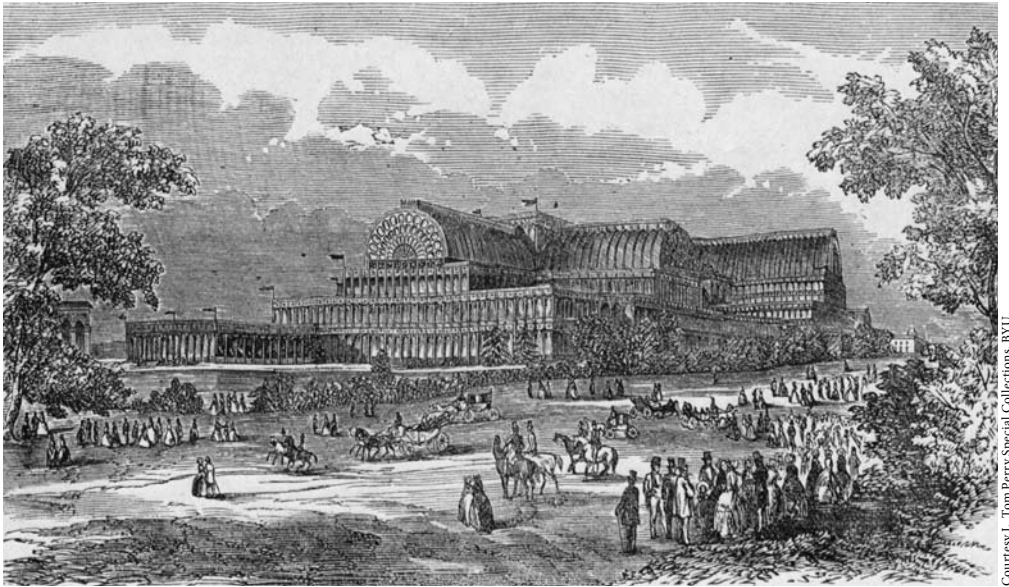
74. "Minutes of the Dedicatory Service and Unveiling of the Oliver Cowdery Monument."

75. Wells, "Oliver Cowdery Monument," 272.

76. Junius F. Wells, Notes, November 22, 1911.

77. "Tabernacle Choir Here."

78. "Six Thousand Miles with the 'Mormon' Tabernacle Choir," 448.



Courtesy L. Tom Perry Special Collections, BYU

FIG. 1. The Crystal Palace, Hyde Park, London, 1851. From Samuel Phillips, *Guide to the Crystal Palace and Its Park and Gardens*, ed. F. K. J. Shenton (Sydenham: Robert K. Burt, 1862), frontispiece.

The Crystal Palace was the site of the Great Exhibition, displaying the works of science and industry from more than one hundred nations. Millions of people visited London for the exhibit, creating an opportunity for Latter-day Saint leaders and members to gather together and for missionaries to proselyte.

London Missionaries and the Great Exhibition of 1851

Peter J. Vousden

The history of the world records no event comparable, in its promotion of human industry, with that of the Great Exhibition.”¹ So claimed Henry Cole, the English civil servant who bore much of the responsibility for organizing the “Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations,” to give it its full title, in London in 1851. Cole’s claim should not be dismissed as mere hyperbole, for the Great Exhibition was on a scale hitherto unknown, and social historians invariably point to the exhibition as the preeminent symbol of Britain’s economic dominance during the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. The Great Exhibition attracted over six million visitors in five months and featured over one hundred thousand exhibits from all over the world. The exhibition was housed in an impressive glass structure dubbed the “Crystal Palace,”² erected in Hyde Park (fig. 1). Designer Joseph Paxton created prefabricated iron sections that allowed the building to be assembled easily and cheaply. The Palace measured 1,848 feet long by 408 feet wide, giving an area under glass approaching a million square feet. The transepts were tall enough to encase some of Hyde Park’s mature elm trees. Calling it the *Great Exhibition* was by no means a hollow conceit.

The exhibition’s principle patron and driving force was Queen Victoria’s husband, Prince Albert. Albert divided the exhibits into four categories: raw materials, machinery, manufactured goods, and fine art. The object was to demonstrate to the world the scientific and technological wonders of the industrial age. Moreover, it was to emphasize the preeminence of Great Britain as a leader of the new age. More than 50 percent of exhibits were British, with the rest of the world sharing the remaining space.

Initially, the British press was negative and unsupportive of Prince Albert's plans, and there was much public carping, not to say derision, in the two years leading up to the opening of the exhibition. Even as the Crystal Palace was being erected in Hyde Park, doubts about the wisdom of the venture were expressed not only in satirical publications such as *Punch*, but also in the *Times* and by members of Parliament on the floor of the House of Commons.³ But Albert plowed on energetically, and by the time the exhibition closed there was little but fulsome praise and celebration to be heard. The *Edinburgh Review* claimed the event "seize[d] the living scroll of human progress, inscribed with every successive conquest of man's intellect."⁴ The *Times* declared the exhibition "was a sight, the like of which had never happened before, and which, in the nature of things, can never be repeated."⁵

In the midst of this phenomenal endeavor, missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were laboring. The missionaries of 1851 were alive to the possibilities raised by thousands and thousands of enquiring visitors from all parts of Britain and many other nations descending upon their area. They saw three different opportunities in Exhibition London: Firstly, to share their message of a religious restoration in an attempt to gain more converts; secondly, to strengthen members of the Church in London by having special conferences with apostolic speakers; and thirdly, to improve their education and simply have some fun. The Great Exhibition was opened by Queen Victoria on May 1, 1851, and Apostle Erastus Snow and missionary Eli B. Kelsey went to pains to secure themselves a good vantage point from which they could view the royal procession.⁶

For the Church, the Great Exhibition in London was the first exposure to such an event. Later events of even greater size and length proved to be of import to Church missionary development. For example, the Chicago World's Fair (or World's Columbian Exhibition) of 1893 drew the nascent Tabernacle Choir out of Salt Lake City along the railroad to Chicago, where the choir took second place in a singing competition. It was the first time the choir travelled out of the state of Utah. The First Presidency travelled with them, and Second Counselor Joseph F. Smith said of the trip, "Many a one has had his eyes opened, somewhat, on Utah and the Mormon question. I consider it has done more good than five thousand sermons would have done in an ordinary or even extraordinary way."⁷ Seventy years later, the Church invested significant resources in occupying a pavilion at the New York World's Fair of 1964. This effort included the production of the seminal missionary film entitled *Man's Search for Happiness*. This film and other exhibits in the Mormon Pavilion

prompted President David O. McKay to call the pavilion “one of the most unique and effective missionary efforts in [the Church’s] history.”⁸

The 1851 Exhibition: No Place for Religion

Before examining the Latter-day Saint missionaries’ activities in London in 1851, let us consider the role of religion in the exhibition generally. Although Prince Albert inserted the quotation “The earth is the Lord’s and all that therein is”⁹ at the head of the exhibition catalogue, and choirs from St. Paul’s Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and Windsor sang sacred songs and the Archbishop of Canterbury prayed during the opening ceremony, religion was given a very low, almost grudging presence inside the Crystal Palace. One contemporary guide attempted to marry the industrial revolution and British piety by declaring, “With steam and the Bible the English traverse the globe,”¹⁰ but the truth was that there was nothing more than lip service given to religion. While Victorian Britain was overtly Christian, the Christian message was not considered fitting for the exhibition. Albert and the other leading organizers saw the event as a celebration of science, industry, and the wit of man. Disgruntled church leaders looked upon the Crystal Palace as a worldly temple in which man would worship his own ingenuity.¹¹

Churches and religious societies lobbied to have the exhibit closed on Sundays, and there was a considerable debate before it was decided in their favor. The British and Foreign Bible Society requested space to exhibit the Holy Bible in 130 languages but was initially met with a blank refusal. It took three months of petitioning before Prince Albert relented and provided a small area in “a back room in a by passage.”¹² The Religious Tract Society also managed to gain a small presence in the exhibition to display “several books and tracts specially designed to improve and commemorate the Great Exhibition translated in French, German and Italian.”¹³ That the religious community felt like dogs fighting for exhibition scraps is illustrated by a letter from the church wardens of All Saints Knightsbridge to the commissioners dated July 11, 1851, soliciting the complete receipts of one day’s admission in aid of church funds.¹⁴

Prince Albert was not so much afraid of Christianity per se but of sectarianism. Much of the material published by religious societies at the time of the exhibition contained warnings against Popery and Catholicism.¹⁵ One subtext of the exhibition was to demonstrate peace and cooperation on an international scale, and overt sectarianism and bigotry, not to mention sheer religious crankiness, were to be avoided.

All religious groups from the Church of England down realized that given no platform inside the exhibition, they would have to find ways to influence people outside it. For example, Bishop Blomfield, the Anglican Primate of London, appointed a committee to consider ways to proselyte visitors. Tracts were distributed, and the Church of England book of common prayer was made available in French and German translations. Some ministers made their own private arrangements to accommodate and instruct visiting worshippers. The Reverend G. Drew arranged a special course of six evening sermons to be delivered by well-known clerics, including the popular author of social commentary Reverend Charles Kingsley.

The LDS Church in London in 1851

Like their fellow ministers of other denominations, the missionaries of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints found it necessary to work outside of the exhibition proper. Given the difficulties the British and Foreign Bible Society had in displaying copies of the Holy Bible, the likelihood of the Latter-day Saint elders having a pitch to show the Book of Mormon was zero. No letters requesting a presence in the Crystal Palace were sent by Church leaders to the exhibition commissioners.¹⁶

By 1851 the Church was well established in London with a membership of about three thousand. Just ten years after the first missionaries arrived in the capital city of the British Empire, London was, by the close of 1850, the strongest area of the Church in the British Isles.¹⁷ As the opening of the Great Exhibition drew closer, the Church in London, under the leadership of Elder Eli B. Kelsey, was progressing well. In the first five months of 1851, eight new branches were created and 714 converts were baptized.¹⁸

The growth of the Church in London had been slower than in other parts of the British Isles. Two days after seeing the first London convert baptized in 1840, Wilford Woodruff recorded in his journal, "London is the hardest place I ever visited for establishing the gospel."¹⁹ However, the elders of 1840 persevered. Scholars report that "despite the comparatively meager harvest in London, Heber C. Kimball refused to be discouraged. He wrote to his wife that the ice was broken and that the Church finally was getting such a hold that 'the Devle cannot Root it out.'"²⁰ "Considering the time and effort that went into opening that city, coupled with its symbolic importance as the capital of the empire, the London effort [of 1840] was undoubtedly the greatest disappointment of the mission."²¹ From the comparative frustration of 1840, the Church in London had by 1851 reached a size and maturity sufficient to convince Mission President Franklin D. Richards and Elder Kelsey that visitors to London would be

impressed. Certainly, the general excitement of 1851 London society at large was reflected in the small Latter-day Saint community. They were on the crest of a wave and determined to enjoy the celebrations and make the most of their opportunities.

In Eli B. Kelsey the Church had an experienced missionary leader presiding over the London Conference. He had previously served as president of the Warwickshire and Glasgow Conferences before arriving in London in January 1851. Kelsey was convinced of the importance of the printed word in proclaiming the restored gospel, and he quickly moved to improve production of books and tracts in London. In February he set up a bookstore in the shop owned by Brother William Cook in Jewin Street, in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. The shop was situated on a corner, offering two large windows ideal for display. Paternoster Row and its publishing houses were only a short walk away. Kelsey wrote to President Richards and requested a renewed supply of pamphlets and books. On April 10 he reported that twenty thousand tracts were already in circulation in the city.²²

Both President Richards and Elder Kelsey realized the unique opportunity presented by the Great Exhibition, and it is probable that President Richards assigned Kelsey to the London Conference with the exhibition in mind. Four months before the exhibition opened, the *Millennial Star* declared, "What an opportunity to present heavens best gift—the REVELATIONS OF GOD'S WILL—to the notice of men of many nations: a worthy item indeed to be obtained at the World's Fair. The Book of Mormon may there be had in English, French, and Danish." The people came to London to see the products of the new industrial age and the wonder that was the Crystal Palace, but Franklin D. Richards hoped that some would "discover at the 'Exhibition' the spiritual architecture of Christ's Church again on earth, as the most fascinating specimen of Heavenly Science, and thus be led to glorify God, and rejoice for ever that they came up to the 'World's Fair in 1851.'" ²³

Missionaries and Members Gather for the Exhibition

Missionary work to those who had not heard of the truths of the Restoration was obviously a motivator for the LDS elders in the late spring and summer of 1851, but of equal significance was the opportunity to build and develop the members. The Great Exhibition provided an ideal opportunity for Latter-day Saints in Britain to gather together in London where they could not only examine the exhibits but also participate in inspirational meetings. For many ordinary people the burgeoning railway

network that had grown in the 1840s made travel possible from all corners of the country for the first time. Elder Richards reminded members to secure accommodations early, as London would be inundated with visitors and lodgings would be difficult to find. Most English Saints were working class, but the exhibition commissioners reduced admission to a shilling to enable poor people to attend, and even miserly Victorian employers gave their workers a day off to visit Hyde Park. Elder Kelsey, meanwhile, was inviting missionary elders from all over Europe to London, and he published in the *Millennial Star* eight addresses in the city where branches of the Church could be found.²⁴

To the missionaries laboring in all parts of Britain and in continental Europe who had suffered hardship, disappointment, and downright persecution, the summer festivities in London came as a welcome distraction. Newly baptized local converts were given an ideal opportunity to mix with more experienced leaders and learn gospel truths from the four Apostles who gathered in London. The senior Apostle was Elder John Taylor, who interrupted his work in France to visit London. He was joined by Lorenzo Snow, who had been supervising the translation of the Book of Mormon into Italian.²⁵ Apostles Erastus Snow and Franklin D. Richards were already in London. Several missionaries from across Europe came, including T. B. H. Stenhouse, who took a sojourn from his work in Switzerland and travelled across France to London.

Erastus Snow recorded in his journal his feelings: “It being the time of the great industrial exhibition or World’s fair at the ‘Crystal Palace’ and London full of strangers from all nations, it was particularly an interesting time which we failed not to improve upon both to our own advantage and to imparting the councils of eternal life to others. I remained visiting the exhibition and other interesting objects and attending meetings in different parts of the city until the 11th.”²⁶ President Richards recorded in his journal two exhibition visits. On May 28, he wrote, “I accompanied Br. And Sis. Collinson, Br. L. Snow, E. B. Kelsey, A. M. Harmon, John Lyon, J. D. Ross, &c. to the Crystal Palace entrance 1/- [one shilling] or 24 cents each. Today 37,186 shilling visitors attended beside those who had season tickets which is it supposed numbered a total of 40,000. Cannot here describe the scene.”²⁷ On June 4, he stated simply, “Attended the Exhibition at Crystal Palace.”²⁸

It appears that much of the Apostles’ time was taken up in meetings with members of the Church. Certainly there was no shortage of meetings. The London Conference convened from Saturday, May 31, until Wednesday, June 4. There were general sessions and a priesthood session, and during the afternoon and evening of Monday, June 2, a “Grand Festival” social event

was held in the Freemasons Hall, Great Queen Street. In attendance were four Apostles, twenty-six presidents of other British conferences, missionaries who had travelled from Europe, and many local Saints: “Thousands of saints and strangers assembled in the various halls, were fed bountifully with the bread of life by the servants of God.”²⁹

It is difficult to ascertain how many Saints were among the six million exhibition visitors, or indeed, how many souls were added to their number during the exhibition, but the leaders had difficulty hiring venues large enough to hold meetings. Elder Kelsey tried to secure Exeter Hall, a venue steeped in the history of British missionary societies, for the June 1 meeting. “Truly we are becoming a great people,” enthused Kelsey in the pages of the *Millennial Star*, “when the metropolis of the world can only furnish one hall that is sufficiently capacious to accommodate [us].” But Exeter Hall had been fully booked by other churches, and the Saints had to hold their conference in the City of London Literary and Scientific Institution on Aldersgate Street.³⁰

The baptismal statistics for 1851 do not show any marked increase in growth that could be attributed to the Great Exhibition. However, there is one piece of evidence to suggest at best some growth and at the very least the sanguine outlook of Church leaders: the creation of the Brompton Branch on May 29. The Brompton Branch was right in the middle of the exhibition territory and was convenient for visitors to get to. Unfortunately, it was a short-lived creation, and it survived only a little longer than the closing of the exhibition in October 1851.

In many ways, the Great Exhibition represented the zenith of a golden age in British history. This might also be said for the London Conference, which at the end of 1851 contained the largest number of members in its history.³¹ However, before the end of 1851, the conference boundaries were altered and divided to accommodate newly created conferences in Essex, Reading, Kent, and Land’s End.³² The division, coupled with loss of membership due to emigration, ensured that the London Conference never again captured the size and spirit generated by the excitement of 1851.

The Great Exhibition also provided the missionaries with an opportunity to improve their education. Church leaders had always taught the importance of not only theology but science and the arts as well. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has never been an institution that has set its face against progress, and in the minds of the Apostles and other elders in Victorian London there would have been a natural curiosity and fascination with the content of the Great Exhibition. While other churches warned against the exhibition,³³ such a view would not be found in Latter-day Saint theology. The Latter-day Saint view would be more

closely aligned with that expressed in another contemporary pamphlet, whose author, the Reverend P. Macfarlane, declared, “There is no antipathy between religion and ingenious machinery or beautiful sculpture.”³⁴ It would not be stretching the imagination to contemplate John Taylor and Franklin D. Richards examining steam engines, mechanical threshing equipment, and Naysmith’s steam hammer, which was powerful enough to exert thousands of pounds of pressure and sensitive enough to crack an egg. The first apostolic missionaries in 1840, including Brigham Young himself, included sightseeing and appreciation for their environs as a part of their schedule.

Lessons from the Great Exhibition

The leaders and members of the Church in Victorian London were certainly in step with the spirit generated by the preparations for the Great Exhibition. They showed vision and endeavor in trying to make 1851 a watershed in the history of the Church in the British Isles. A cursory examination of the evidence suggests they failed: They had a jolly time absorbing the festival atmosphere, but it appears that little of real substance was achieved. However, it was in the festival atmosphere that Franklin D. Richards published the original English edition of the *Pearl of Great Price* in Liverpool in 1851, a milestone of some importance in Church history.

So far as the Exhibition was concerned, observations were made, lessons learned, and reports given. Kelsey wrote to President Brigham Young, informing him about the London Conference meetings.³⁵ Brigham was quite happy with the report because four months later Brigham responded, “I have read the account of your celebration; that must have been a great day for the Saints in London and will, I doubt not, have a good effect.”³⁶ The weighing of experience and considering the records of forebears is a distinguishing feature of the *modus operandi* of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the experiences in London in 1851 provided a start to the Church’s interaction with huge public exhibitions. Since the President of the Church took an interest in the unfolding events in London, it is a reasonable assumption that later Church leaders mulled over the experience of 1851. The decision to send the Tabernacle Choir to the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair probably relied on the earlier London experience.

Happy Results

Subsequent events in the Hyde Park area of London would have brought broad smiles to the faces of Eli B. Kelsey and Franklin D. Richards,

and serve as a reminder of the tenacity and staying power of the Latter-day Saint cause.

The commissioners of the Great Exhibition—who planned and executed the whole extravaganza with not so much as a penny of taxpayer money—made a profit of £186,000. After the Crystal Palace was taken down section by section, moved to the south of the River Thames, and re-erected on Sydenham Hill,³⁷ the commissioners set about investing their handsome profit. Prince Albert managed to persuade the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Benjamin Disraeli, to find some public funds to match the Commissioner's profits. For £324,000 they purchased an 87-acre estate between Cromwell Road and Kensington Road in South Kensington. On this land they planned an impressive array of museums and galleries, a vast concert hall, and a university college. The Royal Albert Hall (fig. 2) was opened in 1870; the Natural History Museum situated on the Cromwell Road opened in 1881. Between the two a wide road was built and named, appropriately, Exhibition Road. On one side of Exhibition Road the Victoria and Albert Museum was built and opened in 1910, and on the other side, the Imperial College of Science and Technology opened its doors in 1907.³⁸ In later



FIG. 2. Royal Albert Hall, 2005. Completed in 1870, the building is used for concerts and meetings and was the site of a Church multi-stake conference in 1978.

years, the Science Museum and the Geology Museum were built on Exhibition Road.

Of great consequence to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, on a site directly opposite the Science Museum and right next to the Victoria and Albert Museum, within the boundary of the parcel of land purchased by the Great Exhibition Commissioners, the Hyde Park meetinghouse (fig. 3) was erected and dedicated in 1961.³⁹ This building stands, not in the least incongruously, amid some renowned and impressive public architecture.

The building is a source of pride and a place of worship to thousands of local members and visitors from all corners of the globe. It has served as a ward and stake meetinghouse, a mission headquarters, an Institute of Religion venue, and a Family History Center that has, over the years, blessed thousands of souls. Prophets and Apostles from the time of David O. McKay to the present day have taught, trained, and testified on the ground trodden by their dedicated spiritual forebears of 1851.

On May 28, 1978, Elder Gordon B. Hinckley of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles presided over a meeting held in the Royal Albert Hall to, in his words, “conduct major surgery”⁴⁰ to the Church in London by reorganizing the six stakes that were either a part of London or whose borders touched outer London boroughs. The Albert Hall was packed to the rafters with Latter-day Saints in a mood of reverent rejoicing and anticipation. A choir of Church members sang wonderfully in that great hall that has so often reverberated to the strains of professional choirs and orchestras. It was a landmark occasion for London Saints to emerge from the shadows of obscurity and fill one of the great and famous venues, a building built from the profits of the Great Exhibition of 1851. That meeting, and the building of the Hyde Park chapel, can be seen as part of a fulfilment of the hopes, vision, and hard work of Eli B. Kelsey and his associates in 1851.



FIG. 3. Hyde Park meetinghouse, 2005. This building, erected in 1961, stands among museums, university buildings, and a concert hall—all near where the Crystal Palace once stood.

Courtesy Janice Faulconer

Latter-day Saints believe in the permanency of their work and view spiritual continuity as an expected feature of their experience. It is not uncommon for one generation to sow the seeds and succeeding generations to reap the harvest. So it was regarding the missionary work of 1851 in London.

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1. Henry Cole, quoted in Asa Briggs, *Victorian People* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1955), 16.

2. The term “Crystal Palace” first appeared in *Punch* 19 (November 2, 1850): A.

3. Upon seeing the Crystal Palace erected, Colonel Thomas Sibthorp, member of Parliament for Lincoln, declared in the House of Commons, “They might call it success but I call it failure. I do not wish to see that building destroyed by any acts of violence, but would to God that some hailstorm, or some visitation of lightning might descend to defeat the ill-advised project.” Quoted in Stanley Weintraub, *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert* (London: Free Press, 1997), 246.

4. Quoted in David Thomson, *England in the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin History of England, vol. 8 (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1951), 103.

5. [London] *Times*, May 2, 1851.

6. Manuscript History and Historical Reports, London Conference, May 1, 1851, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives).

7. Gerry Avant, “1893: First Choir Out-of-State Tour: Singers Compete at Chicago Fair, Have Concerts in 4 Cities,” *Church News*, published by *Deseret News*, September 4, 1993. See also K. C. Terry, *Great Moments in Mormonism* (Santa Barbara: Butterfly Publishing, 1980).

8. Brent L. Top, “Legacy of the Mormon Pavilion,” *Ensign* 19 (October 1989): 22.

9. *Exhibition Catalogue (1851)* (London: Imperial College, Archive of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, 1851).

10. Tallis’s *History and Description of the Crystal Palace* (London, 1851), quoted in Francois Bedarida, *A Social History of England, 1851–1990* (London: Routledge, 1991), 8.

11. William Edward Painter referred to the Crystal Palace as “the Idol of Science and Intellect.” William Edward Painter, *The Theology and Morality of the Great Exhibition* (London: By the author, 1851).

12. Painter, *Theology and Morality of the Great Exhibition*.

13. *Exhibition Catalogue (1851)*, 151.

14. Letter number 375, Imperial College, Archive of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, London.

15. Contemporary documents include *An Address to Foreigners Visiting the Great Exhibition of Arts in London—the Scriptures and the Sabbath in England* (n.p.: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1851); Alexander Emerton, *A Moral and Religious Guide to the Great Exhibition* (n.p.: By the author, 1851); P. Macfarlane, *The Crystal Palace Viewed in Some of Its Moral and Religious Aspects* (Edinburgh: DC Budge, 1851); and *A Walk through the Crystal Palace* (n.p.: Religious Tract Society, 1851).

16. The Archive of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition contains 870 letters written to the commissioners in 1850 and 1851 with no correspondence from any Latter-day Saints. Nor is any such correspondence recorded in the *Millennial Star*.

17. "Statistical Report of the Church in the British Islands for the Half-Year Beginning December 1st, 1850," *Millennial Star* 13 (January 1, 1851): 15.

18. "Statistical Report of the Church in the British Islands, for the Half-Year Beginning June 1st, 1851," *Millennial Star* 13 (July 1, 1851): 207.

19. Wilford Woodruff, quoted in James B. Allen, Ronald K. Esplin, and David J. Whittaker, *Men with a Mission, 1837–1841: The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the British Isles* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 192.

20. Allen, Esplin, and Whittaker, *Men with a Mission*, 197.

21. James B. Allen and Malcolm R. Thorp, "The Mission of the Twelve to England, 1840–41: Mormon Apostles and the Working Classes," *BYU Studies* 15, no. 4 (1975): 8.

22. Eli B. Kelsey, "A Communication from Elder Eli B. Kelsey," *Millennial Star* 13 (May 1, 1851): 140.

23. "Editorial," *Millennial Star* 13 (February 1, 1851): 41.

24. Kelsey, "A Communication from Elder Eli B. Kelsey," 141.

25. The first branch of the Church in Italy was organized in 1850.

26. Manuscript History and Historical Reports, British Mission, May 30, 1851, Church Archives.

27. Franklin D. Richards, Journal, May 28, 1851, Church Archives, also in *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), vol. 1.

28. Richards, Journal, June 4, 1851.

29. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Held in the City of London, Saturday and Sunday, May 31st, and June 1st, 1851* (London: W. Aubrey, 1851), 1, Church Archives.

30. Kelsey, "A Communication from Elder Eli B. Kelsey," 141.

31. *Half-Yearly Report of the London Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Held in the City of London, Saturday and Sunday, December 6th and 7th, 1851* (London: J. B. Franklin, 1851), 5, Church Archives.

32. At about this same time, branches were created in Romford, Grays Chelmsford, Dunmow, Bishops Stortford, and Hockley. See English Branch Records, Church Archives; "Organizations and Appointments," *Millennial Star* 13 (November 1, 1851).

33. Painter, *Theology and Morality of the Great Exhibition*.

34. Macfarlane, *Crystal Palace Viewed in Some of Its Moral and Religious Aspects*.

35. “We expect to hold a Conference in London the first sabbath in June. . . . By that time the Great Exhibition will be in all its Glory—therefore between sight seeing and the pleasure of beholding each others faces, we expect to pass a fortnight very agreeably.” Eli B. Kelsey to Brigham Young, April 25, 1851, Brigham Young Incoming Correspondence, Church Archives.

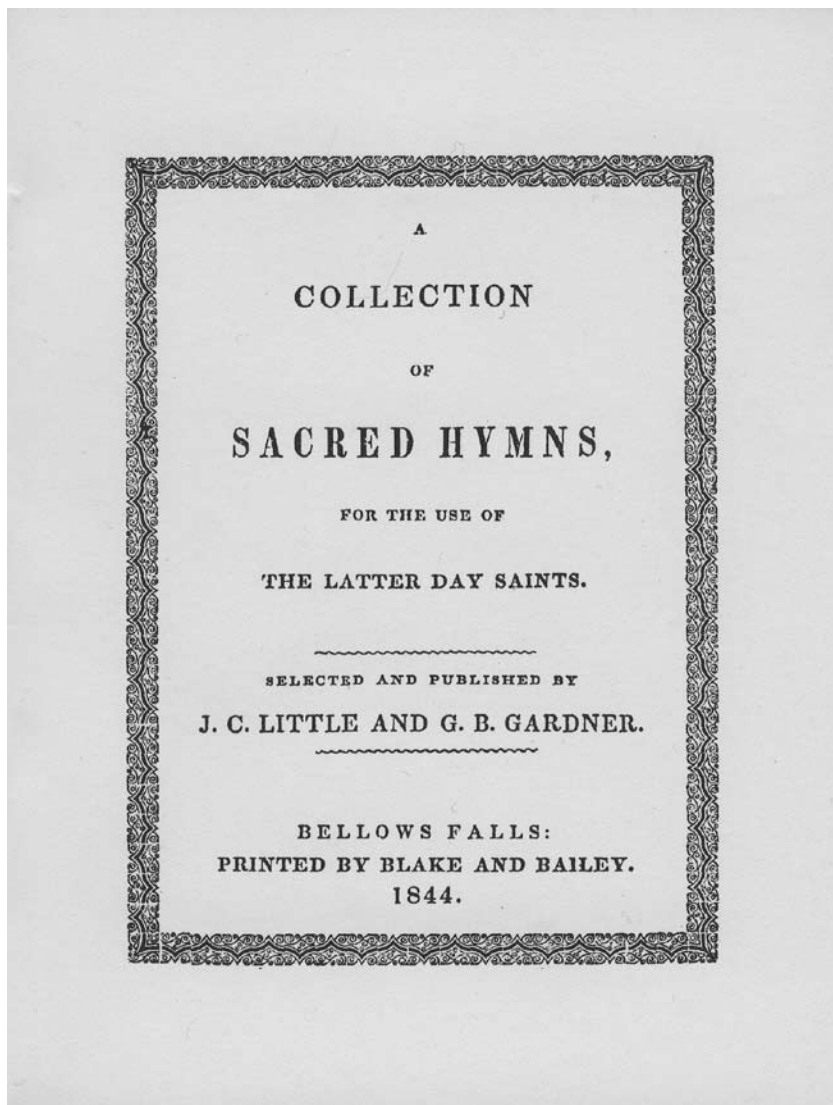
36. Brigham Young to Elder Eli B. Kelsey, Outgoing Correspondence, September 12, 1851, Church Archives.

37. It remained in place until on the night of November 30, 1936, it was destroyed by fire. Several iron towers remained standing but were taken down in 1941 because they provided an easy landmark for German bombers.

38. See Stephen Inwood, *A History of London* (London: Macmillan, 1998), 670.

39. The land upon which the Church building stands was originally a part of the commissioners estate but was sold to private investors. At the time the meetinghouse was built, the land was owned by Progress Property Investments Limited. The Church secured a long lease with title absolute registered December 5, 1966. English Land Registry, London, title number LN146953.

40. Author’s personal journal.



Courtesy Mason County [Illinois] History Project

FIG. 1. The Little and Gardner hymnal is the first known Latter-day Saint hymnal to include music notation, including the earliest known notation of the beloved hymn “The Spirit of God.”

The Little and Gardner Hymnal, 1844

A Study of Its Origin and Contribution to the LDS Musical Canon

Marilyn J. Crandall

The purpose of this study is to research the hymnal *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of the Latter-day Saints*, the first LDS hymnal that included musical notation along with the text. Published in 1844 by Blake and Bailey of Bellows Falls, Vermont (now part of Rockingham, Vermont), it was compiled by Jesse Carter Little and George Bryant Gardner, both of whom were living in Peterborough, New Hampshire, and both of whom converted to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. To date, I have been unable to find a single contemporaneous reference to the hymnal. The hymnal simply exists (fig. 1). Neither Gardner nor any of his descendants ever mention it, and there is no reference to it in any of Little's papers, although many of his papers were destroyed by fire in the 1990s.

Several hymnals for the use of Latter-day Saints were already in existence by 1844, and there is sufficient evidence to conclude that two of these hymnals influenced the choice of material for the new hymnal by Little and Gardner, which was published privately by them. So one may ask, what need did this additional hymnal fulfill? Does it have any historical significance for the Church? Was the format different from other hymnals of the time?

The inquiry would not be complete without a search into the lives and motives of the two compilers. George Bryant Gardner was a chorister in the Methodist Church before joining The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. What Methodist influences, if any, did he bring with him to this new religion? As Jesse Carter Little was the presiding elder over the Peterborough, New Hampshire, Branch of the Church, what part did he play in the publication of the hymnal? Was he also a musician, or was his contribution solely financial and supportive?

The purpose of this research, then, is to discover a rationale for the creation of the hymnal and its subsequent usefulness. The scope will include some analysis of the hymnal itself and create brief sketches of the lives of its compilers. Also included is Appendix A, which includes further discussion on other important hymnals of the day, and Appendix B, which

Marilyn J. Crandall

In 1991, while visiting the Museum of Church History and Art of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, I noticed a number of copies of Emma Smith's 1835 hymnal in various displays. Realizing that they looked too new to be originals, I inquired as to their origin. I was told that Heritage Press, owned by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (now known as the Community of Christ Church),



was reprinting them and that they were available for purchase from that press. I was then shown a paperback reproduction of the Little and Gardner hymnal that was printed from a copy in the Vermont State Library in 1990 by the Mason County [Illinois] History Project, and was informed that they were available for purchase at the museum gift shop. After purchasing a copy, I was surprised and delighted to recognize my great-great-grandfather George Bryant Gardner as one of the compilers. In 1994, I took a leave of absence from my position as a music teacher to pursue a master's degree in library science from the University of Arizona. When the time came to choose a thesis topic, the Little and Gardner hymnal came to mind. It was a book and it was about music, a perfect fit.

G. B. Gardner gave his posterity a love and appreciation for music. Among his descendants are vocalists, instrumentalists, composers, arrangers, and performers, even down into the sixth and seventh generations as of this writing.

provides a more in-depth analysis of the tunes and texts in the Little and Gardner hymnal.

Early LDS Hymnals

In July 1830, just three months after the organization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a revelation of instruction was given to Emma Smith, through her husband Joseph, President of the Church, “to make a selection of sacred hymns, as it shall be given thee, which is pleasing unto me, to be had in my church. For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea, the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads” (D&C 25:11–12). Although another five years would pass before the instruction could be realized, the revelation has been the basis for placing a great deal of emphasis on music in Latter-day Saint worship. The use of hymns and music in general as a medium of worship, praise, spiritual uplift, and social entertainment has a high priority in Mormon culture.

In August 1835, Emma Smith’s hymnal, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of The Latter Day Saints*, was published in Kirtland, Ohio, by Frederick G. Williams and Company. The preface reads as follows:

In order to sing by the Spirit, and with the understanding, it is necessary that the church of the Latter Day Saints should have a collection of “SACRED HYMNS” adapted to their faith and belief in the gospel . . . as the song of the righteous is a prayer unto God, it is sincerely hoped that the following collection, selected with an eye single to his glory, may answer every purpose till more are composed, or till we are blessed with a copious variety of the songs of Zion.¹

It is plainly evident that the Saints had a fervent desire to have access to the hymns of Zion, to pray unto God with song, and to raise their voices in praise and worship.

Measuring 3 inches by 4½ inches, the 1835 hymnal contains ninety hymn texts (no music), with thirty-nine having been written by Latter-day Saint poets. Emma received help from William W. Phelps in adapting several non-LDS texts, and in compiling and preparing the book. It was common practice at that time to publish text-only hymnals. Tune books, created by many sects, groups, and denominations as well as established publishers, were used as sources for hymn tunes.²

Between 1835 and 1845 at least ten other hymnals were published by various members of the LDS Church. Among them was the *Manchester Hymnal*, first published in 1840 in Manchester, England, by Parley P. Pratt, Brigham Young, and John Taylor, and later published in Liverpool. The

first edition contained 271 texts, and as Saints from Europe began immigrating, the hymnal appeared in the United States.

A greatly expanded second edition of Emma Smith's hymnal was published in Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1841, but because of increasing opposition and persecution any further attempts to publish an official Church hymnal in America were abandoned. On the other hand, the *Manchester Hymnal* was very successful and was published with little or no opposition, and so it became the official Church hymnal for the next fifty years. During this period, it went through twenty-four editions and reprints. After the Saints' trek westward, the printing moved to Salt Lake City, Utah, but not until 1891. There it was published yearly until 1912, when the Church began using the present-day format for hymnals.

At one time Parley P. Pratt was admonished by Hyrum Smith that hymnals as well as other church works should receive the scrutiny of the Prophet Joseph Smith and be printed only in Nauvoo in order that there be "a standard to all nations." Thus, several members received Church discipline for publishing unsanctioned hymnals.³ The Little and Gardner hymnal, however, seemed not to have fallen under this injunction, perhaps because Little was the presiding elder over the branches in New England and was leading the effort. Also, it was likely understood that the Little and Gardner hymnal was only to act as a temporary resource until the second edition of Emma Smith's hymnal was finished.

Music in Nineteenth-Century Peterborough

During the early 1800s, various social organizations involving music sprang up all over New England. Peterborough Village, wherein lived both George Bryant Gardner and Jesse Carter Little (fig. 2), was no exception.

By 1840 . . . there was much social life in Peterborough Village. . . . Music held an important place. Dancing was a favorite form of amusement. . . . The Ames . . . were the ones regularly called upon to furnish music for the various activities of the town. . . . In his [Alvah Ames's] spare moments, when he was not running his butcher store, he gave lessons in dancing to the accompaniment of his own violin.⁴

Music societies were especially important social outlets for members of local churches. They would meet regularly and sing hymns using the *solfege* system of music instruction. *Solfege* is defined as the "singing of scales, intervals and melodic exercises to solmization syllables [as in *do, re, mi*, and so forth]."⁵ Using this method, singers could acquire great fluency in reading music.

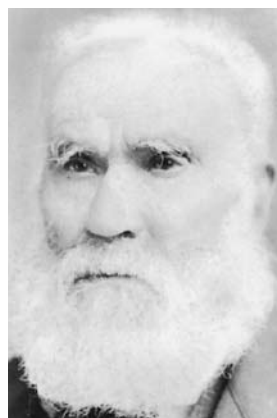
These societies commonly used tune books along with text-only hymnals as instructional material. Each tune included a tune name and meter that could be matched with the meter indicated at the beginning of each hymn text. By matching the meters of text and tune, a singer would be able to sing the hymn with a compatible tune. Tune books included indexes of tune names as well as meters. The tunes were usually homophonic (one melody line) with four lines of music, the top line for tenors, the second line for altos, the third line for sopranos, and the fourth line for basses. Preceding the tunes was a section, sometimes quite lengthy, on the basic elements of music including exercises for vocal production and development. The Little and Gardner hymnal was no exception.

Jesse Carter Little

Jesse Carter Little was a prominent figure in Peterborough in the late 1830s and early 1840s. The youngest of eight children, he was born September 26, 1815, in Belmont, Waldo County, Maine, to Thomas Little and Relief White. Soon after his birth the family moved to Peterborough, New Hampshire, where he grew up. He joined the LDS Church in 1839.

On September 29, 1840, Little married Elizabeth Greenwood French, daughter of Whitcomb French and Mary Kendall. He served in many capacities in the LDS church, including presiding elder for the Eastern States Mission, and second counselor to the Presiding Bishopric under Bishop Edward Hunter in Salt Lake City. He served in that capacity for eighteen years.

It was Jesse Carter Little who, under the direction of Brigham Young, went to Washington D.C. and successfully petitioned President James K. Polk for payment to be issued to the Mormon Battalion in advance of its



Courtesy Marilyn J. Crandall



Courtesy Jesse Carter Little Family

FIG. 2. George Bryant Gardner (*top*) and Jesse Carter Little (*bottom*), compilers of the 1844 hymnal. Gardner taught music and dance, and was later called to settle in southern Utah. Little served later as president of the Eastern States Mission.

march. This assured the Church that there would be sufficient monetary resources for the impending exodus to the West.

He was in the first pioneer company to enter the Salt Lake Valley, but thereafter made several more trips to the East and back again, all the while serving as president of the Eastern States Mission. Finally in 1852, he brought his family with him and settled in the Salt Lake area. Prosperous as a merchant and civic leader, Little was also active in ecclesiastical, military, and industrial affairs, was responsible for many public works projects, and was a pioneer in the establishment of several communities in northern Utah. He died on December 25, 1893, at the age of seventy-eight.

No reference has been found of his having had any musical training, nor does music seem to have played a key role in his life. It is my opinion that Little probably provided the financial backing for the printing of the Little and Gardner hymnal as he was a very successful merchant and property owner in Peterborough. Also, as a Church leader, he understood the potential for music to enrich the worship experiences and lives of Church members.

George Bryant Gardner

Born in New Ipswich, Hillsborough, New Hampshire, on April 4, 1813, George Bryant Gardner was the youngest child of Abel Gardner and Lusannah Bryant. The Gardner family included thirteen children that all lived to adulthood. They were poor and subsisted on what was produced on their small, rocky farm in southern New Hampshire.⁶

There is no record as to how Gardner received his musical training, but knowing the harsh realities of his childhood, one can surmise that he had no formal training. However, journal entries by family members indicate that there was much music in the Gardner home, and that it was a happy household despite many hardships. Gardner was known to have taught in “singing schools” into the 1890s. He established himself as a teacher of singing and dancing wherever he went. Perhaps the only musical training he received in his youth was by participating in such music societies and by enjoying a variety of social opportunities in addition to being reared in a musical environment.

George Bryant Gardner married Elizabeth Dyer Ryan, daughter of Rogers Ryan and Mary Harris Dyer on November 3, 1836. He was a blacksmith by trade as well as a church musician and regular attendee of the Methodist Church. The Gardners moved to Peterborough in May of 1841, bought a house and some land from Adam Penniman, Deacon in the Methodist Church, and set up a blacksmith shop. Gardner tells the charming (and musically significant) story of their conversion to the LDS Church:

[I] attended meeting very regularly, and was chorister, class leader and Sabbath school teacher for about six months . . . at the Methodist meeting house and in good standing with that society. One Sabbath about the first of July 1841 while sitting and listening to our Methodist Priest, it being warm weather and all the windows opened, my ears caught the sound of some man preaching in the Town House, just across a narrow lane which sounded like music in my ears. On inquiry after meeting I learned it was a man by the name of Eli P. Magim [Maginn] a Mormon elder from Nauvoo, Illinois.⁷

Eli P. Maginn was said to be a very capable and spirited preacher with a strong, powerful voice.⁸ As he drew such large crowds, he would at times sit in the windowsill of the hall so those unable to get inside could still hear him. Gardner was determined to know more about him,

and accordingly the next time he preached I made arrangements with my Methodist brethren in regards to their singing and went to hear him preach, and was satisfied that he was called of God and I should not resist.

He did not preach often but when he did I made it in my way to hear him. I concluded to be baptized, accordingly the day was set when he should visit me and attend to the ordinance. I was working in my shop when I saw him coming. I took off my blacksmith apron and laid my hammer on my anvil and went with him to the water, left my wife a crying Old Father Peneman threatening to dispose me, he having a mortgage on my property. And some neighbors prophesying that I should lose all my customers. But I burst those bands and was baptized by Elder Eli P. Magim, on Monday, November 20th, 1841, in the Cantocook River, while this was going on the Methodist sisters gathered around my wife a telling her that she had got to give up her husband for he had joined a poor deluded people and would go off and leave her. I was about the first one that was baptized in that place, but after this the Church began to increase very fast, and in January 1842, my wife was baptized.⁹

At one time, during the early 1840s, the Peterborough Branch of the Church exceeded one hundred adults.¹⁰

Gardner and his wife determined to gather with the Saints, and after arriving in Nauvoo, Illinois, in the fall of 1845, immediately began preparing for the exodus west. Rather than depart with the vanguard company, Gardner was asked to stay and help make wagons for those needing more time. He finally crossed the Mississippi River in June 1846, and almost immediately he and his wife contracted malaria. After joining the “Poor Camp” at Garden Grove, Iowa,¹¹ they eventually arrived in Winter Quarters. It took them over a year to recover. When Gardner arrived in Salt Lake City in 1850, he worked for ten years in various enterprises and public works projects and devoted a considerable amount of time to building

the temple. In 1860, he was called to go to Dixie (southern Utah) and help establish that area. He lived there for seventeen years. At the time of the dedication of the St. George Temple, he was called to northern Arizona to establish settlements there. George Bryant Gardner died in Woodruff, Arizona, on March 13, 1898, at the age of eighty-five.

Publication of the Little and Gardner Hymnal

Publication of the hymnal by J. C. Little and G. B. Gardner, entitled *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of Latter Day Saints*, was printed by Blake and Bailey of Bellows Falls, Vermont, sometime between January and June of 1844. Dr. Seth M. Blake and Goldsmith F. Bailey were partners in a printing establishment from 1843 until June of 1844 when Bailey left the partnership to study law. Blake, who received the title of “doctor” after learning the science of dentistry from his brother, was also the publisher of the local newspaper, the *Bellows Falls Gazette*. Peterborough, New Hampshire, some thirty miles east of Bellows Falls, did not have a newspaper at the time, and thus had limited resources for printing. Bellows Falls, on the other hand, had a paper mill and a thriving printing industry that included the publication of music books of various kinds.¹² It would seem likely then, for Blake and Bailey of Bellows Falls, Vermont, to become the printers of the Little and Gardner hymnal.

This hymnal was unique among early LDS hymnals in that it included music. The hymnal measures 4½ inches wide by 5½ inches long. “Its bindings include half or three-quarter black or brown sheep [leather] with marble paper boards, the title in gilt on the backstrip . . . and full brown sheep with a blind stamped border on the covers, gilt bands and gilt title on the backstrip.”¹³ The hymnal is composed of a title page, two pages of music instruction under the title “Scale, Signatures, Notes and Rests,” followed by forty-eight hymns. The first thirty-one hymns contain soprano and bass lines, and the last seventeen are texts without music. In the back there is an index of first lines. Text meters are indicated for all forty-eight hymns. Six texts list authors: numbers 40, 42, and 43 by Mary Judd Page, and numbers 45, 46, and 47 by William W. Phelps.

The number of copies printed is unknown. I have identified eleven existing copies belonging to ten libraries in the United States.¹⁴ There are also an undetermined number in private hands. Some of these have been auctioned recently with the selling price in the tens of thousands of dollars.

Eleven of the tunes found in the Little and Gardner hymnal are found in Joshua Leavitt’s 1830 *Christian Lyre* (see Appendix A), which has a

similar format including pages of vocal instruction and exercises. These similarities make one think that perhaps Little and Gardner used it as a prototype. The *Christian Lyre* also has one very important addition: a preface written by Leavitt himself, which explains the usefulness of the hymnal, the purpose of the soprano and bass lines, and the reason for the lack of four-part harmony. It reads as follows:

Every person conversant with revivals must have observed, that whenever meetings for prayer and conference assume a special interest, there is a desire to use hymns and music of a different character from those ordinarily heard in the church. . . .

The usefulness also of many excellent hymns in all our modern collections, has been prevented by the inability of singers to find tunes adapted to the various subjects and metres. The “Christian Lyre” is undertaken with a view to meet both these deficiencies. It is intended to contain a collection of such pieces as are specially adapted to evening meetings and social worship, and chiefly such as are not found in our common collections of sacred music.

As the work is not designed to please scientific musicians, so much as to profit plain christians, reference will be had, chiefly, to the known popularity and good influence of what is selected. And it is intended to embrace the music that is most current among different denominations of christians.

As the number of parts is apt to distract the attention of an audience, or to occupy them with the music instead of the sentiment, the tunes here printed will generally be accompanied with only a simple bass, and sometimes not even with that. In a vast multitude of cases the *religious* effect of a hymn is heightened by having all sing the air only.

Possessing no musical skill beyond that of ordinary plain singers, I send out my work, without pretensions. If it aids the progress of Christ’s cause, I shall be rewarded. If not, I shall be accepted according to what I had, and not according to what I had not. And it will prepare the way for some other person to do it better.¹⁵

Leavitt then gives instruction in the use of *solfege* as well as other basic musical instruction. His explanation gives us good insight into common hymn singing practices of the time. Undoubtedly, this familiarity was carried into the LDS Church by its converts.

There have been those who have suggested that the alto and tenor parts in the Little and Gardner hymnal were to be improvised if there were enough singers, or singers with the ability to do so, and that the reason for the omission of these parts was economical. Leavitt clarifies this notion when he explains that, to him, the highest level of music worship is unison singing, so one would not be distracted from the textual meaning of the hymn by the musicality of part singing.

Most congregational singing was *a capella*, and the chorister would “line out,” or sing the hymn one phrase at a time, followed by the congregation or choir repeating each phrase. This rote method would be repeated on subsequent occasions until the singers were comfortable singing the hymn in its entirety.

It has also been suggested that the bass line acted as a figured bass (a type of shorthand notation) for instrumental accompanists. It should be pointed out, however, that the small size and binding of the hymnal itself would likely preclude it from being used by instrumentalists. It would be difficult for it to stay open by itself. Methodists, of which Gardner was a former member, “frowned upon the use of anything other than the human voice. The playing of organs was a vanity, and the violin an incarnation of the devil.”¹⁶ This tight grip on Methodist music was loosened in the 1840s when the organ was gradually accepted as an instrument for accompanying singing. Leavitt explains that the bass line could provide a figured bass for an accompanist, but perhaps more importantly, its auditory presence would help singers with intonation.

There is no conclusive evidence as to why the Little and Gardner hymnal was created, but it is my opinion that, given its format, the explanations by Leavitt, and the fact that Little and Gardner were members of a substantial congregation of recently converted Latter-day Saints, the intent simply was to meet current needs and desires of those Saints. This theory is supported by the preface of an LDS text-only hymnal compiled by John Hardy and printed in Boston in 1843:

In issuing this little work [156 hymns], The compiler would ask leave to say, that his *only* object in so doing, is to meet the *immediate* and *urgent* demand for hymn books by the branch in this city. If other branches in this region of country, which are not well supplied with hymns, see fit to adopt this book for their use, (for the time being) until supplied with a better, the compiler will be thankful.¹⁷

If the intent of the hymnal was to meet the current needs of the Saints, how widely was it used? Again there is no real answer, but it is my opinion that its usage did not go much beyond the local congregation in Peterborough, and perhaps not for any great length of time. It has been held by some that the hymnal was used as far away as Nauvoo, Illinois, a thousand miles from Peterborough. If that were the case, one would think that there would be more copies in existence, and that there would be some mention of it. In addition, the logistics of time and the transportation limitations in the early 1840s preclude the notion of wide use for the Little and Gardner hymnal from being practical.

On December 21, 1841, a meeting was held by the Department of Music in the City of Nauvoo during which a resolution passed authorizing the use of Lowell Mason's *Manual of Instruction* as a textbook for basic music instruction.¹⁸ Mason's tune books, containing hundreds of hymn tunes as well as pages of instruction, were in wide use throughout the country at the time and were actually sold in Nauvoo. Due to the wide use of Mason's tune books, it is unlikely that the Little and Gardner hymnal would have been used in Nauvoo at the time. Furthermore, the Adams hymnal, which was a text-only hymnal and was similar to many others that were in circulation at the time, was published in the same area and only one year after the Little and Gardner hymnal. That there was demand for another hymnal so close in time and place to the publication of the Little and Gardner hymnal perhaps serves as a final commentary on its limited circulation and use.

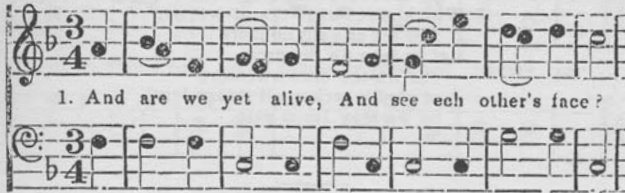
Another reason to support the theory that the hymnal was not widely used is, simply stated, the hymnal is full of printing errors. For example, in hymn 14 the word "each" in the first line is misspelled, the verses are numbered incorrectly, syllabic accents do not correspond with the strong beat/weak beat pattern in measures 6 and 7, and the words do not always line up under the right beat. Other hymns have an insufficient number of beats in some measures, incorrect roots in the bass, and other errors as a result of poor editing.¹⁹

In addition to printing errors, the limitations of hand-set printing presses become apparent. To print a hymnal meant hand setting each note with pitch and value on a palette. This resulted in the staff lines appearing as broken lines. The next step was trying to fit each syllable under the correct note. How disappointed Little and Gardner must have been when all of these imperfections were realized in print! (fig. 3).

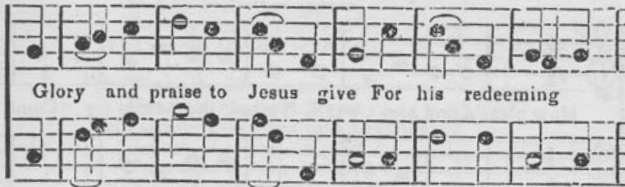
Mistakes aside, the Little and Gardner hymnal admirably reflects mainstream Mormonism. Both compilers were true believers, suffered much and sacrificed greatly to establish Zion, and died as members in good standing. Their reason for creating the hymnal was simple; they desired to give local converts, undoubtedly friends and acquaintances, access to the hymns of Zion in order to realize the power of worship through music.

As with the Emma Smith hymnals, the Little and Gardner hymnal shows a strong influence from the Methodist tradition, though half of the Little and Gardner hymns were written by Latter-day Saints. However, all thirty-one tunes were borrowed from existing tune books or other sources. Neither Gardner nor Little was a composer or poet. In fact, evidence shows that no LDS musicians were composing music until after the migration to Utah. The lack of original music compositions notwithstanding, the

No. 14. And are we yet alive. S. M.



Preserv'd by pow'r divine To full salvation here,



Again in Jesus' praise we join, And in his sight ap-



pear.

2 What troubles have we seen,
What conflicts have we passed,
Fightings without, and fears within,
Since we assembled last?
But out of all the Lord
Hath brought us by his love;
And still he doth his help afford,
And hides our life above.

FIG. 3. This hymn from the Little and Gardner hymnal shows the limitations of hand-set printing presses. The staff lines appear as broken lines, and the difficulties of fitting each syllable under the correct note are apparent.

hymnal portrays the deep conversion of its compilers to the restoration of the gospel²⁰ and a gallant effort to bring to the Saints in southern New Hampshire the opportunity of singing the hymns of Zion. Their efforts are to be commended. (For further analysis of the hymnal, see Appendix B.)

The Spirit of God

The most important contribution the Little and Gardner hymnal makes to LDS hymnody is the inclusion of the hymn “The Spirit of God” by William W. Phelps. Beloved by the Saints of the Restoration, it has been sung at every temple dedication in this dispensation. Its placement as number one by Little and Gardner is also an indication of their regard for its message. The origin of this tune is unknown, but the version in the Little and Gardner hymnal is the earliest found thus far. The tune is recognizable when compared to the “The Spirit of God” as sung today, though it has undergone many changes, mostly made by Evan Stephens in the mid-nineteenth century.

A rather charming article was published in the Peterborough newspaper, *The Transcript*, on September 16, 1915, concerning the manner in which the Spirit of God was sung. (The content was likely much older than the publication date.) The writer was recalling what he referred to as a Mormon service he attended many years before.

Mormon services really differed little from a Methodist or Free Will Baptist service. I often attended. For the most part, it was a plain evangelical sermon. The sect took the scripture a little more literally, and practiced feet washing. Their hymns were fervid, much like modern gospel hymns. I recall one; could sing a verse if I had the voice in which I sang it often up to a recent period.

We'll wash and be washed, and with oil be anointed,
Withal not omitting the washing of feet,
For he who receiveth the penny appointed
Must surely be clean at the harvest of wheat.

We'll sing and we'll shout with the armies of heaven,
Hosanna, hosanna to God and the Lamb;
Let glory to Him in the highest be given,
Henceforth and forever, amen and amen.

The irreverent oft sang it in the street substituting for “Amen and amen,”
“Jo Smith and McGin [Maginn].”²¹

The above verse is the fourth of six written by William W. Phelps followed by the chorus as it is sung today. The Little and Gardner version (fig. 4, 4a) includes all six verses of text.²² The 1985 LDS hymnal excludes verses four and five. One can almost envision a spirited sermon preached

No. 1. The Spirit of God. 12 11 12 11 12 11.

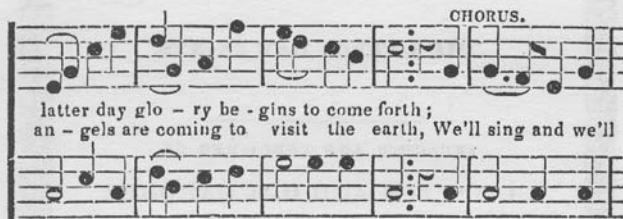
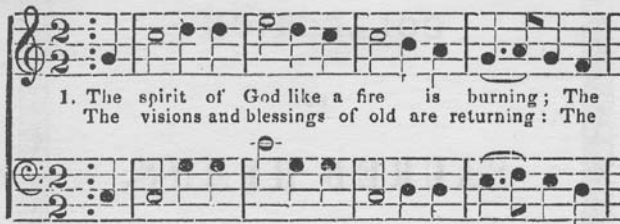
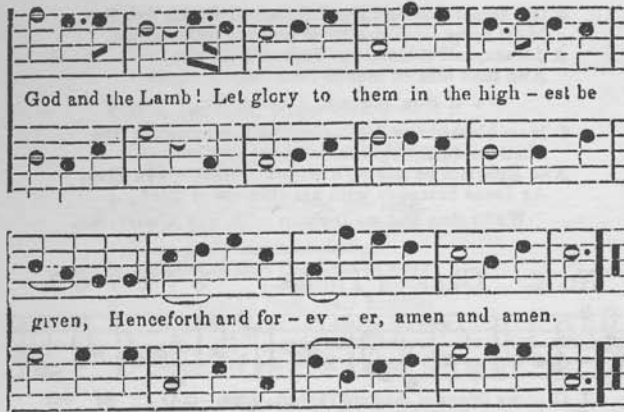


FIG. 4. The earliest known music notation of "The Spirit of God" appears in the Little and Gardner hymnal. The melody is close to the modern version, but the bass line has been changed considerably to accommodate four part harmony.



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

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

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

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

6 How blessed the day when the lamb and the lion
Shall lie down together without any ire;
And Ephraim be crown'd with his blessings in Zión,
As Jesus descends with his chariots of fire!
We 'll sing and we 'll shout with HIS armies, &c.

FIG. 4a. All six verses of W. W. Phelps's text were included in the Little and Gardner hymnal. Later versions excluded verses 4 and 5.

by the likes of Eli Maginn, followed by the fervent singing of a beloved hymn of the Restoration, and the enthusiastic, audacious attendees spilling into the streets after such a meeting, singing their song of Zion.

Conclusion

Although the Little and Gardner hymnal may have been deemed a failure for all of its shortcomings, its mere existence has enlightened our minds to the zeal with which the early Latter-day Saints desired access to the hymns of Zion. Its unique format contributes to our understanding of hymn singing practices of the day, and its inclusion of “The Spirit of God” gives us our earliest reference to its hymn tune.

Brigham Young once stated that the gospel of Jesus Christ could not be preached effectively without the use of music. Quoting from Colossians 3:16, Paul wrote, “Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom; teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing with grace in your hearts to the Lord.” Quoting from the 1985 LDS hymnal,

Inspirational music is an essential part of our church meetings. The hymns invite the Spirit of the Lord, create a feeling of reverence, unify us as members, and provide a way for us to offer praises to the Lord. Some of the greatest sermons are preached by the singing of hymns. Hymns move us to repentance and good works, build testimony and faith, comfort the weary, console the mourning, and inspire us to endure to the end.²³

These quotations all proclaim the importance of music as a tool for worship. If the Little and Gardner hymnal was created to fulfill any of the needs as stated above, then it was created for a noble purpose despite its imperfections. To those responsible, we are grateful for their efforts and sacrifice. As a final comment, I quote from Martin Luther: “I place music next to theology and give it the highest praise.” Luther saw music as a noble power wherein God “might be praised and glorified and that we might be bettered and strengthened in the faith through His holy Word, driven into the heart with sweet song.”²⁴

Appendix A: Other Important LDS and Non-LDS Hymnals

At least one other non-LDS hymnal with a similar format was also in print at the time of the Little and Gardner publication. Compiled by Joshua Leavitt, *The Christian Lyre; a Collection of Hymns and Tunes Adapted for Social Worship, Prayer Meetings and Revivals of Religion* also had a combination of texts without music and texts with soprano and bass lines. His hymnal was the first to be printed in this format and acted as a prototype for other hymnals until after the Civil War.

First published in November 1830, the Leavitt hymnal was widely used in Protestant, Evangelical, and Revivalist churches and went through many editions. The term “Revivalist” was a broad one that would have encompassed any newly formed American religion including the LDS Church. Supplements were, for a time, printed monthly. The hymnal was still in print as late as 1864.

Leavitt wrote the following explanation at the beginning of the supplement for the eighteenth edition, printed in 1833, “Many friends have expressed a wish, to have a collection of the best and most common psalm tunes, printed in a shape to be bound with the *Christian Lyre*, for use in family worship and in prayer meetings. The present collection was made to meet this wish.”²⁵

Another early LDS hymnal compiled by John E. Page and John Cairns was published “in February or March 1841, probably in Ohio or Indiana.”²⁶ Following a short preface, the Page and Cairns hymnal contains forty-seven hymns and a first-line index. It is a text-only hymnal with the majority of the texts coming from previously published LDS sources. Included are six texts cited by Page’s wife, Mary Judd Page. Some of the six are unique to this hymnal, and some appear only here and in the Little and Gardner hymnal. Two hymns are credited to William W. Phelps. The rest are not credited.

Page and Cairns were fully aware of the impending second edition of Emma Smith’s hymnal as reference is made to this event in the preface of their hymnal as follows:

To the public: The publishers of this selection of Hymns have been induced, from the scarcity of our Hymn books, and the great demand that [unreadable] everywhere made for the same, to present to the public this small collection, to answer the present demand as there is a large collection about to be published at Nauvoo, Ill., by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.²⁷

This hymnal then was to serve in the interim, and the same conclusion has been drawn about the purpose of the Little and Gardner hymnal.

In the general conference held at Nauvoo in April 1843, Apostle John E. Page was sent to the East where he preached and organized several branches. He was in Peterborough in February of 1843 where he, having made the acquaintance of Gardner, ordained him an elder. It is likely at this time that Gardner became aware of Page's hymnal and thus used it as a source of texts for his hymnal published a year later.

In 1845 an LDS missionary, Charles A. Adams, published a hymnal entitled *Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints*. Like the Little and Gardner hymnal, it also was published by Seth M. Blake in Bellows Falls only one year after the Little and Gardner hymnal.

Charles A. Adams was called in the spring of 1844

to campaign for Joseph Smith in New Hampshire. At some point he labored in Peterborough, seven miles from his place of birth, so it would have been natural for him to have his hymnbook printed in Bellows Falls, thirty miles to the northwest, by the shop that printed the Little-Gardner book. . . . When the Saints went west, Adams remained in New England. In 1855 he married Sarah Holder in Lynn, Massachusetts; five years later he died. Adam's marriage record gives his occupation as 'music teacher.'²⁸

A unique characteristic of the Adams hymnal is the grouping of hymns according to subject.²⁹ Four of the hymns under "Miscellaneous" have the following subheadings: "Mission of the Twelve," "On Faith," "Joseph Smith," and "Written in Prison." It is evident that this hymnal reflects the Restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Appendix B: Analysis of Tunes and Hymn Texts in the Little and Gardner Hymnal

Twelve of the hymn texts in the Little and Gardner hymnal can be found in the current LDS hymnal, published in 1985. They are as follows:

Adam-ondi-Ahman	Let Zion in Her Beauty Rise
An Angel From on High	Lord We Come Before Thee Now
From Greenland's Icy Mountains	Now Let Us Rejoice
Glorious Things are Sung of Zion	O God The Eternal Father
Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken	The Lord My Pasture Shall [Will] Prepare
How Firm a Foundation	The Spirit of God

Seven of the hymn tunes are also found in the current LDS hymnal; three have undergone various changes, and two hymn tunes have also retained the same text. They are listed in table 1 by tune name followed by the hymn text used in the 1985 hymnal.

Table 1
Contextual Changes between Little and Gardner Hymnal and 1985 Hymnal

	Tune	Hymn
Same text as the Little and Gardner Hymnal	Assembly	The Spirit of God
	Prospect of Heaven	Adam-ondi-Ahman
Tune basically unchanged	Coronation	Jehovah, Lord of Heaven and Earth
	Duke Street	From All That Dwell Below the Skies
	Greenville	Lord, Dismiss Us With Thy Blessing
	Missionary Hymn	Come, All Whose Souls Are Lighted
Tune has undergone various changes	Duane Street	A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief
	Assembly	The Spirit of God
	Prospect of Heaven	Adam-ondi-Ahman

All of the hymn tunes in the Little and Gardner hymnal are in major keys; twenty-nine are diatonic (standard seven-note scale), and five are pentatonic (five-note scale). Fourteen of the thirty-one hymn tunes are in the key of G. Twelve begin on *do*, two on *mi*, and seventeen on *sol*. The seventeen texts without tunes can be sung to at least one of the thirty-one tunes.

Meter signatures and text meters vary greatly. Nine different meter signatures were used for the thirty-one tunes, as well as twenty-two different text meters. The greatest number of hymns with text meter is Long Meter (8888), having five.

Tune names have been found for all but five of the tunes (table 2). References used to compile the list include nine different tune books, though many more were perused. It is my opinion that there still might be an unknown but definitive tune book that Gardner used as a source for his tunes. As stated above, he was not a wealthy man, and one wonders if he would have had many tune books at his disposal. It cannot be ruled out that he had a number of tunes committed to memory. If so, this would explain why most of the tunes vary in key, rhythm, and/or melodic line from the tune books. Of great value in locating the tunes was the creation of a *solfege* index patterned after the one in *Hymns and Tunes Index* (1966) by Katharine Smith Diehl. See the table of the thirty-one selected hymn

Table 2
Solfege Patterns for the Little and Gardner Hymnal

Hymn Name	Page	Key	Solfege	Tune Name	Composer
All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name	21	A	SDDMMRDRMRDMR	Coronation	Oliver Holden
An Angel From on High	28	G	DMSLSLTDDLDS		
And Are We Yet Alive	14	F	MFMDRDRDRRSTL	Seir	Lowell Mason
Arise My Soul, Arise	29	G	SDMRDRMSFMRD	Carmarthen	William Hauser
Awake and Sing the Song	31	G	SSFMRDSDRMFSS	He Shall Feed His Flock	George F. Handel
Awake Ye That Slumber	8	G	SDDMSSLSMDRMS	I Love Thee	Jeremiah Ingalls
From Greenland's Icy Mountains	18	F	DMSSLSMDTDFMM	Missionary Hymn	Lowell Mason
From the Regions of Glory	25	B ^b	SSLSSDMMRDRMS	Clarke's	Dr. John Clarke
Glorious Things of Thee are Spoken	2	G	DDLDSLTD RMSLM	Olney	Amzi Chapin
Here At Thy Table	27	G	DDRDSDRMMFSFM	St. Martin's	William Tans'ur
How Firm a Foundation	24	B ^b	SDDDDSMSDDDDR	Solicitude	Solicitude
How Pleas'd and Blest Was I	15	G	SDDRTDDMMFRMM	Dalston	Aaron Williams
In Ancient Days Men Fear'd the Lord	22	F	DMRMRD TDMSSLT	Uxbridge	Lowell Mason
Jesus and Shall It Ever Be	7	A	SDMMDRFFRMDTD	Duane Street	George Coles
Jesus Shall Reign Whe'er the Sun	20	F	DMFSLDTLSSSS	Duke Street	John Hatton
Let Zion in Her Beauty Rise	11	G	SDDMDMSLSFRMF		
Lord Thou Hast Search'd and Seen Me	13	F	DMSDTDLSSSSSM	Wells	Israel Holdroyd
Lord We Come Before Thee	9	G	DRRDMMRDDSMRD	Ephesus	
Now Let Us Rejoice	5	D	DDDMFSSLTDTLS		
Oh God Th' Eternal Father	19	B ^b	SDDMDDLSDRMS	Webb	George J. Webb
Salem's Bright King	26	G	SDDDRMSMMRDRM	Garden Hymn	Garden Hymn
Spirit of God Like a Fire is Burning	1	C	SDRRMRDDTLSL	Hosanna	
The Gallant Ship	3	B ^b	SDDDSLSDMFSL		
The Glorious Day	6	A	SDDDSDMRDDRSL		
The Great and Glorious Gospel Light	16	G	SSSSSFMDTLSSF	Corinth	Amos Blanchard
The Lord My Pasture Shall Prepare	30	F	SSFMLSFMDFSS	Forty-sixth Psalm	Amos Bull
There is an Hour	10	G	DMMSMRMRSSDR	Woodland	Nathaniel D.
This Earth Was Once a Garden Place	12	G	DRMRDDRMSSDRM	Prospect of Heaven	Andrew
Though in the Outward Church Below	7	G	SFMRDLRDLSSS	Harvest Home	Harvest Home
Who are These Array'd in White	17	F	DDDDMRDRRRRFM	Benevento	Samuel Webbe
Yes, My Native Land	23	F	MMRDDRMRDSSF	Greenville	Jean-Jacques Rousseau

tunes, composers, text names, as well as the *solfege* index for the Little and Gardner hymnal (table 2). Included are keys and tune names that will prove useful for those desiring to compare tunes.

By mentally figuring the *solfege* of a hymn tune from any source, one can quickly determine if it matches any of the thirty-one. As most tune books have indexes by tune name, one can first see if any of the above are listed and then see if they match. Several of the tune names are common to more than one tune.

Perhaps the most interesting exercise in compiling this document was determining the origins of the hymn texts. Thirty-eight were found in Emma Smith's 1841 hymnal; twenty-seven were found in the privately published hymnal by John E. Page and John Cairns; seventeen were common to both.

As I was comparing the Little and Gardner and Page and Cairns hymnals for matching hymns, the thought occurred that there may be a pattern to the order in which the hymns were placed in Little and Gardner (other than texts with tunes followed by text-only hymns). To test for a pattern, I created a numerical index, and the result was very enlightening. All of the hymns with tunes were in Emma Smith's 1841 hymnal. All of the text-only hymns were in the Page and Cairns hymnal. As stated above, seventeen were common to both. However, the most fascinating discovery was that, with the exception of hymn numbers 44 and 45, the numerical order of the hymns borrowed from the Page and Cairns hymnal was maintained in the Little and Gardner hymnal (this does not occur for the texts borrowed from Emma Smith's hymnal). With so many direct correlations, the evidence is overwhelming that Little and Gardner used Emma Smith's 1841 hymnal and the Page and Cairn 1841 hymnal as sources for texts.

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1. *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Church of The Latter Day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams and Co., 1835; reprint, Independence, Mo.: Herald Heritage, 7th printing, 1973), preface.

2. The LDS Church actually published its own tune book, but not until 1889. It underwent seven editions and was discontinued after 1920.

3. Michael Hicks, *Mormonism and Music: A History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 25.

4. Etta M. Smith, *History of Peterborough New Hampshire*, 2 vols. (Rindge, N.H.: Richard R. Smith, 1954), 2:673–74.

5. H. Wiley and Stanley Sadie Hitchcock, *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 454.

6. U.S. military records show that Abel Gardner enlisted numerous times in the Continental and U.S. armies to help support his family. He was a veteran of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

7. George Bryant Gardner, Diary, ante 1898, unpaginated, in possession of the author.

8. One description of him reads as follows: “[He was] a lively, fascinating speaker with a wide knowledge of the Bible which he continually quoted. . . . [He had a] magnetic personality, [which] attracted people from far and near to his meetings.” George Abbot Morison, *History of Peterborough, New Hampshire*, 2 vols. (Rindge, N.H.: Richard R. Smith, 1954), 1:187.

9. Gardner, Diary.

10. A list of members as remembered by one of the early converts can be found in Morison, *History of Peterborough*, 1:195–96. Another membership list as given by Little himself can be found in *Historical Sketches of Peterborough New Hampshire: Portraying Events and Data Contributing to the History of the Town* (Peterborough, N.H.: Peterborough Historical Society, 1938), 195.

It seemed that all roads to New England went through Peterborough so far as LDS missionaries were concerned. Many meetings were held by visiting elders and apostles, including Julian Moses, Erastus Snow, Parley P. Pratt, Ormus Bates, Charles A. Adams, Hyrum Smith, Orson Pratt, William Lowe, John E. Page, Amasa Lyman, and Brigham Young. It should be noted that Brigham Young was in Peterborough in the summer of 1844, when the letter sent by Wilford Woodruff arrived, informing him of the Prophet Joseph’s martyrdom. The Quorum of the Twelve Apostles had been sent from Nauvoo to the East that spring to campaign for Joseph Smith’s nomination as president of the United States.

11. Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Spokane, Wa.: Arthur H. Clark, 1997), 83.

12. An article in the May 25, 1844, edition of the *Bellows Falls Gazette* describes the events of a musical convention to be held there in June. Referred to as a “Convention of the Friends of Sacred Music,” its venue included exercises for choirs and teachers as well as lectures from prominent music professors.

13. Peter Crawley, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church, Volume 1, 1830–1847* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1997), 288.

14. A letter containing the accession record for each of the eleven copies was requested and received from each of the libraries. Most are a part of that institution’s Americana collection and were either donated to the respective libraries as part of larger contributions or purchased outright. None of the accession records provided any important information about the hymnals. The following is a list of libraries holding copies:

Brigham Young University
Brown University

Provo, UT
Providence, RI

1 copy
1 copy

Harvard University	Cambridge MA	1 copy
Huntington Library	San Marino, CA	1 copy
LDS Church Historical Department	Salt Lake City, UT	2 copies
Library of Congress	Washington, D.C.	1 copy
Union Theological Seminary	New York City, NY	1 copy
University of Utah	Salt Lake City, UT	1 copy
Vermont State Library	Montpelier, VT	1 copy
Yale University	New Haven, CN	1 copy

15. Joshua Leavitt, *The Christian Lyre: A Collection of Hymns and Tunes Adapted for Social Worship, Prayer Meetings, and Revivals of Religion*, 16th ed. (New York: By the author, 1833), preface.

16. Nolan B. Harmon, *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism* (Nashville, Tenn: United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), 1691–92.

17. John Hardy, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns, Adapted to the Faith and Views of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Boston: Dow and Jackson's Press, 1843), preface. As there are several John Hardys in early Church records, an extensive search of family history records would have to be made to determine who exactly this John Hardy was, but he does present a convincing argument for the creation of a hymnal for local use.

18. William E. Barrett and Alma P. Burton, *Readings from LDS Church History from Original Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1953), 1:233.

19. J. C. Little and G. B. Gardner, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of the Latter Day Saints* (Bellows Falls, Vt.: Blake and Bailey, 1844), 4–6.

20. Using the subject headings of the topical index in the 1985 LDS hymnal, the table below indicates the number of hymns in the Little and Gardner hymnal that could be listed under each heading. Note the number of hymns indicated for “The Restoration of the Gospel,” “The Gathering of Israel,” “The Second Coming of Christ,” “The Millennium,” “Enduring to the End,” “Missionary Work,” and “Zion.” These are all topics of expanded truth as a result of the Restoration of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Add to these such topics as “Baptism,” “The Book of Mormon,” “Exaltation,” “Priesthood,” “Pioneers,” “Prophets,” “Trials,” and “Adversity,” and one can readily see that this hymnal is truly a collection of hymns for the use of members of the restored Church.

1 Assurance	1 Baptism	1 Book of Mormon
1 Comfort	1 Commitment	1 Encouragement
7 Enduring to the End	2 Exaltation	6 Faith
1 Forgiveness	7 Gathering of Israel	1 God the Father
1 Grace	1 Guidance	2 Holy Ghost
1 Home	1 Jesus Christ—Creator	10 Jesus Christ—Savior
20 Jesus Christ—2nd Coming	1 Jesus Christ—Shepherd	18 Millennium
7 Missionary Work	2 Nature	1 Obedience
9 Praise	1 Prayer	1 Priesthood
1 Prophets	2 Repentance	8 Restoration of Gospel
1 Revelation	2 Sacrament	1 Sacrifice
8 Scriptures	1 Supplication	8 Trials
1 Unity	1 Worship	6 Zion

21. *Historical Sketches of Peterborough New Hampshire: Portraying Events and Data Contributing to the History of the Town* (Peterborough, N.H.: Peterborough Historical Society, 1938), 250.
22. Little and Gardner, *Collection of Sacred Hymns*, 4–6.
23. *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, Utah: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), ix.
24. *What Luther Says: An Anthology*, comp. Edward M. Plass (Saint Louis, Mo.: Concordia, 1959), 980, 981.
25. Joshua Leavitt, *Supplement to the Christian Lyre* (New York: By the author, 1831), [p. 2]; italics added.
26. Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 1:153.
27. John Edward Page and John Cairns, *A Collection of Sacred Hymns for the Use of the Latter Day Saints* ([Pittsburgh?]: By the authors, 1841), 1.
28. Crawley, *Descriptive Bibliography of the Mormon Church*, 1:331.
29. They include the following: Public Worship, Sacramental, Spread of the Gospel, Funeral, Second Coming of Christ, Farewell, Gathering of Israel, Miscellaneous, Baptism.

The Psalm 22:16 Controversy

New Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls

Shon Hopkin

Few verses in the Bible have produced as much debate and commentary as Psalm 22:16: “For dogs have compassed me: the assembly of the wicked have inclosed me: they pierced my hands and my feet.”¹ The discussions center on the last character (reading right to left) of the Hebrew כָּאֲרוֹ (“pierced/dug”), assumed to be the word from which the Septuagint Greek ὤρυξαν (“they have pierced”) was translated—assumed because the original Hebrew texts from which the Septuagint was translated are no longer extant. If the last character of the Hebrew word was a *waw* (ו), as the Greek seems to indicate, then the translation “pierced” is tenable. But a later Hebrew text called the Masoretic text has a *yod* (י) instead of a *waw* (ו), making the word כָּאֲרִי, which translated into English reads “like a lion my hands and my feet.”² Thus, two divergent possibilities have existed side by side for centuries, causing much speculation and debate. The controversy has often been heated, with large variations in modern translations into English, as evidenced by a brief survey of some important Bible translations:

“they pierced my hands and my feet” (King James Version)³

“they have pierced my hands and my feet” (New International Version and Revised Standard Version)⁴

“piercing my hands and my feet” (Anchor Bible)⁵

“they have hacked off my hands and my feet” (New English Bible)⁶

“as if to hack off my hands and my feet” (New Jerusalem Bible)⁷

“like a lion they mangle my hands and feet” (The Psalms for Today—R. K. Harrison)⁸

“like a lion they were at my hands and feet” (*Tanakh*, Jewish Publication Society)⁹

“my hands and feet have shriveled” (New Revised Standard Version)¹⁰

“they have bound me hand and foot” (Revised English Bible)¹¹

“they tie me hand and foot” (Jerusalem Bible)¹²

Anciently, the debate was fought between Christians, who saw this verse as an indisputable prophecy of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and Jews, who denied the existence of prophetic references to Jesus in the Hebrew Bible. The battle continues in modern times between traditionalist scholars, who favor the ancient Christian interpretation, and some textual critics, who deny the existence of the prophecy of future events in the Bible.

Latter-day Saints should consider the debate in light of Joseph Smith’s claim that we “believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly.”¹³ Therefore, in studying the etymology of biblical

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I first became interested in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) as an undergraduate at Brigham Young University, where I worked as a research assistant for Donald W. Parry, Professor of Hebrew Bible and a member of the international team of translators of the Dead Sea Scrolls. After graduating with a bachelor’s degree in Near Eastern Studies from BYU, where I studied Aramaic and biblical Hebrew, I continued my studies there and obtained a master’s degree in Near Eastern Studies in 2002.



During my graduate program, I studied Hebrew but did little work with the Dead Sea Scrolls until, in connection with my master’s thesis, my study of Psalm 22:16 led me to check the DSS as the earliest reflection of the psalm’s original rendering. Peter W. Flint, Professor of Religious Studies at Trinity Western University, had published his translation of the DSS Psalms recently enough that no other studies had been done that included an analysis of the DSS Psalter. The text of the DSS will continue to be vital for our understanding of the earliest renderings of Hebrew scripture and, in my opinion, should be consulted in any textual study of the Old Testament.

passages, Latter-day Saints should use whatever tools of analysis are available to translate biblical texts correctly. One of these tools is to compare texts with similar texts and traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since the discovery of the Scrolls, scholars have been able to use them (mostly fragments of scrolls actually) to better understand the original meanings of Hebrew words and phrases. The same is true for the twenty-second Psalm. Evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls strongly supports the Septuagint translation “pierced” in verse 16.¹⁴

The Controversy

The Jewish translators of the Greek Septuagint in Alexandria, Egypt, about 200 BC surely had no idea what textual arguments they were engendering when they translated the Hebrew text of Psalm 22:16 into the Greek ὀρυξάν (“they pierced my hands and my feet”).¹⁵ Centuries later, the passage became a serious bone of contention between Jewish translators and Christian ones. Christian authors and apologists—who, up until the last few centuries, preferred the Greek Old Testament almost exclusively over the available Hebrew texts—have seen in the Greek an explicit reference to Christ and the crucifixion.¹⁶

Many centuries after the composition of the Greek Septuagint, the two sides of the controversy were so solidified that Jews and Christians could determine who had produced a Bible by turning to this verse. A story is told that one of the early rabbinic Bibles of the sixteenth century was originally to contain the reading of כאר (“pierced/dug”) in Psalms 22:16. The Jew who was checking the proofs did not approve of this translation. He told the printer—the famous Daniel Bomberg—that if he did not restore כאר (“like a lion”), no faithful Jew would ever buy copies of his translation.¹⁷

With the advent of modern textual criticism, כאר (“like a lion”) has continued to have strong support, especially because many scholars have viewed with distrust any text that clearly fits a Christian interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, suspecting textual tampering. The arguments against these types of texts are often circular. If a person does not believe that prophecy exists, any text that would appear to predate an event of which it speaks is disallowed and is believed to have been added after the actual event. To these scholars, the phrase “they pierced my hands and my feet” should be rejected, especially because it does not seem to fit the context of the verses around it: a victim surrounded and tormented by his enemies. The solution of these scholars has been to make educated guesses as to what textual gloss or error could have crept into the text and what the most likely original Hebrew reading was.¹⁸ On the other side, scholars

who support the Septuagint reading have continued to make arguments in its support notwithstanding this and other objections. They argue that “pierced” fits the context without difficulty as long as the possibility of prophecy is not disallowed, pointing out that alternative proposals are even less satisfying.¹⁹

The Septuagint and Supporting Documents

From the advent of textual criticism until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Septuagint was recognized as reflecting one of the earliest textual traditions of the “proto-text” of the Hebrew Bible. Scholars strongly value the Septuagint because it was translated by Jews *before* the Jewish/Christian controversies. However, some evidence exists that the Septuagint was subjected to changes after its initial translation, and those changes could have been influenced by the later Jewish/Christian debates.²⁰ While many well-known revisions beginning early in the second century AD reflect the state of the Septuagint text at that time,²¹ a small window of time remains from the beginning of the Jewish/Christian controversy until the appearance of later changes—a period of time in which the text could have been modified. This caution in regards to the Septuagint, combined with a modern distrust of scribal transmission in general, has caused many scholars to suspect that Christians tampered with the text in order to obtain the prophecy of Jesus.

In the case of Psalm 22:16, however, sufficient early witnesses show that, at least by the beginning of the Jewish/Christian controversy, the Septuagint text was solidified. For instance, the Peshitta, or Syriac version of the Old Testament, translated in the late first and second century AD, is believed to have been a Jewish translation directly from Hebrew, although in places the Septuagint appears to have been consulted.²² Whether from the Septuagint or from Hebrew manuscripts, the christological interpretation of the verse was greatly strengthened by the Peshitta’s rendering “they have pierced.”²³

Thus, the Greek word ὤρυξαν (“they have pierced”) was accepted long ago as a third-person plural verb (instead of a noun), although disagreement as to the interpretation of that verb remained (it could mean dig, bury, gouge, or bore, as with a horn, pick, or sharp tool). Indeed, two important Jewish translators from the second century AD—Aquila and Symmachus—employed a third-person plural verb in this location, although they differed as to the meaning of the verb. Aquila’s first revision read ἥσχυοναν (“they have disfigured”). His second revision was given as ἐπέδησαν (“they have bound”).²⁴ Symmachus translated the text in the late

second century AD as ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσω (“like those who seek to bind”).²⁵ These two translations were given after the beginning of the Jewish/Christian controversy and thus were likely influenced by it. Even so, both translations support the existence of a third-person plural verb in the Septuagint, although they disagree as to how the verb should be translated.

The Masoretic Text

The grouping of the biblical books that came to comprise the canon of the Hebrew Bible (which was adopted and labeled by Christians as the “Old Testament”) is considered to have been chosen around AD 90 at the earliest. However, most evidence points to the existence of large textual variations within this collection until the end of the third century AD, with some continuing variations until the end of the fifth century AD.²⁶ Sometime around the end of the second century AD the word כָּאֵר (“like a lion”) as opposed to the third-person plural verb כָּאָרוּ (“pierced/dug”) appears in Hebrew manuscripts. Eventually, כָּאֵר came to be the majority Masoretic reading, and accordingly the less-well-attested כָּאָרוּ appears as a variant reading in the Masoretic notes.²⁷ כָּאֵר definitely appears to have been in place by the sixth century AD, as it is supported by a Cairo Geniza palimpsest of the *Hexapla*, which reads ὡς λέων.²⁸ The Targum, probably written in the third or fourth century AD, reads “They have opened their mouths at me, like a tearing and roaring lion.”²⁹ In support of the argument that the כָּאֵר (“like a lion”) reading in the Masoretic text had not shown up before the end of the second century AD, one can point not only to the Jewish translators Symmachus and Aquila, who do not follow it, but also to the second-century Christian apologist Justin, who frequently reproached the Jews for introducing textual changes to support their arguments but who says nothing about this particular passage.³⁰

Evidence from Parallel Biblical Texts

One objection to the translation “pierced” given by modern scholars is that the traditional meaning for כָּרָה (the root from which כָּאָרוּ derives) is “to dig” or “hollow out,”³¹ which does not seem to fit the piercing of the body by nails. However, Franz Delitzsch, in support of the translation “pierced,” has appealed to a parallel Hebrew verb, נָחַר, which is known to have the double meaning of “to dig” and “to bore,” as into the body (Judg. 16:21; 1 Sam. 11:3; and Job 30:17). Delitzsch thus surmised that the parallel כָּרָה could easily have this same double meaning as well. The best parallel Hebrew text for the verb כָּרָה in the Old Testament is Psalm 40:6, where it is used to refer to a body part and can be interpreted as “pierced” or “opened.” It reads,

“Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire; my ears hast thou opened.” Indeed, the Septuagint translates כרה in Psalm 40:7 exactly the same as it does in Psalm 22:16, adding considerable support to this interpretation of both verses. Finally, theological dictionaries and lexicons point out that this verb is generally used for digging wells and cisterns.³² With this context of boring into the ground until water springs forth, the concept of piercing a hand until blood issues forth does not seem terribly out of place.

It is important to note that although the Christian Fathers relied heavily on Psalm 22:16, it was never quoted in the New Testament. Other passages from Psalm 22 were quoted in the passion narratives, but not verse 16. Some have argued that this absence indicates that Psalm 22:16 read differently in the original Septuagint text and went through a revision after the writing of the passion narratives. That silence carries some weight, although it can be offset by the first-and-second-century-AD Peshitta translation of “pierced.”

The Dead Sea Scrolls

The Dead Sea Scrolls, written from 300 BC to AD 68, have done much to affirm that the Septuagint preserves an early reading of the Hebrew scriptures. A few of the Hebrew texts used by the translators of the Septuagint were likely very similar to biblical manuscripts discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially where the Septuagint differs from the Masoretic. This may indicate that the Scrolls are a window to the Hebrew texts from which the Septuagint was translated.³³ In the book of Psalms in particular, lists of verses have been compiled in which the Septuagint disagrees with Masoretic text but agrees with the Dead Sea Scrolls.³⁴ The Scrolls that have a bearing on the discussion at hand date to the middle of the first century AD before the Jewish/Christian controversy was under way.³⁵ This makes the Dead Sea Scrolls the oldest extant textual witness of the Psalm, although the original translation of the Septuagint—which is largely preserved in later, although altered, versions—predates it.

One of the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments contains Psalm 22:16. This fragment, published in 1997, was discovered in a cache of Scrolls at Naḥal Ḥever in Israel during the early 1950s. Significantly, the 5/6 Ḥev-Sev4Ps Fragment 11 of Psalm 22 contains the crucial word in the form of a third-person plural verb, written כָּאָרוּ (“pierced/dug”).³⁶ While it can often be difficult to distinguish between a *waw* (ו) and *yod* (י) in the Dead Sea texts, the editors of the most authoritative edition of the scrolls, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, confirm this reading in its transliteration and in two

notes: “Although the photograph . . . is very faded, most of the letters are clearly identifiable under magnification,” and regarding כָּאֵרֹ (the editors conclude, “with *waw* (ו) and *yod* (י) clearly distinguishable in this hand . . . this important variant [כָּאֵרֹ] reading is assured.”³⁷

Nevertheless, in 2004, Kristin Swenson continued to argue for the translation כָּאֵרֹ (“like a lion”). In doing so, she discounts the evidence of this fragment, stating in a footnote, “Peter Flint records it as כָּאֵרֹ [‘pierced/dug’] . . . However, the facsimile reveals a badly faded text that is nearly impossible to read.”³⁸ The photograph of this fragment, however, which is published here from the clearest images available (fig. 1), confirms that Flint was correct and that, accordingly, Swenson’s arguments should be reevaluated.

The discovery of the text of Psalm 22:16 at Naḥal Ḥever strikes at the heart of the controversy. This important text adds strong support to the Septuagint’s translation, which has stood in conflict with the Masoretic text for so long. This new evidence from the Dead Sea wilderness shows that the Hebrew rendering of כָּאֵרֹ (“pierced/dug”) was not a late change introduced into the manuscripts of the Psalms in support of Christian theology, but rather that it existed before the Jewish/Christian controversy began.³⁹

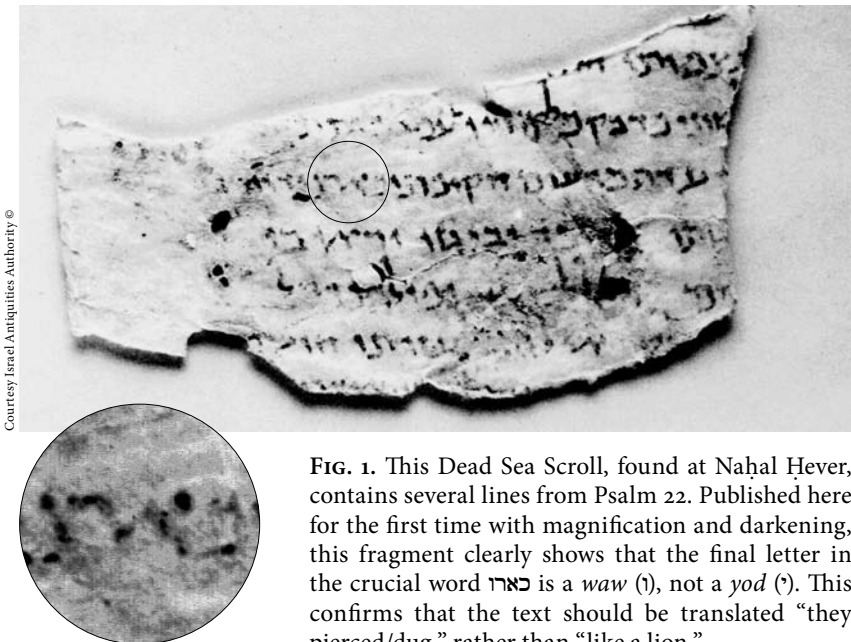


FIG. 1. This Dead Sea Scroll, found at Naḥal Ḥever, contains several lines from Psalm 22. Published here for the first time with magnification and darkening, this fragment clearly shows that the final letter in the crucial word כָּאֵרֹ is a *waw* (ו), not a *yod* (י). This confirms that the text should be translated “they pierced/dug,” rather than “like a lion.”

Conclusion

Having revisited the translation of Psalm 22:16 in light of the recent evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls, we see that “pierced” remains the best possible interpretation. Even if individuals accept “pierced my hands and my feet” as the correct translation, they are left to determine whether or not this phrase points to Jesus.

For Latter-day Saints, the Book of Mormon provides a witness to prophecies of the Savior in the Old Testament, including prophecies of crucifixion. Nephi spoke of the words of Neum, who prophesied that the very God of Israel would “be crucified.” Nephi, Jacob, and Benjamin shared this prophetic view.⁴⁰ Perhaps they drew some of their knowledge of the crucifixion from the original Hebrew text of Psalm 22.

Christ’s words to the Nephites are definitive of his crucifixion: “Arise and come forth unto me, that ye may thrust your hands into my side, and also that ye may feel the prints of the nails in my hands and in my feet, that ye may know that I am the God of Israel, and the God of the whole earth, and have been slain for the sins of the world” (3 Ne. 11:14). One of the satisfying reminders of the Book of Mormon is that it serves to strengthen the Bible’s witness of Christ as the Gospel narratives are confirmed by other words that have come forth in recent times. God declared that this would happen in 2 Nephi 11:3: “Wherefore, I will send [the Book of Mormon’s] words forth unto my children to prove unto them that my words [the Bible] are true. Wherefore, by the word of three, God hath said, I will establish my word. Nevertheless, *God sendeth more witnesses*, and he proveth all his words” (italics added). In this particular case, the Dead Sea Scroll fragment of Psalm 22 helps translators to cut through the fog that has been created by centuries of intellectual debate. This text serves to strengthen and prove the Bible’s and Book of Mormon’s testimonies of Christ as the crucified Lord, he who was “pierced” and “wounded for our transgressions, [and] bruised for our iniquities” (Isa. 53:5).

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1. *The Holy Bible: Authorized King James Version with Chapter Summaries* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000).

2. K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Germany: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1990), 1104; Charles Lee Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha with an English Translation* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1851; reprinted Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1978), 710. The translators of the King James Version primarily used the Masoretic (Hebrew) text (or other translations of it), but resorted to the Septuagint or other alternate readings when these appeared to be more accurate, to contain an earlier tradition, or to be more appropriate for their Christian audience.
3. *The Holy Bible: Authorized King James Version with Chapter Summaries* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2000).
4. *The Holy Bible: New International Version* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1996); *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha: Revised Standard Version* (New York: Oxford, 1977).
5. *The Anchor Bible: Psalms I: 1–50*, trans. Mitchell J. Dahood (New York: Doubleday, 1965).
6. *The New English Bible with the Apocrypha*, ed. Samuel Sandmel (New York: Oxford, 1976).
7. *New Jerusalem Bible*, ed. Bert Ghezzi (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 2002).
8. R. K. Harrison, trans., “The Psalms for Today,” *Norlie’s Simplified New Testament in Plain English for Today’s Reader* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 1961).
9. *JPS Hebrew-English Tanakh: The Traditional Hebrew Text and the New JPS Translation*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999).
10. *Harper Collins Study Bible: New Revised Standard Version*, ed. Wayne A. Meeks (New York: Harper Collins, 1993).
11. *The Oxford Study Bible: Revised English Bible with the Apocrypha*, ed. M. Jack Suggs (New York: Oxford, 1992).
12. *The Jerusalem Bible*, ed., Alexander Jones (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1966).
13. *Times and Seasons* (March 15, 1842): 706–10 (emphasis added).
14. Eugene Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications,” *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000) states: “Numerous other scrolls have documented the same phenomenon, providing Hebrew originals for readings found in the LXX [Septuagint] which differ from the Masoretic text.”
15. Elliger and Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 1104.
16. Readings given by the Masoretic text are often the subject of debate because the Masoretic text solidified at such a late date. The vowelizing of the text, in particular, was added by the Masoretes, who thereby strongly determined how the text would read. For an excellent example of how changing one simple vowel given by the Masoretes can offer a completely different reading, see Donald W. Parry, “Temple Worship and the Possible Reference to a Prayer Circle in Psalm 24,” *BYU Studies* 32, no. 4 (1992): 59.
17. Paul Louis Bernard Drach, ed., *Sainte Bible De Vence*, 27 vols. (Paris: Cosson, 1827–33), 9:464.
18. These were not the only problems scholars viewed with the text. First, the middle א (*aleph*) could not easily be explained in a root normally third-weak (כרה). Second, to some scholars it seemed a bit of a stretch to make a verb normally

used in the digging of pits and wells refer to piercing hands and feet with nails. In response to the first concern, Franz Delitzsch explained the presence of the *aleph* appealing to a parallel in Zechariah 14:10 with the third-weak root *המר*, which shows up in the text as *רממה*. Delitzsch (and others) posited that *כרו* was extended or changed to *כארו* by adding an *aleph* as an extended vowel indicator. See Franz Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Psalms*, 3 vols., trans. Francis Bolton (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1949). An even simpler explanation, although less likely, is that *כאר* is a cognate form of *כור* or *כרה*. Another parallel exists in Daniel 7:6, which reads *חאמיה*. See J. J. Stewart Perowne, *The Book of Psalms: A New Translation*, 2 vols. (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1889), 1:220. For many other examples of the intrusive *aleph*, see Delitzsch's study in Franz Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1920), par. 31a. See also Edward J. Kissane, *The Book of Psalms*, 2 vols. (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1953), 1:100. A short response to the second objection raised by scholars (stated above) is addressed in the section of this article entitled "Evidence from Biblical Parallel Texts."

19. One traditional religious scholar states, "The chief alternatives [to 'pierced'] (e.g. 'bound' or 'hacked off') solve no linguistic difficulties which 'pierced' does not solve, but avoid the apparent prediction of the cross by exchanging a common Hebrew verb (dig, bore, pierce) for hypothetical ones, attested only in Akkadian, Syriac and Arabic, not in biblical Hebrew." Derek Kidner, *Psalms 1-72* (London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973), 107-8. For a strong example of the modern scholarly bias against prophecy, see H. J. Kraus's commentary on the Psalms: "From . . . references of the passion narrative to Psalm 22, earlier churchly interpretations permitted themselves to conclude that Psalm 22 belongs to the 'messianic prophecies.' But this interpretation has been proved to be inappropriate. Psalm 22 does not deal with the 'Messiah' (in the sense of an end-time king of salvation). Psalm 22 also is not a 'prophecy.' In this sense H. Gunkel, for instance could state: 'The messianic interpretation, last represented by Delitzsch, has conclusively been dropped since it was recognized that the psalm actually contains no prophecy and, what is more, that the idea of a suffering Messiah is foreign to the Old Testament.' This statement reflects an understanding that turns up almost everywhere in the more recent exegesis of the Psalms." Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary*, trans. Hilton C. Oswald (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 300-301.

20. Melvin K. H. Peters, "Septuagint," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4 vols., David Noel Freedman, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 5:1097.

21. The major revisions include Aquila's revisions (AD 128), Symmachus's revision (end of second century AD), Theodotion's revision (late second century AD, although some scholars date pieces of it back to the first century BC), Origen's *Hexapla* (ca. AD 240), the *Syro-Hexaplar* (ca. AD 620), Hesychius' revision, and Lucian (ca. AD 300). Most of these revisions are unimportant in our study because they give the same word usage as our current text. However, in retaining the original translation of our text, they could serve as an additional witness to the correctness of its translation. Aquila's two revisions and the revision of Symmachus have importance in the current discussion because of changes they made to Psalm 22:16.

22. S. J. Brock, "Versions, Ancient (Syriac)," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:794-99. Brock states: "As with the LXX, the OT was not translated as a whole,

but book by book; it is possible that some books were translated by Jews and others by Christians. . . . All books of the Peshitta OT were basically translated from Hebrew, though in some books there are the links mentioned above with the Targum traditions, and in others the translators may have made occasional use of LXX.”

23. William Emery Barnes, *The Peshitta Psalter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), 22.

24. Leonard J. Greenspoon, “Aquila’s Version,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 1:320–21. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 76–83; Joseph Reider, *An Index to Aquila*, ed. G. W. Anderson, *Vetus Testamentum Supplement* 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966).

25. Claude E. Cox, *Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Armenia*, vol. 42 in *Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1996), 115; Leonard Greenspoon, “Symmachus, Symmachus’s Version,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:251; Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 94–99.

26. E. J. Revell, “Masoretic Text,” *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 4:598. Even with this late date establishing the formalization of the Masoretic text, it should be remembered that the earliest extant manuscript which forms the basis of the Masoretic Text is even much later still. It is the Leningrad Codex B19^a, dated at AD 1008.

27. Elliger and Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 1104.

28. C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo-Geniza Palimpsests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900).

29. David M. Stec, trans., *The Targum of Psalms* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2004), 59. See also Philip S. Alexander, “Targum,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, 6:326.

30. The Masoretic variance with the Septuagint seems to have gone unnoticed by Christians for many centuries, since they used the Septuagint so exclusively. However, when interest in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was revived among Christian scholars during the Renaissance and Reformation, the Jews were immediately accused of having tampered with the text. The fact that “like a lion my hands and my feet” made such little sense seemed to justify their criticism. See John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1963), 1:373–74. Notwithstanding their traditional hostility, most level-headed Christian scholars would eventually come to acknowledge that the textual change probably came about because of a simple waw/yod confusion, and not because of any type of textual dishonesty on the part of the Jews. Switching a yod with a waw is probably the most common of textual variants witnessed by the Hebrew texts. Once the letters had become confused, the switched text likely came to be preferred by the Jews because it avoided the christological interpretation of the text, which had been so hotly contested by the Christians.

31. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1996), 500; G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, trans. David E. Green (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995), 303–6.

32. Willem A. Van Gemeren, ed., *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, 5 vols. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1997),

2:225. The *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* states: “The use of the verb representing the root from the word group ‘dig’ is characterized by an association with the nouns ‘pit,’ ‘well,’ ‘cistern,’ ‘collecting basin,’ and ‘tomb.’” G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, 14 vols. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1995), 7:304. However, the dictionary also gives a specialized meaning: “The basic meaning ‘dig’ also gives rise to the more specific meaning ‘hew out’ (Ex. 21:33; Ps. 7:16; 2 Ch. 16:14; Sir. 50:3).”

33. Ulrich, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications,” states: “Numerous other scrolls have documented the same phenomenon, providing Hebrew originals for readings found in the LXX which differ from the Masoritic text.”

34. Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, ed. F. Garcia Martinez and A. S. Van Der Woude, vol. 17, *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (New York: Brill, 1997), 50–116; Peter W. Flint, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications for an Edition of the Septuagint Psalter,” in Ulrich, *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, 341–63.

35. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 43.

36. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 88.

37. James Charlesworth and others, eds., *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert*, in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*, 38 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 38:160–61.

38. Kristin M. Swenson, “Psalm 22:17: Circling around the Problem Again,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123/4 (2004), 640–41 n. 12. The versification of Psalms varies by one verse between the Septuagint and English translations, as the Septuagint assigns verse 1 to the superscriptions—headings that ascribe authorship, provide musical notation, and/or categorize the psalm. The heading (verse 1 of the Septuagint) of Psalm 22 reads, “Plea for Deliverance from Suffering and Hostility, To the leader: according to The Deer of the Dawn, A Psalm of David” (NRSV). Therefore Psalm 22:17 is the same as Psalm 22:16. Both are used by scholars.

39. In addition to the thirty-six Psalms manuscripts from Qumran, three manuscripts were discovered at Naḥal Ḥever and Masada. It has also been suggested, but incorrectly, that Psalms scrolls were found at Naḥal Se’elim and Ein Gedi. As an explanation, a Psalms text was discovered by an expedition led by Yigael Yadin on April 3, 1960, in the first chamber of the “Cave of Letters.” This piece is abbreviated 5/6 ḤevPs, with the large three-chambered cave classified as “Cave Five-Six,” since it has two openings. However, our text was found several years earlier (1951 or 1952) by a Bedouin who claimed to have found it at Wadi Seiyal (this being the Arabic name for Naḥal Ḥever and not the name for Naḥal Se’elim, as was thought). Thus the fragment with our text is named XḤev/Se 4. XḤev/Se 4 means cave “X” (=uncertain) of Naḥal Ḥever, traditionally named Wadi Seiyal, manuscript number 4 (the Psalms scroll). The scroll has also been referred to in some studies as Se II–IV. See Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, 43–44.

40. See 1 Nephi 11:33, 19:10; 2 Nephi 6:9, 10:3, 25:13; and Mosiah 3:9.

Val D. Rust. *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors.*

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004

Stephen J. Fleming

Attempts to explain the success of early Mormonism have generated a number of theories about the nature of the early Mormon converts. A persistent theme in many of the assumptions is that there was something wrong with the converts, or that the hardships of the early nineteenth century compelled them to join a new religion that those with more satisfying lives shunned. Mormon scholars tend to counter that there was nothing to distinguish early Mormon converts from other Americans other than a desire to join the new faith, a desire which transcended their circumstances.¹

In 1994, John Brooke proposed that what set apart would-be converts from those less likely to join did transcend their current circumstances: heritage, according to Brooke, was the impetus toward Mormon conversion. Brooke felt that Mormonism's intellectual origins went back to the concepts of the radical wing of the Reformation, concepts that became prominent during the English Civil War of 1640–60. Brooke argued that radical English sectarians, or the radical break-off religions that opposed the established church, brought these ideas to America, and that those with a heritage in such radical sectarianism would be most drawn to Mormonism. Brooke found some evidence in the history of certain Mormon families but admitted that “the definitive study of the religious origins of the earliest Mormon converts has yet to be attempted, and such a study may well overturn the tentative conclusions one can draw from this limited exploration.”²

Val D. Rust's *Radical Origins: Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors* is such an attempt. The book is actually an outgrowth of Rust's own family history. Finding many New England radicals in his

family line, Rust wondered whether the ancestry of his early Mormon ancestors was typical of the ancestry of the early Mormons generally, and thus the book was born.

Rust demonstrates that his heritage was indeed typical. By gathering the available names of converts who joined the Church before 1835, Rust was able to create a list of over five hundred early converts whose ancestry could be traced several generations in the LDS Ancestral File. With these resources, Rust created a database of these converts' fifth-generation ancestors that he was able to test for religious radicalism. Rust found that the converts' ancestors came disproportionately from New England towns that practiced religion outside the norms of orthodox Puritanism, such as New England's first Pilgrim settlers. Rather than seeking to reform the state church like most Puritans did, the Pilgrims sought to separate from the Church of England, which forced these Separatists to flee from England to Holland before they immigrated to America. Rust finds that of the *Mayflower's* twenty-two heads of households with descendants, fifteen had descendants that joined the Mormons (42). Likewise, early Mormon converts' ancestors were disproportionately represented in the Pilgrim colony of Plymouth (43).

Rust also demonstrates that ancestors of early Mormon converts were also heavily represented among participants of the religious controversies throughout colonial New England's history. Roger Williams and many of his followers were ancestors of early Mormon converts, and these ancestors were disproportionately represented in his colony, Rhode Island. Likewise, Ann Hutchinson and many of her followers had descendants that joined the Mormons, as did many of the Quakers and Baptists that were persecuted and marginalized in colonial New England. Rust is also able to document that Mormon convert ancestors came disproportionately from New England towns both in Massachusetts and Connecticut that were founded by ministers seeking to distance themselves, for religious purposes, from the control of the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Though he takes exception with certain aspects of Brooke's argument, Rust's evidence goes a long way to support Brooke's assumption about the heritage of the early Mormon converts.

Any reader, unfortunately, will quickly notice a host of editorial problems with the book that range from proofreading to content. Rust mentions only one other person who read the book, and it is clear that he should have had many more people read it before it was published. Yet Rust should be praised for his findings despite the book's problems. The reader should look past the numerous peccadilloes to Rust's central thesis, which he supports very well. The earliest Mormon converts had

a heritage that was rooted disproportionately in the religious radicals of early New England. In the interest of full disclosure, my own ancestry is linked to many of the examples Rust uses; in fact, Rust uses my family, the Wightmans, as a case study along with the Smiths to demonstrate continuity of religious radicalism through the generations. One could say that I am genetically inclined to accept Rust's conclusions.

The book leaves several questions only partially answered. Any reader of this review likely wants to know exactly what Rust means by "radical." At the heart of this definition is the question of what it was about the ancestors of early Mormon converts that caused many of their descendants to accept Mormonism. Did they simply enjoy opposing religious authority, or were there certain core theological principles that the radicals shared? In truth, the radicals were all over the map theologically, from strict Calvinists to Universalists. Rust finds elements in all of the radicals' teachings that are similar to Mormon principles, but in my experience Mormon doctrine is broad enough that similarities can be found between it and most religions. Yet two principles seem to stand out: the radicals commonly believed in personal revelation through the Holy Spirit, and they generally opposed the union of church and state. Both factors were critical in the formation of Mormonism.

One additional basic element was common among the early converts' ancestors, an element best summarized in a statement Brigham Young made at a gathering in Salt Lake City: "My ancestors were some of the most strict religionists that lived upon the earth. You no doubt can say the same about yours."³ Rust demonstrates that many could indeed have said so: these radicals took their religion very seriously and, considering the great sacrifices that early Mormon converts made for their religion, seemed to have passed that attitude onto their descendants.

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1. For a synopsis of these arguments see my master's thesis, "An Examination of the Success of Early Mormonism in the Delaware Valley" (master's thesis, University of California, Stanislaus, 2003), 9–22.

2. John L. Brooke, *The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 64.

3. Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86), 6:290, August 15, 1852.

Val D. Rust. *Radical Origins:
Early Mormon Converts and Their Colonial Ancestors.*

Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004

Jenny Hale Pulsipher

In *Radical Origins*, Val D. Rust has taken on the ambitious task of proving not just the common wisdom that New England ancestry looms large in the backgrounds of early Latter-day Saint converts, but that a uniquely radical slice of that region yielded the largest group of ancestors of LDS converts and predisposed their descendants to accept the similarly radical beliefs of the LDS Church. He has opened up an avenue of exploration that is well worth pursuing, and his work is likely to remain significant for years to come. That said, I believe that there is much that remains to be done to make Rust's argument more persuasive. I will list a number of my reservations.¹ My hope is not to downplay the importance of Rust's work, but to suggest ways that either he or other scholars could dig deeper to make the case more convincing.

The Drifting Definition. Rust is most interested in the groups he defines as the "radical fringe," those he believes were the spiritual as well as biological ancestors of early Mormon converts. According to Rust, the radical fringe believed that Christ's gospel would be restored through divine intervention, that all people held a "divine spark," that God still revealed truth to mankind, and that he blessed people with spiritual gifts (33). Rust contrasts this radical fringe with the more traditional Puritans and notes that the radicals yielded significantly more ancestors of LDS converts. While Rust does show that some ancestors of LDS converts, such as Roger Williams and some of the Gortonists, fit his radical fringe definition (33), in several places in the book the definition expands to draw in fairly traditional groups—including Puritans—who could be considered radical only if compared to their fellow countrymen back in England. For example, Rust counts Rowley among the Essex County, Massachusetts, towns yielding large numbers of ancestors of LDS converts—twenty-five of the fifty-nine original heads of household. While he rightly acknowledges that Rowley was "a conventional Puritan town and congregation," he also

calls it radical, one of the many “towns . . . made up of radical religious groups that had sailed as a body across the Atlantic” (30–32). Thus, two definitions of radical seem to have emerged here: those more radical than the Puritans, and those more radical than the Anglicans. Rowley certainly fits the latter definition, but not the former. Even Plymouth, which Rust points out had a larger number of ancestors of LDS converts than any other colony, is hard to characterize as radical. It grew more like Puritan Massachusetts over time, and even early on its leaders and congregations ejected radicals, including both Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton.² Because of this definition drift, I was not persuaded that the reason ancestors of LDS converts hailed from certain New England locales (such as Essex County) rather than others (such as Boston) was religious radicalism. More precision in either defining “radicalism” or selecting examples would strengthen the argument of this book.

The Inexact Example. The task Rust has set for himself would daunt even the most senior of historians. He is characterizing a vast array of people and places and is bound to offend the sensibilities of those with deep, rather than broad, knowledge of some of these persons and locales. Respected historians have treaded this thin ice before—David Hackett Fischer’s *Albion’s Seed* is a prime example—so Rust is in good company if he gets a little wet.³ One inexact example that caught the eye of this historian was Rust’s saying that Maine “cultivated mainstream Puritan sentiments and practices, including a spirit against the ‘wild fanaticism’ of those who did not bow to its authority” (58–59). Possibly, Rust was predisposed to see Maine as mainstream because it yielded very few ancestors of LDS converts. But Maine was actually an exaggerated version of what Rust describes Essex County to be: a place where deep divisions between extremes of belief and political orientation fostered turmoil (56–57). The turmoil in Maine was unequaled in any other New England colony. Maine was both the site of growing numbers of Massachusetts Puritan immigrants and a haven for exiles from Puritan belief and authority.⁴ So why didn’t Maine yield many ancestors of LDS converts? Might this case, and others, have more to do with exposure to the gospel than radical background? In other words, might Rowley residents have colonized towns in New York that LDS missionaries happened to visit, while Maine residents did not?

Another inexact example appears in Rust’s discussion of the Salem witchcraft crisis. Rust argues that LDS convert ancestors’ participation as accused or accusers indicated their religious radicalism—their belief, contrary to “mainstream” Puritanism, in access to unseen powers (130, 139). In actuality, it is hard to find anyone in seventeenth-century Massachusetts

who did *not* believe in witches. Some—very few—questioned the magistrates’ handling of the crisis, but almost everyone agreed that the devil was at work in Massachusetts. Belief in witches was the norm, not a manifestation of radical thought.⁵

Proximity as Proof. Rust gives a number of examples of LDS converts’ ancestors who lived in towns or families he defines as radical. He argues that their presence in those towns or in families—their “proximity”—suggests their agreement with the dominant ideology. However, in several cases that argument is difficult to sustain. For instance, Rust notes several ancestors of LDS converts who lived in such radical towns as Exeter, New Hampshire, or the Baptist haven of Swansea, Massachusetts. However, he also notes that these ancestors were indentured servants—people who would have had no choice about what town to live in or, possibly, whether to come to New England at all (48, 93). In another instance, Rust notes that Susanne Hutchinson, daughter of the radical Antinomian Anne Hutchinson, was an ancestor of LDS converts. However, Susanne was a very young child at the time the rest of her family was killed in an Indian attack on Long Island, and following the death of her family she was raised by Puritans (90). Unless the radicalism was somehow genetic—nature rather than nurture—Susanne is unlikely to have passed her mother’s radicalism on to her descendants.

These objections aside, I do think that the data Rust has presented make a good case for challenging both John Brooke’s claim that hermeticism was insignificant in New England, and Jon Butler’s claim that New England had less to do with the development of American religions than commonly supposed (120–22, 154). Rust’s figures on the New England origins of LDS converts, as well as converts to other religious movements such as the Campbellites, are striking (14–15). But by my reading of the book, I am not persuaded either that all of the people, places, and events Rust defines as radical actually fit that definition or that radicalism, rather than general religiosity, influenced later conversion to the LDS Church. Despite my stated reservations, I believe Rust has succeeded in raising some very interesting questions that deserve our attention and provide the basis for what is likely to be a long, interesting, and productive discussion.

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1. It is beyond my expertise to discuss Rust's use of genealogical methods and resources, a subject ably discussed by professional genealogist Kory Meyerlink at an "Author meets the Critics" session of the 2005 Mormon Historical Association meeting in Killington, Vermont.

2. Philip F. Gura, "The Radical Ideology of Samuel Gorton: New Light on the Relation of English to American Puritanism," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 36, 1 (1979): 78–100; Nathaniel Morton, *New England's Memorial*, in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, ed. John Masefield (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1936), 103.

3. On the controversy surrounding David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), see "Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America—A Symposium," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 48, no. 2 (April 1991), 223–308.

4. On Maine's political and religious turmoil, see Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest of Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), chapters 2 and 9.

5. The Salem witchcraft crisis is the focus of a vast and growing literature. Some of the most important works include Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); John Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: Vintage, 1989); and Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York: Knopf, 2002). For a brief but useful overview of the crisis, see Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*, rev. ed. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1995), chapter 12.

Naomi Schaefer Riley. *God on the Quad: How Religious Colleges and the Missionary Generation Are Changing America.*

New York: St. Martin's Press, 2005

Reviewed by Patrick Q. Mason

In the current polarized political and cultural climate, it seems that Americans are governed less by the motto of “E Pluribus Unum” and have adopted something of an “E Pluribus Duo” philosophy instead. The 2000 and 2004 presidential elections heightened this division with incessant talk of Blue and Red States and the cultural and ideological rifts between them. Bush voters circulated maps disdainfully labeling both coasts and New England as the “United States of Canada.” For their part, Blue Americans often portray their conservative opponents as unenlightened dupes and rubes, and consider virtually everything between the coasts as “flyover country.”

Fortunately, some authors such as Naomi Schaefer Riley are trying to bridge the gap. One of the purposes of her highly readable and informative book *God on the Quad* is to make Red Americans a bit more comprehensible to Blue Americans through a specific focus on religious colleges and universities. In an academic culture that is pervaded with secularism, liberalism, and postmodernism, religious schools and those who attend or teach at them are often dismissed or belittled. While Riley does identify some, such as Patrick Henry College, that do not compare favorably with secular colleges in terms of overall quality of education, for the most part she finds that the schools she visited are ambitious and successful institutions of higher learning that in many ways are on par with their secular counterparts. Although her impressions are largely anecdotal and therefore somewhat arbitrary, in making her judgments she considers such aspects as matriculating students' high school grades and test scores, postgraduation careers and placements, and the overall academic caliber of students and professors she encountered during her visits. Riley's primary argument is that as administrators and professors at religious colleges “navigate between the dangers of secularization and isolation,” their students will emerge as leaders in next-generation America

“by contributing thoughtful and community-minded citizens, whose religious beliefs strengthen the causes of civic commitment, moral decency, and family stability” (260). *God on the Quad*, therefore, simultaneously works as a call for Blue America to take religious higher education more seriously and as a roadmap of some of the potential pitfalls that religious schools face as they seek to put their stamp not just on their students but on American society as a whole.

In all, Riley visited twenty schools during the course of her research. Her sample consisted of representatives from a variety of religious traditions, including Catholic, nondenominational evangelical, Baptist, Reformed Protestants, fundamentalist Protestant, Latter-day Saint, Jewish, and even Buddhist. Her focus is on colleges and universities and not seminaries, although religious education constitutes a core element of the curriculum at most of the schools. This study is tilted toward the strongest institutions within each tradition. Doing so essentially inflates the average, so to speak, and gives something of a false impression that every evangelical school, for instance, is a Wheaton or a Baylor, when this is clearly not the case. Riley does acknowledge that religious schools range in rigor just as secular ones do, but her focus is primarily on the best that religious higher education has to offer, a valid if not necessarily comprehensive approach.

The first half of the book comprises chapter-length profiles of six of the most noteworthy religious colleges and universities: Brigham Young (which at one point is compared to Harvard), Bob Jones, Notre Dame, Thomas Aquinas, Yeshiva, and Baylor. As an alumnus of two of the six (BYU and Notre Dame), I was impressed by Riley’s good ear for the language and key issues that are particular to each. Those who are intimately familiar with any of these profiled schools may not necessarily learn anything new from what they read, but the fact that Riley gets it right in familiar cases instills confidence when readers are presented with schools they know less about. The second half of the book is organized thematically, covering issues of feminism, race, student life, minority religious groups, the integration of faith and learning, and political activism.

As I began *God on the Quad*, I had a suspicion that it might be in the tradition of nineteenth-century travel narratives, in which someone from the enlightened Occident visits the benighted Orient (from China to Africa to polygamous Utah). In detailing their travels, writers alternate between giving backhanded compliments, patronizing pats on the head, and condescending judgments of backwardness. Such travelers may bring a few relics back to hang on their walls, but invariably they return to the modern world smug in their cultural superiority. *God on the Quad* thankfully has

none of this arrogance. Riley is sensitive to the inside dynamics of each school and moves deftly among the many ideologies, theologies, and cultures that differentiate them one from another. She does not hesitate to criticize, but she does so constructively rather than sarcastically, trying to fit her critiques within the boundaries that each school has drawn for itself. She appreciates the idea of religious higher education, recognizing it as a valid option for people who are both faithful and thoughtful—after all, she repeatedly insists, many of the students and faculty at Brigham Young and Thomas Aquinas and even Bob Jones had Ivy League offers but decided on religious schools instead.

Importantly, in her analysis Riley does not bind herself to the golden calves of multiculturalism, diversity, and postmodernism, and shows how the vision of faith-based education exposes some of the shortcomings of these contemporary mantras while at the same time striving to incorporate their better aspects (such as overcoming racism, sexism, and homophobia). For instance, she affirms that “there is an educational benefit to be gained in an environment where people are coming from a similar intellectual and spiritual standpoint,” and also notes that “where there is no common ground in a conversation to begin with, the conversation tends to go nowhere” (202). In addition, providing students with strong roots in a particular faith tradition gives them a foundation for “moral and political reflection considerably deeper than the cafeteria-style offerings of most secular schools” (252). More practically, when a religious college educates its students about the application of a moral and ethical code that does not hold relativism as an absolute, they are helping form “ethically aware professionals” (236) who can help guide the American marketplace away from Enron and back toward the path of virtue. Whether she went into the project with these notions or discovered them along the way, Riley has written a book that is more valuable than either a straight apologetic or jeremiad, as it speaks to both the merits and handicaps of religious, and indeed American, higher education as presently constituted.

The best example of Riley’s approach is chapter 7, which considers the impact of feminism on religious colleges (“while they weren’t looking,” she wryly notes). She lays out the debate over whether religious colleges have a sheltering or secularizing impact on the women who attend them. Relying on data about freshmen women from the American Council on Education, she shows that “even if women at religious colleges are not well versed in the tenets of feminist theory, they clearly understand the options open to women in the twenty-first century and are considering a wide range of them” (148). In short, feminists have won the day without even knowing it, and reactionary fears that feminism would unduly undermine

faith appear ungrounded. Rather than falling away from the churches in droves, women at religious colleges and universities are appropriating higher education according to their own particular theological and cultural impulses, thus demonstrating “a sophisticated accommodation to modernity” while holding on to and even strengthening their faith (148). Theirs is not the political feminism of the 1970s, but rather a new sensibility that is uniquely feminist and genuinely religious.

The book’s conclusion is an excellent reprisal of some of its main findings and arguments and considers briefly the dim (according to Riley) possibilities of Islamic higher education. What Riley truly focuses on, she does admirably. In the end, however, I am unconvinced by two of her concluding claims: first, that today’s graduates from religious universities will mount any substantial challenge to America’s individualist and materialist culture; and second, that this “missionary generation” will help bridge the gap between Red and Blue. After reading *God on the Quad*, I have no doubt that religious higher education will play an important role in the ongoing transformation of America, but I am not so certain that Blue America will be converting to Red anytime soon.

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Errata

- David Ericson and William Whitaker’s names were misspelled in “Setting a Standard in LDS Art: Four Illustrators of the Mid-Twentieth Century,” by Robert T. Barrett and Susan Easton Black, *BYU Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 24–95.
- The article “Love and Intimacy in Family, Kinship, Friendship, and Community,” *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2 (2003): 138–70, should have listed Mark H. Butler as first author and Allen E. Bergin as second author.

Stephen Prothero. *American Jesus:
How the Son of God Became a National Icon.*

New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003

Reviewed by Patrick Q. Mason

When Jesus asked his disciples, “Whom do men say that I the Son of man am?” they answered that some rumored him to be John the Baptist, others said he was Elijah, and still others thought he was Jeremiah or another one of the prophets. Jesus then pointed the question directly at the disciples, to which Peter responded with the famous declaration, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God” (Matt. 16:13–16).

In his book *American Jesus: How the Son of God Became a National Icon*, Stephen Prothero, Professor of Religion at Boston University, asks the same question: who do people say Jesus is? The respondents to his query, however, are not the ancient apostles but rather modern Americans. While many share Peter’s testimony that Jesus is the Messiah and the divine Son of God, American Christians have also portrayed Jesus as “black and white, male and female, straight and gay, a socialist and a capitalist, a pacifist and a warrior, a Ku Klux Klansman and a civil rights agitator.” Americans more broadly have transformed him into “an athlete and an aesthete, a polygamist and a celibate, an advertising man and a mountaineer, a Hindu deity and a Buddha-to-be” (8–9). Jesus, it seems, has excelled Paul in becoming “all things to all men” (1 Cor. 9:22).

Prothero discovers in this kaleidoscope of opinions about Jesus the very essence, character, and vitality of American religion, which thrives in a paradoxically Christian and plural, secular and religious culture. A Christian majority has made Jesus inescapable, but over the years he has proven remarkably malleable in the hands of Americans of all stripes. The myriad ways in which he has been interpreted demonstrates his ability to serve as a kind of Rorschach test in telling us about Americans’ hopes and fears and their relationship to the broader culture. The United States is no longer (if it ever was) a Christian country, but Prothero convincingly demonstrates that it is still very much a “Jesus nation,” perhaps more now

than ever. Jesus has become as American as apple pie, and everyone has their own favorite recipe.

What explains the enduring popularity of Jesus in America even while mainline Protestant churches are hemorrhaging members and secularism shows no sign of retreat? Certainly the answer is related to the burgeoning strength of evangelical Protestantism, but Prothero argues that Americans' near-universal love of and fascination with Jesus is rooted in his amazing ability to appeal both to religious insiders (Protestants) as well as dissenters such as Mormons, African Americans, Jews, Hindus, and Buddhists. (Oddly, Catholics appear here in neither category and are virtually absent from the book.) America's religious outsiders not only claim Jesus as theirs, but they have the audacity to assert that they understand him better than the insiders do. Rather than simply consuming mainstream images of Jesus, they fashion their own and then declare them authentic. Indeed, according to Prothero, it is the many appropriations of Jesus by those who stand outside the religious and cultural center that has transformed him from a narrow theological figure to a national celebrity. This adoption of Jesus by virtually everyone in America shows that "the public power of Christianity, while undeniable, is not absolute, that Christians do not have a monopoly, even on the central figure of their tradition" (302).

Prothero makes the disclaimer that *American Jesus* is about "Jesus the person, not Christ the theological sign" (9). He does not entirely ignore theology, but for him the careful writings of learned Christian clerics represent only one ingredient (and a relatively small one at that) in the formulation of Jesus's many American identities. Because Prothero is respectful of each group's interpretation of Jesus, he does not declare any one to be "true," leaving that task to individual believers and churches. *American Jesus* is an unabashed cultural history that considers representations of Jesus not just in missionary tracts, sermons, and theological treatises, but also in novels, biographies, films, music, and the visual arts—created, importantly, by Christians and non-Christians alike. Indeed, if there is a flaw in Prothero's analysis, it is his overemphasis on Jesus as defined by cultural outsiders such as Black Muslims, Vedantists, and Jesus People, and his underemphasis on mainline Protestants, evangelicals, and especially Catholics. Richard Wightman Fox's *Jesus in America: A History*¹ is better in this regard, particularly in its greater attention to theology. Prothero's *American Jesus*, however, is a much livelier read, with page-turning prose and wonderful anecdotes, and it makes a strong case that the margins do to a substantial degree define the center.

Prothero identifies three broad phases in Jesus's American journey, stretching from his humble roots in Puritan New England to his rise to

superstardom in modern American megachurches, movies, theaters, and radio waves. First, evangelical Christians “liberated” Jesus from Calvinism and then from all creeds; second, Protestants “disentangled” Jesus from the Bible, replacing *sola scriptura* with *solus Jesus* as the essence of true Christianity; and finally, Americans of all religions (and no religion at all) lifted Jesus from Christianity itself and embraced him as their own.

In chapter 1, Thomas Jefferson, whose specter haunts virtually every page of the book, is hailed as the Founding Father of America’s Jesus nation, and the White House floor, where he performed his famous (or infamous) cut-and-paste job on the Gospels, is portrayed as a kind of manger scene where Jesus the Enlightened Sage (as opposed to Jesus the Miracle Worker) was born. The next three chapters chronologically trace a series of “reawakenings” of Jesus among white Protestants. Jesus, who was acknowledged but generally disregarded in Calvinist theology, had his coming-out party in the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century, which shed the harsh strictures of Calvinism and emphasized a more evangelical, devotional, feminine side of religion. As American religion became increasingly consumer-driven, a personal relationship with a sentimental Jesus became the most attractive commodity available in the marketplace of religious ideas. When Protestants, especially men, grew concerned that Jesus had become a little *too* sweet and sentimental by the end of the nineteenth century, they made efforts to fashion him as the epitome of manliness. And just as it seemed that God was dead (or at least dying) in the 1960s, Jesus emerged stronger than ever thanks to the efforts of Billy Graham, Jesus Freaks, and Hollywood and Broadway directors and producers. In 2005, Christianity may not have the cultural power it once did, and many Christians feel like strangers in “their” country. Jesus, however, is more popular than ever. Americans may not be sure what they think about Christ, but everybody loves Jesus.

The final four chapters drive this point home by examining Jesus’s various “reincarnations” among Latter-day Saints, blacks, Jews, and Asian Hindus and Buddhists. *BYU Studies* readers will be particularly interested in Prothero’s treatment of the “Mormon Elder Brother” in chapter 5. In a well-informed and highly sympathetic account, Prothero traces Jesus’s place in Mormonism through three stages: Jesus Celebrated, Jesus Lost, and Jesus Found. He contrasts Jesus’s prominent status in “textual Mormonism” (particularly the Book of Mormon) with his virtual absence in the covenants, rituals, and tribalism² of “temple Mormonism,” which dominated from the 1840s through the 1890s. Some Latter-day Saint readers may be irked at the suggestion that Mormons ever lost sight of Jesus, and they may quickly note the centrality of Jesus (particularly as Jehovah)

in temple ceremonies. Nonetheless, Prothero's insights are both reasonable and illuminating and are suggestive of what some have called the "post-Atonement" nature of Mormonism. Jesus was "rediscovered" by twentieth-century Mormons as they stressed their commonalities with Protestants and refocused on the more Jesus-centric Book of Mormon. Prothero smartly refuses to take a stand on the quarrelsome "Are Mormons Christian?" debate, but he perceptively notes that the discussion has forced anti-Mormons to define Christian identity in terms of particular creedal commitments, while Mormons have characterized their Christian discipleship in terms of *solus Jesus*, an ironic twist from a century earlier.

In sum, *American Jesus*, while not without its minor flaws, is among the most interesting and engaging books in American religious and cultural history to appear in recent years. Academics and the general public alike will find it both informative and entertaining. Believers and non-believers will be fascinated by the story of how the United States came to be simultaneously a secular republic and Jesus nation.

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1. Richard Wightman Fox, *Jesus in America: A History* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2004).

2. Tribalism is used here in its anthropological sense, referring to a primary and almost exclusive identification of a group of people, often tied together by family or ethnic relationships, with members of their own group, reinforced by boundaries designed to reify the in-group and exclude outsiders.

Early Christians in Disarray: Contemporary LDS Perspectives on the Christian Apostasy. Edited by Noel B. Reynolds (FARMS and BYU Press, 2005).

A much-anticipated book exploring the root causes of the early Christian apostasy is now off the press. *Early Christians in Disarray: Contemporary LDS Perspectives on the Christian Apostasy* is the culmination of several years' work by BYU scholars who used manuscripts from the first few centuries of Christianity (some not discovered until the last century) to reevaluate the formative research on the apostasy that has already been performed by James E. Talmage, Joseph Fielding Smith, and B. H. Roberts.

Following them, most Latter-day Saint scholars and leaders previously understood the Christian apostasy through the findings of nineteenth-century Protestant historians and the claims of eighteenth-century anticlerical writings. Both sources provided a seemingly endless array of evidences of apostasy in Christian history. This reliance on Protestant writers produced in LDS accounts of the apostasy a heavy emphasis on the late-medieval corruption of the Catholic Church, typically described as having occurred during a time of severe spiritual darkness and intellectual backwardness.

Over the last century, a wealth of new material and scholarship has been made available, giving a clearer picture of what the Christian experience was like during its first centuries. One result has been the view, set forth in *Early Christians in Disarray*, that the apostasy began much earlier than supposed—as early as the first century AD.

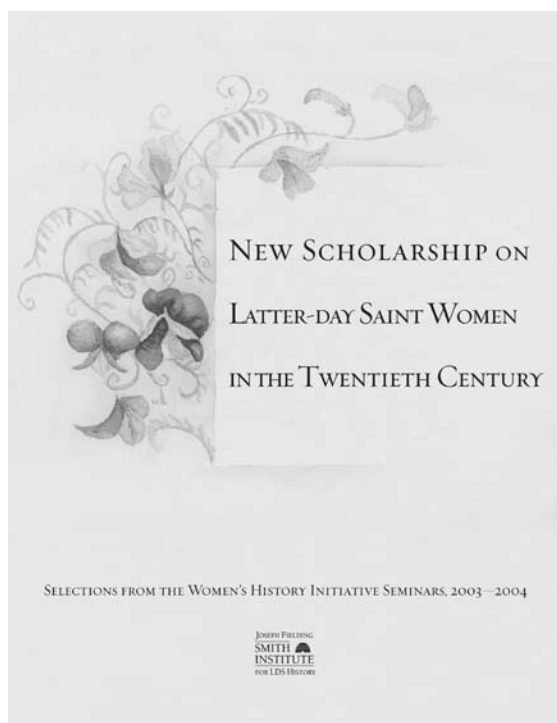
Noel Reynolds argues that a principal cause of the apostasy was the abandonment or breaking of sacred covenants by the Christians them-

selves. "The more we learn about the first decades after the passing of Christ, the more we can see internal rebellion against God's covenants and against his authorized servants—much like the rebellions against Moses in the wilderness, or against Joseph Smith in Kirtland in 1836," he writes. "The rebels were members of Christ's church, sometimes leaders, who sought for earthly power, glory, and even justification for their own sins." In examining the second-century transformation of covenant-based ordinances into Christian sacraments, Reynolds illuminates Nephi's statement that many of the covenants were taken away (see 1 Nephi 13:26).

Readers will be interested in the insights the contributors provide regarding such questions as why there was an apostasy, how it came about, what it means, and what the significance is of new discoveries. Contributors include Noel B. Reynolds, Eric R. Dursteler, Richard Bennett, John W. Welch, James E. Faulconer, John Gee, Daniel W. Graham, James L. Siebach, David L. Paulsen, Barry R. Bickmore, Adam W. Bentley, and Ryan G. Christensen.

According to Reynolds, *Early Christians in Disarray* is "designed to support and encourage further systematic research on [the apostasy]. It is not designed to be a comprehensive or final treatment of any of [the] issues. The goals of the authors and editor will be achieved if Latter-day Saints find its contents helpful for understanding this important topic and if it provokes some of them to pursue these and related questions with further research."

—Alison Coutts



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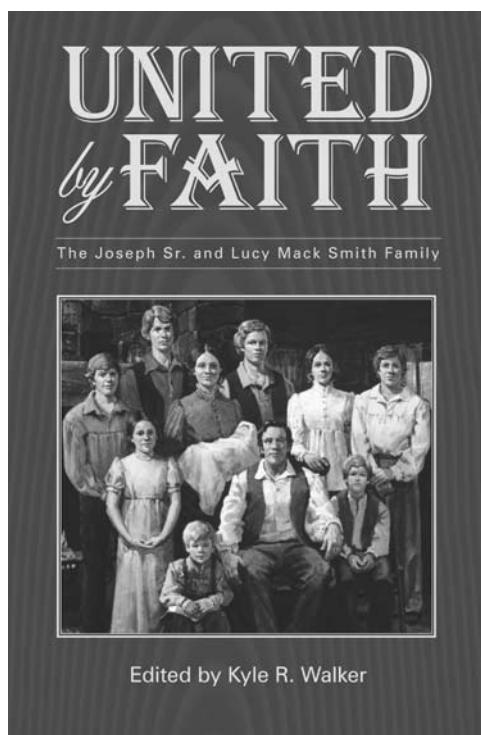
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Guardians of the Family

by Shannon Christensen

oil on canvas, 63" x 36", 2004

Because of its association with worship, a triptych enhances the status of the artistic subject. Thus by being a triptych, *Guardians of the Family* elevates the family to a more venerable position. The separate panels further the idea that mother, father, and child are distinct and have different roles in the family—each panel is necessary to form the whole picture.

Mothers nurture their children. They bestow, prepare, incline, cultivate, awaken, sustain, brace, and carry their children. These many aspects of nurturing are represented by the numerous feathers this mother holds. Metaphorically, mothers give nurtured wings to their children for their eventual ascent in flight. A bird stripped of some or all of its feathers finds flying difficult if not impossible. The mother is blowing at the feathers to symbolize the influence she has to gently guide and direct the life of a child.

Fathers provide for their families, hence the nest, which is essential for the birth, growth, and safety of a bird. The nest provides physical shelter, protects from predators, and maintains a haven for leaving and returning from exploration. Metaphorically, the father builds a nest that provides a place for his child to be physically sheltered.

Each partner has a role in aiding the child; therefore, their hands are at equal heights, signifying that they are essential counterparts and parental peers. The head of each is lifted in recognition of their valued roles. Neither is, nor need be, ashamed of his or her role.

The tree is a reminder of the refuge that is found in families. It also, represents parental posterity, while the leafy canopy represents future genealogy. The missing tree limbs are a reminder that families are not perfect. Nevertheless, the family still provides the fundamental fortress for strength.

The bird symbolizes the child. The bird without the nest, feathers, or tree, is handicapped and healthy progress is difficult, if not impossible. The metaphor is clear for the responsible raising of children.

—Shannon Christensen