



INVOLVING READERS
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ARTICLES

- The King James Bible in America: **4**
Pilgrim, Prophet, President, Preacher
John S. Tanner
- “Thy Mind, O Man, Must Stretch” **63**
John W. Welch
- Godbodied: The Matter of the Latter-day Saints **83**
Stephen H. Webb

DOCUMENTS

- John Taylor’s June 27, 1854, Account of the Martyrdom **25**
Transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth
Introduced and edited by Mark Lyman Staker
- “Myself . . . I Consecrate to the God of Heaven”: **101**
Twenty Affidavits of Consecration in Nauvoo,
June–July 1842
Mitchell K. Schaefer and Sherilyn Farnes
- “With God’s Assistance I Will Someday Be an Artist”: **133**
John B. Fairbanks’s Account of the Paris Art Mission
Rachel Cope

POETRY

- Appetite **82**
Dixie Partridge
- Conductor **160**
Lon R. Young

BOOK REVIEWS

Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611–2011

by Gordon Campbell

Begat: The Story of the King James Bible and the English Language

by David Crystal

Reviewed by Brandie R. Siegfried **161**

Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide

by Grant Hardy

Reviewed by Steven C. Walker **165**

*Almost Christian: What the Faith of Our Teenagers Is Telling
the American Church*

by Linda Creasy Dean

Reviewed by Cardell K. Jacobson **174**

Nauvoo Polygamy: "... but we called it celestial marriage"

by George D. Smith

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander **177**

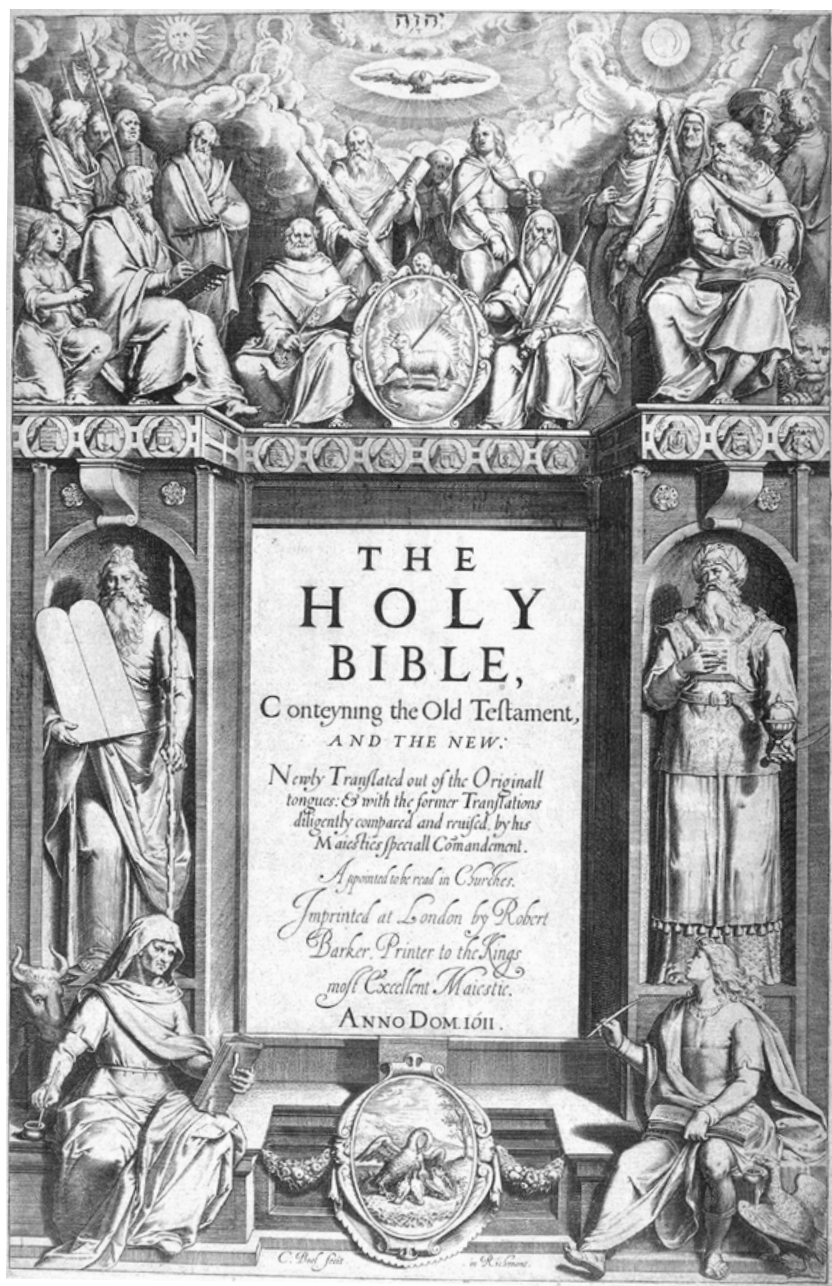
*Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State: A Documentary
History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in*

East Germany, 1945–1990

by Raymond Kuehne

Reviewed by Norma S. Davis **183**

BOOK NOTICES 190



Original title page from the 1611 King James Bible, by Corneilus Boel.

The King James Bible in America

Pilgrim, Prophet, President, Preacher

John S. Tanner

This paper was given on May 14, 2011, at Harris Manchester College at Oxford University as part of “The King James Bible Symposium: The People, the Language, the Effect,” cosponsored by Harris Manchester College and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in celebration of the 400th anniversary of the publication of the King James Bible in 1611.

I am honored to be invited to speak to you today about that book of books, the King James Bible, in connection with the quatercentenary of its publication. It is fitting to address this topic here in Oxford, a place that hosted a third of the translators. I have been asked to speak to the influence of the KJB on America, which forms a huge part of the story, for the KJB may have had an even greater impact across the Atlantic than it has had here on this “sceptred isle.”¹ Ironically, although we declared our independence politically from a king of England, for hundreds of years we remained deeply dependent on a Bible bearing the name of an English king. The magisterial KJB long reigned as the unrivaled monarch among Bible translations in America. In some respects, it does so still.

Introduction: Like the Air Americans Breathe

The great Harvard historian of American Puritanism, Perry Miller, once remarked that “the Old Testament is truly so omnipresent in the American culture of 1800 or 1820 that historians have as much difficulty taking cognizance of it as of the air people breathed.”² This is precisely the problem posed

by trying to describe the influence of the King James Bible on America. The KJB has been as omnipresent in our history as the air we breathe and as vital as air to our cultural life. As another historian observed, “Of no nation can it as aptly be said as of the United States, that, in its settlement and development, the Bible has played a major role.”³ For most of our history, to refer to the Bible in America is to refer to the King James Bible. The KJB is the “canonical” translation for America.⁴ It has been America’s Bible, providing a “surprising degree of homogeneity” in an otherwise highly “heterogeneous religious landscape.”⁵ As an illustration: over 90 percent of the separate editions of the Bible published in the United States from the War of Independence through the Civil War were King James Bibles, and this figure masks its true hegemony, as print runs for the KJB were far larger than for other translations.⁶ Though it is gradually losing its preeminent place,⁷ the language of the KJB still defines the proper language of scripture for most Americans, as it does across the English-speaking world. The translators of the King James Bible attuned the ears of English speakers everywhere as to how the Bible is supposed to sound. No small feat this, to have defined how the Word becomes words in English! The KJB fulfilled the moniker “Authorized Version” in America primarily by virtue of its rhetorical authority and power. It constitutes England’s single most influential linguistic legacy, more pervasive even than Shakespeare. Over the past four hundred years, it has worked its way deep into our public rhetoric, private discourse, and common understanding. The King James Bible has truly been as omnipresent in American history and culture as the air we breathe.

This obviously makes my task of reducing the topic to a one-hour lecture difficult, if not impossible, for the influence of the KJB in America is extensive in both time and scope. The story of the KJB’s impact stretches from before the arrival of the *Mayflower* in 1620, which deposited John Alden and his King James Bible upon the shores of New England, to beyond the inauguration of Barack Obama, who took the oath of office with his hand on Abraham Lincoln’s King James Bible.⁸ As the most popular book by far in our history, the KJB has touched every aspect of American culture. Americans have printed and bought the KJB in astonishing quantities. It has flooded our pulpits and parlors alike, providing texts not only for innumerable sermons and Sunday School lessons, as one would expect, but also for some of our greatest political speeches, such as Lincoln’s second inaugural and Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream.” Similarly, some of our finest works of literature exploit its rhetorical resources. These include Melville’s *Moby Dick*, Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*, Faulkner’s *Absalom, Absalom*, and Robinson’s *Gilead*.⁹ It has also provided fodder for popular novels like *The Robe*, *Two from Galilee*, and *Ben Hur*, for films like *The King of*

Kings and *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, and for musical theater like *Godspell* and *Children of Eden*. Above all, it has supplied the terms and typology for the American national myth as a promised land, a city on a hill.

To provide some semblance of coherence and focus to this vast topic, I have decided to highlight how a few representative Americans, from the Pilgrims to the present, have engaged the KJB, sketching the contours of the larger story in connection with these individuals. I shall focus specifically on a Pilgrim, a prophet, a president, and a preacher: John Winthrop, Joseph Smith, Abraham Lincoln, and Martin Luther King Jr. They illustrate among them the ongoing and evolving presence of the KJB in American culture and history.

A Pilgrim: John Winthrop and the Bible in Early America

More than any other immigrant group, the New England Puritans are responsible for introducing the English Bible to America and (more importantly) for casting our national identity and founding myths in biblical terms. It has been argued that the Puritan's most "distinctive contribution" lay "in the realm of rhetoric,"—"rhetoric grounded in the Bible." The Puritans "saw New England as scripture brought to life." "They discovered America in the Bible,"¹⁰ as it were, by conceiving of themselves as reenacting the entrance of the children of Israel into a "promised land" and as establishing there not just a commercial colony but a consecrated "city on a hill." No one was more important in articulating this enduring national myth than John Winthrop in his justly famous 1630 speech aboard the *Arbella*, entitled "A Model of Christian Charity." Let me briefly paraphrase the peroration of this famous sermonlike speech to give you a sense of how Puritans fashioned America's national identity out of biblical rhetoric.¹¹

"Thus stands the cause between God and us," Winthrop tells the Pilgrims aboard the *Arbella* bound for the Massachusetts Bay Colony, "we are entered into a covenant with him for this work." New England's covenant with God is imagined by Winthrop in Deuteronomic terms: God will bless the colonists if they keep their covenant and punish them if they break it, just as he did ancient Israel. Winthrop summarizes their obligation by quoting from Micah 6 and then from Matthew 5: "Now the only way to avoid the shipwreck and to provide for our posterity is to follow the Counsel of Micah, to do Justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God." If the colonists are "knit together" in "brotherly Affection," then "the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, as his own people" and "men shall say of succeeding plantations: the Lord make it like that of New England: for we must consider that we shall be as a City Upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we should deal falsely with our god . . . , we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world." Winthrop concludes by quoting "that exhortation of Moses . . . in

his farewell to Israel [in] Deut. 30,” which Moses delivered as the children of Israel were about to enter the promised land of Canaan: “Beloved, there is now set before us life, and good, and death and evil in that we are Commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another to walk in his ways and to keep his Commandments . . . that the Lord our God may bless us in the land where we go to possess it” (see Deut. 30:15–16).

Through such ringing rhetoric, John Winthrop casts the founding in terms of a biblical covenant. It is hard to overstate the importance of this rhetorical move for America’s ongoing sense of national identity. Whether used to justify American exceptionalism or to condemn American failure to live up to its ideals, the biblical rhetoric of America as a city on a hill has permeated the country far beyond New England and long after Puritanism faded there. Americans from John Adams to John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton have evoked Winthrop’s “A Model of Christian Charity.”¹² No wonder Winthrop’s recent biographer calls him “America’s Forgotten Founding Father.”¹³

Yet Winthrop was scarcely unique. He represents many other Pilgrim Fathers who deployed similar biblical rhetoric for similar purposes—such as William Bradford, John Cotton, and Cotton Mather.¹⁴ Moreover, the Puritans not only suffused their discourse with Bible quotations, they also mimed biblical rhetoric to fashion their own language. For example, Cotton Mather exhorts the same group of Pilgrims leaving for the Massachusetts Bay Colony as follows: “Awake, Awake, put on thy strength, O New-English Zion, and put on thy Beautiful Garments, O American Jerusalem, Put on thy beautiful Garments, O America, the holy City.”¹⁵ In such a text, Mather becomes, rhetorically, the prophet Isaiah, just as Winthrop becomes a new Moses, while the immigrants on board the *Arbella* are invited to consider themselves the children of Israel.¹⁶

Now, for the purposes of this lecture, I need to note that when the Pilgrims cited the Bible, they sometimes quoted from the Geneva and sometimes from the King James translation. The smaller Plymouth Plantation seemed to prefer the Geneva Bible, while the larger Massachusetts Bay Colony preferred the KJB. Thus William Bradford consistently cites scripture from the Geneva Bible in his famous *History of Plymouth Plantation*, while John Cotton in his address “God’s Promise to his Plantations” uniformly quotes from the KJB, as do the sermons from the Bay Colony.¹⁷ Winthrop’s “A Model of Christian Charity” is mixed. Most, but not all, of his biblical citations come from the Geneva Bible, but the text from Micah about God requiring us “to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God” is taken from the KJB, a rhetorically superior translation of the text than any that preceded it. Likewise, the reference to “charity” rather than “love” in the title also nods to the KJB translation in 1 Corinthians 13 rather than Geneva.

I mention this to make the point that when the KJB first arrived on American shores it faced competition from a rival translation. Surprisingly, however, the KJB fairly quickly became the predominant translation, both in New England and across North America generally. Many reasons have been suggested for this.¹⁸ Three reasons seem most compelling to me: the lack of marginal notes in the KJB, the greater availability of the KJB, and the excellence of the KJB translation.

By royal command, the King James Bible was printed without notes or comments. James's proscription expressed his annoyance with the Geneva Bible's antimonarchical notes. This fortuitous decision had the result of making the KJB feel less partisan and hence more appealing to Protestants of all stripes. The nondenominational nature of the text was especially important in America, which developed a tradition of religious pluralism. Moreover, for those who preferred Geneva's notes, enterprising publishers were happy to supply the need by printing editions of the KJB text with the Geneva notes.

Another important reason for the predominance of the KJB in America is that the supply of Geneva Bibles from the mother country diminished rapidly after 1611. Between 1611 and 1644, the last year of a new Geneva edition, only nine Geneva editions were printed. During these same years, 177 editions of the King James Bible were printed.¹⁹ It should also be remembered that until the Revolution, the colonists were utterly dependent on imported Bibles, lacking the means and the legal license to print their own editions. Consequently, until after the War of Independence, all English Bibles in America were imported. These were virtually all King James Bibles. This allowed the KJB to take root in the New World and ultimately to establish itself as *The American Bible*.

Finally, one must assume that the KJB became the American Bible because Americans, like readers everywhere, found the translation itself congenial. The KJB was regarded as the most accurate translation of its day. By the eighteenth century, it also came to be regarded and cherished as the best translation, a monument to the English language. It won its way into the hearts of readers across the English-speaking world, including those in America.

Nevertheless, it is still somewhat surprising that a new nation, throbbing with a spirit of independence, possessing the legal authorization and technical means to print Bibles, remained so thoroughly committed to a British translation through the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. The fact that America continued to rely on the KJB is both puzzling and a bit irritating to a scholar like David Daniell, who returns to this issue again and again in his massive history *The Bible in English*. Daniell refers disdainfully to the KJB in nineteenth-century America as "the great monolith . . . a

monarch that would brook no rival.” While admitting that the KJB served a useful purpose by providing a stabilizing force in a country prone to religious fragmentation, Daniell concludes his history by expressing surprise and dismay over “the continual flourishing in the American republic of a monarchical version [of the Bible], frequently beautiful but already archaic in 1611, often erroneous, sometimes unintelligible, but persistently loved as ‘our American Bible.’”²⁰

Puzzling as it may be, and as David Daniell knows better than anyone, the predominance of the King James Bible had the happy effect of transmitting the work of William Tyndale across the Atlantic. A great Tyndale scholar, Daniell has taught us all what an extraordinary, if long unrecognized contribution Tyndale made to the KJB. A BYU colleague has calculated that 83 percent of the King James New Testament comes from Tyndale.²¹ That the KJB translators borrowed from previous translations is not surprising. Their stated mission was to make “out of many good ones, one principall good one.”²² Yet it is surprising how much they retained from Tyndale. In no small part, the translators’ genius lay in having the wit and wisdom to draw so heavily from Tyndale. He is the unacknowledged source of much that Americans, along with the rest of the English-speaking world, have come to love and admire in KJB. As Daniell writes in his introduction to Tyndale’s New Testament:

Right through the sixty-six books of the Bible, from “And God said, Let there be light, and there was light” (Genesis 1) to “And God shall wipe all tears away from their eyes” (Revelation 7), phrases of lapidary beauty have been admired: “Ask and it shall be given to you; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you” (Matthew 7); “With God all things are possible” (Matthew 19); . . . “Be not weary in well doing” (2 Thessalonians 3); “Fight the good fight of faith; lay hold on eternal life” (1 Timothy 6); . . . “Behold, I stand at the door and knock” (Revelation 3). Indeed, phrases from the Authorized Version are so familiar that they are often thought to be proverbial: “Am I my brother’s keeper?” (Genesis 4); “The salt of the earth” (Matthew 5); “The signs of the times” (Matthew 16); “The burden and heat of the day” (Matthew 20); “They made light of it” (Matthew 18); “The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak” (Matthew 26); “Eat, drink, and be merry” (Luke 12); . . . “Filthy lucre” (1 Timothy 3); “The patience of Job” (James 5). . . .

All these phrases, and many, many more, were taken by the Authorized Version translators directly from Tyndale. Throughout the New Testament, where the Authorized Version is direct, simple and strong, what it prints is pure Tyndale.²³

I attribute the enduring popularity of the KJB in America and elsewhere to the appeal of such moving and memorable language. The KJB has broad appeal. It spoke to American Puritans and patriots as well as to

the princes and prelates they opposed. But most of all it spoke to ordinary people—to plowboys. These were the readers Tyndale most wanted to reach. He famously retorted to an antagonist, “If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough shall know more to the Scripture than thou dost.”²⁴ Although, alas! his life was not spared to complete the translation of the entire Bible (and the KJB’s translation of the Old Testament is the poorer for this), he was spared long enough to make a major contribution to the Bible that would be put in the hands of plowboys across the world.

A Prophet: Joseph Smith and the KJB in Early Nineteenth-Century America

One such American plowboy was Joseph Smith. His reading of a verse in the King James Bible set in motion events that would lead to a dramatic theophany and the founding of a new church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which continues to publish and promote the KJB for its English-speaking members. Let me paraphrase and read from the story of this experience in Joseph Smith’s own words and then place it in the larger context of the history of the KJB in America.

Living in 1820 in upstate New York in an area historians have since called the “burned-over district” because it lay at the epicenter of revivalism sweeping across the country like fire during the Second Great Awakening, the young fourteen-year-old Joseph and his family were agitated by the religious fervor of the times.²⁵ In his own words, Joseph Smith says simply, “There was in the place where we lived an unusual excitement on the subject of religion. . . . Indeed, the whole district of the country seemed affected by it. . . . During this time of great excitement my mind was called up to serious reflection. . . . My mind at times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were so great” (JS–H 1:5, 8–9). He continues:

In the midst of this war of words and tumult of opinions, I often said to myself: What is to be done? Who of all these parties are right; or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it, and how shall I know it?

While I was laboring under the extreme difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading the Epistle of James, first chapter and fifth verse, which reads: *If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.*

Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did; for how to

act I did not know, and unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, I would never know; for the teachers of religion of the different sects understood the same passages of scripture so differently as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible.

At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. I at length came to the determination to “ask of God,” concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally, and not upbraid, I might venture.

So, in accordance with this, my determination to ask of God, I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful, clear day, early in the spring of eighteen hundred and twenty. It was the first time in my life that I had made such an attempt, for amidst all my anxieties I had never as yet made the attempt to pray vocally. (JS-H 1:10–14)

What followed, of course, was what Mormons refer to as the “First Vision,” a glorious theophany that for Joseph Smith and for his followers changed, well, everything. For the purpose of this lecture, however, I want to focus not on the significance of the vision itself but on the circumstances that enabled Joseph Smith to read this passage in the Epistle of James. I will discuss (1) how the translators came to choose the particular words Joseph Smith read in James 1:5 and (2) how a poor plowboy living on the American frontier came to have access to a King James Bible in his own home.

Though he could not have known this at the time, the passage that Joseph read in James 1:5 brought him into direct contact with the history of English Bible translation stretching back to Wycliffe.²⁶ The KJB translators amalgamated in this single short verse the work of three previous translations. The language is mostly from Tyndale. “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, . . . and it shall be given him” is all Tyndale. It is characteristically simple and direct in syntax and vocabulary, the kind of prose a plowboy might turn over and over again in his mind and heart. “Upbraideth,” however, is not from Tyndale. It is much too fancy. Tyndale wrote instead that God “casteth no man in the teeth.” All the Protestant translations after Tyndale used this colorful if rather violent phrasing. The KJB translators disliked it and wrestled with other options. According to John Bois’s invaluable notes of their deliberations, they considered both “hitting in the teeth” (even more violent and indecorous) and “without twitting,” which is comically prissy and surely would have rendered the verse infamous had they used it.²⁷ In the end, they reached back to a term first used by Wycliffe and then taken up by the Douay—“upbraideth”—but inverted the negation to improve the cadence: “and upbraideth not.” Their choice was dignified and melodious. Though the diction was perhaps a bit above the range of most plowboys, it seems to have been intelligible to Joseph Smith.

The translators also changed Tyndale's "indifferently" to "liberally" in describing how God "giveth to all men." Tyndale wrote that God giveth to all men "indifferently." This emphasizes God's impartiality, which was very important to Tyndale, a man who cared about plowboys more than prelates, but it misses God's love. The KJB translators opted instead for a word in the Geneva Bible, whose marginal note reinforces the idea that God is "bountiful and liberal" to all who ask, while stressing, polemically, the Protestant doctrine that one needs no human mediator to approach God, but may do so directly.

Thus, the verse that touched Joseph Smith's heart so deeply and launched what Mormons believe is the restoration of Christ's church on earth was the product of a long history of English translations, from Wycliffe on. After Wycliffe died, his body was ordered to be exhumed, burned, and the ashes scattered in the river Swift, a small tributary of the Avon. A poem imagines his ashes flowing from the Swift to the Avon to the Severn to the sea, and from thence as "wide as the waters be."²⁸ Through the KJB, they reached across the Atlantic to touch a boy in upstate New York centuries later. Now every English-speaking Latter-day Saint knows that God "upbraideth not" even if they don't know what "upbraid" means or that the term originated with Wycliffe.

How a poor farm boy from a poor family in rural New York came to have access to a King James Bible in the home illustrates yet another aspect of the story of the KJB in America.²⁹ Through most of the eighteenth century, Bibles were still too expensive and too scarce for common folks in the hinterlands to own. But this all changed by the turn of the century. Two developments lay behind what would become a veritable deluge of KJB editions worldwide: one was technological, the other social.

The technological development had to do with the introduction of cheap paper, power presses, and most of all stereotype printing. The latter in particular opened the way to print Bibles cheap enough for those of very limited means to purchase.

Just as important, if not more so, were social developments that set in motion vast forces in the human landscape. The eighteenth century saw the rise of enthusiastic evangelical movements like Methodism and remarkable figures like Wesley and Whitfield, who mobilized great numbers of people and stirred in them the desire to read the Bible. The same evangelical forces lay behind the emergence of the Sunday school movement,³⁰ missionary societies, and, above all, Bible societies, whose nondenominational purpose was to flood the world with Bibles "without note or comment"—which meant King James Bibles in English-speaking countries. The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) was organized in 1804 as the result of a request of a poor girl from rural Wales named Mary Jones, who walked many miles barefoot

to purchase a Welsh Bible.³¹ The American Bible Society (ABS) was organized in 1816.³² The success of these societies in placing Bibles staggers the imagination. Within three years of its founding, the BFBS had distributed 1.8 million Bibles or portions of Bibles!³³ The ABS was equally active. In 1829, for example, it printed and distributed 360,000 Bibles—this at a time when the normal print run for books was only 2,000. The ABS was printing over 1 million Bibles a year by the 1860s.³⁴ As Daniell writes, America was in the midst of a “Bible-buying phenomenon, beyond anything seen anywhere else in the world. . . . The Bible [was] the most imported book, and then the most printed, most distributed, most read text in North America. . . . If any book touched the lives of Americans, it was a Bible,” the King James Bible.³⁵

Given the explosion of Bible distribution in America, it is scarcely surprising that a KJB was in the home and touched the life of Joseph Smith in 1820. Indeed, this is entirely consistent with the massive proliferation of KJBs in America, which would continue throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, immensely abetted by groups like the ABS and later by the Gideons, a nondeominational organization begun in Wisconsin in about 1900 by two Bible-loving American salesmen.³⁶ Nor is it surprising that Joseph Smith turned to the KJB to seek guidance for his religious questions. In an America brimming with religious enthusiasm, individuals were encouraged to seek answers directly from their own spiritual encounters with God through reading “the Bible alone.”³⁷ That Joseph Smith felt inspired by reading the Bible to ask God is not unusual. What is unusual is the experience he had when he followed James’s counsel to ask God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not.

Joseph Smith continued to turn to the KJB throughout his life, and to God. Many of Joseph Smith’s subsequent revelations came in response to reading the KJB. As one historian has said, “Almost every part of Joseph Smith’s prophetic career was connected in some way with the Bible.”³⁸ While he recognized that the KJB was not a flawless translation and even tried his hand at improving the translation—as did other Americans of his era, such as Noah Webster—Joseph Smith loved and admired the King James Bible. He said that “he who reads it oftenest will like it best.”³⁹ It continues to be read, loved, and admired by millions of Mormons today. Latter-day Saints express gratitude for the KJB, for its translators, and for those who have disseminated it.

A President: Abraham Lincoln and the KJB during Mid-Nineteenth-Century America

Another American plowboy profoundly touched by the KJB was Abraham Lincoln, our sixteenth president. Lincoln represents a very different sort of American shaped by the KJB from the Pilgrim and prophet we’ve considered

so far. He did not found a church like Joseph Smith, nor did he even belong to a church like John Winthrop.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, he was among his generation's best readers of the KJB when wrestling with the religious questions raised by a bloody, bitter Civil War. Unlike New England Pilgrims and later Yankee patriots, who generally enjoyed an optimistic sense of Providence guiding America's destiny in its sojourn in a new Eden, Lincoln had to make sense of Providence amid a fallen world. He had to face squarely the problem of evil as posed by the national agony of our bloodiest war, and the problem of sin as posed by the national disgrace of slavery. He had to deal with how Providence applied to the national experience in a fallen world, where America was responsible for the fall. The King James Bible provided a crucial source of Lincoln's public and private reflection on this issue during the Civil War, as it did for his countrymen. The difference is that Lincoln plumbed the Bible's depths more honestly and profoundly, and exploited its rhetorical resources more adroitly, than anybody else.

The depth of Lincoln's reflection derived not from any formal theological study, for he had none, but from long, intimate engagement with the King James Bible.⁴¹ Like Joseph Smith, Lincoln had little formal education. The KJB provided a major component of the curriculum for his meager schooling as a boy. Lincoln himself said that "all our reading [at school] was done from the Bible." Yet, though he had little to read but the Bible, he read it exceedingly well. Lincoln committed to memory many parts of the Bible, which he would often use to clinch points in speeches and debates. Lincoln continued to read the Bible throughout his life, often daily, especially the Psalms, which he told a nurse at the White House "are the best, for I find in them something for every day in the week." A friend remembered that Lincoln "read few books but mastered all he read, of which the Bible was chief, which gave the basis to his character, and which partly moulded his style."⁴²

One detects the influence of KJB style everywhere in Lincoln's writings. He deploys biblical metaphor, for example, in his "House Divided" speech: "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free." Similarly, the Gettysburg Address is shot through with biblical style. Although only the final phrase, "shall not perish from the earth," is "explicitly biblical," from its famous opening line, "Four score and seven years ago" (which echoes the KJB "three score and ten"), to the concluding "climactic anaphora, 'that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth,'" the language of the Gettysburg Address "is both plain and dignified, resonant in its very ordinariness . . . [in ways] inspired by the diction of the King James Version."⁴³

In Lincoln we see how the KJB can become, in the hands of a capable writer, a salutary influence on prose style in English. Similarly, Robert Alter

has demonstrated in detail the effect of the King James Bible on the prose style of other great American writers, including Herman Melville, William Faulkner, Saul Bellow, Ernest Hemingway, Marilynne Robinson, and Cormac McCarthy. As a prose stylist of the first order, Lincoln belongs high on the list of American authors who have tapped the KJB to create literary masterpieces.

In Lincoln's greatest speech, his second inaugural address, the influence of the KJB is more than stylistic, though it is clearly that.⁴⁴ It is substantive as well. This greatest of all presidential inaugurals articulates a complex understanding of the workings of Providence profoundly shaped by Lincoln's reading of the KJB. In it Lincoln apportions blame for slavery, accepts guilt on both sides of the conflict, acknowledges the incompleteness of human understanding of evil, and asserts his faith that somehow God's ways are purposeful and just, however incomprehensible the workings of Providence seem to those who must live through history. Lincoln also points the nation to a postwar future of healing and forgiveness by forcefully evoking the biblical concept of charity. It is an altogether extraordinary instance of biblically based reflection on civic issues of the greatest consequence—a sort of secular sermon by the president to the nation.

The speech was long in gestation. It reflects years of KJB-inspired reflection. This is evident in Lincoln's unpublished musing entitled "Meditations on the Divine Will," jotted down two years before. In these musings, we see a president groping to make sense of the biblical notion, so dear to the Puritans, that God's will is somehow discernible in America's national life:

The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both *may* be, and one *must* be wrong. God can not be for, and *against* the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party. . . . I am almost ready to say this is probably true—that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. . . . He could have either *saved* or *destroyed* the Union without a human contest. . . . Yet the contest proceeds.⁴⁵

Lincoln lived in a country flooded with Bibles, as we have seen. In the Civil War, these were trotted out by both sides to justify and condemn slavery, persuading neither.⁴⁶ The discursive situation in the public sphere for Lincoln resembles that in the religious sphere for Joseph Smith: Americans read the same Bible only to prove the other side is in error.⁴⁷ Likewise Lincoln shrewdly observed in the second inaugural address, "Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other."

"Once the Bible has been introduced in this fashion," notes Robert Alter, "biblical quotations and weighted phrases drawn from the language of the

Bible are predominant for the rest of the Address.” Lincoln puzzles over how it is “that any men should dare to ask a just God’s assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men’s faces”—alluding to Genesis 3:19.⁴⁸ And then, as if catching himself in a self-righteous thought, he quotes from Luke 6:37: “But let us not judge that we be not judged.” After this, Lincoln asserts the thesis that “the Almighty has his own purposes,” then frames the most remarkably sophisticated meditation on Providence the country had ever heard from a public leader. It is framed between two scriptural quotations: Matthew 18:7 (“Woe unto the world because of offences”) and Psalms 19:9 (“the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether”). Let me quote:

The Almighty has His own purposes. “Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!” If we shall suppose that American Slavery is one of those offences which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South, this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a Living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bond-man’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said “the judgments of the Lord, are true and righteous altogether.”⁴⁹

Lincoln invites America to understand its providential relationship to God in a way that is richer, more complex, and more nuanced than what he received from the Puritans, or than what was being propounded from the pulpits of the day by even the best theologians. His contemporaries proffered simple biblically based readings of the war: The victory of the North vindicated providence and validated vengeance against the other. Mark Noll writes:

The contrast between the learned religious thinkers and Lincoln in how they interpreted the war poses the great theological puzzle of the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln, a layman with no standing in a church and no formal training as a theologian, propounded a thick, complex view of God’s rule over the world and a morally nuanced picture of America’s destiny. The country’s best theologians, by contrast, presented a thin, simple view of God’s providence and a morally juvenile view of the nation and its fate.⁵⁰

In the final paragraph of his second inaugural address, Lincoln turns from looking backwards to discern God’s providence in the war, and looks forward to describe God’s will for those who shall have survived it. God’s

will was clear to Lincoln. It was not to exact revenge, as so many who read the same Bible were calling for. Rather, it was to fulfill the repeated appeal of Old Testament prophets to care for the widow and orphan, and the central demand of the New Testament to act with charity for all:

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just, and lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations.

The text of Lincoln's second inaugural address is now engraved on the wall of the Lincoln Memorial, a tribute to its lapidary eloquence and lasting importance. Such a speech is an inestimable gift to America. In an important sense, it is the bequest not only of a great president but also of a great Bible translation.

A Preacher: Martin Luther King Jr. and the KJB in Twentieth-Century America

One hundred years later, on the centennial marking Lincoln's signing of the Proclamation of Emancipation, Martin Luther King Jr. stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and gave another classic American speech informed by the King James Bible that dealt with slavery and its aftermath. In "I Have a Dream," King wielded the Bible, as Lincoln did, to call the country to repentance.

A century after the Civil War, America still struggled with the legacy of slavery. King felt that the Emancipation Proclamation had brought Americans "nearer to the Red Sea, but it did not guarantee [their] passage through parted waters."⁵¹ As this biblical metaphor suggests, he did not see Americans as having entered the promised land upon arriving in the New World, as had John Winthrop. Rather, King reminded the nation that the American Dream had been, and still too often was, a nightmare for those who came to America on the "middle passage" as slaves. Even so, like Winthrop, Martin Luther King Jr. drew upon biblical imagery and rhetoric to urge America to become a city on a hill and a land of promise for all its citizens.

King's biblical rhetoric still had purchase in twentieth-century America. Although the United States was far more secular than it had been when Lincoln gave his second inaugural address, it still continued to be a Bible-buying and Bible-revering nation. The KJB continued to be the dominant American Bible, even though its preeminence was beginning to wane. Other translations were now available, modern translations, including some by Americans. These translations boasted to be based on better ancient texts and to be rendered in

more accessible English. The gradual dislodgement of the KJB as America's Bible, which continues today, occurred first in seminaries and divinity schools. As a product of such programs, Dr. King was very aware of newer Bible translations and occasionally drew from them in his sermons and speeches.

Yet as son, grandson, and great-grandson of Baptist preachers, King was also the product of a long line of ministers steeped in the language of the KJB. King learned the KJB from their pulpits and in Sunday school at Ebenezer Baptist Church. He also picked up KJB language and rhetoric from the rich vein of spirituals and hymns. And he heard the KJB at home. An aunt and his grandmother Williams, a gifted storyteller, would regale the children night after night with vividly told Bible stories.⁵² Like Abraham Lincoln, Martin Luther King Jr. memorized scripture so that "when King was five years old, he could [already] recite passages of Scripture from memory."⁵³

As a result of all this, "the most important source of his language was the King James translation of the Bible. . . . He was so immersed in the language and imagery of the Bible that he would later use it almost unconsciously. Even when he was delivering material . . . inspired by the words of other preachers, he would add turns of phrase to make his source material sound more Biblical."⁵⁴

This biblicism is conspicuous in "I Have a Dream" and partly accounts for its resonance with Americans.⁵⁵ It is evident in the speech's metaphors, many of which have counterparts in the Bible: for example, "long night of their captivity," "dark and desolate valley of segregation," "cup of bitterness and hatred," and "hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope."⁵⁶ The influence of the KJB is evident in patterns of parallel clauses that give King's speech an almost incantatory effect as he repeats phrases like "we are not satisfied," "I have a dream," and "let freedom ring." The immediate source of this rhetorical pattern is the pulpit rhetoric in the Black church, but this, in turn, was influenced by translations of Hebrew poetry in the KJB. Without understanding the nature of Hebrew poetry, the KJB translators transmitted its chief characteristic, parallelism, in memorable English.⁵⁷

The KJB influence in "I Have a Dream" is most obvious in two quotations from the Old Testament. One occurs in the paragraph built around the refrain "We cannot be satisfied," which ends "No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream." The image comes of course from Amos 5:24. Similarly, King quotes from Isaiah 40 in the "I have a dream" passage: "I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together" (Isaiah 40:4). King's

biblical language, like Lincoln's, calls America to a better future. Like Lincoln, Joseph Smith, and John Winthrop, Martin Luther King Jr. speaks to a backsliding America in the prophetic language of the KJB.

Conclusion: Thinner Air

It is hard to imagine an American today, speaking to the country in a secular setting such as a civil rights march or presidential inaugural, offering a speech so redolent of the Bible. To be sure, the Bible is still revered in America, but it has become a problematic guest in public settings. We still invite it to presidential inaugurations and other formal occasions; we just don't want this guest to speak or be spoken about. The KJB is now more honored and revered than opened and read.

Let me conclude by invoking one final image: the KJB at three presidential inaugurations—the inaugurations of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Barack Obama. George Washington initiated the tradition of taking the presidential oath of office with his hand on the King James Bible. Washington put his hand on an open Bible, typifying the way the Bible was still very much an open book for Americans. Abraham Lincoln not only took the oath on an open King James Bible, he drew deeply from it in his inaugural address. By then the KJB was very much part of our national discourse. Barack Obama also took the oath on the KJB. In fact, he requested to use Lincoln's Bible. But Lincoln's KJB remained closed during the oath, and it did not deeply inform President Obama's address. Without intending to be critical of President Obama, I see this as symptomatic in the story of the KJB in America as we celebrate the quatercentenary of its publication. The KJB is still an important feature in American culture, but it is increasingly more important for its symbolic value than for its substantive contribution to the culture. In this sense, I suppose you in England may say that our King James has become somewhat like your kings and queens: an honored figurehead, but not essential to the actual operation of church and state.

In its next century the KJB will no doubt continue to be part of the air we breathe in America, but likely less pervasive in the national atmosphere and less vital to our cultural life. Some will not lament or even notice the demise of this great volume. But for some of us, the cultural air in America will seem thinner as a result.

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Department. Dr. Tanner received a BA in English from Brigham Young University in 1974 (magna cum laude and Highest Honors), and a PhD from the University of California at Berkeley in 1980. He was an assistant professor at The Florida State University before coming to BYU, where he holds the rank of Professor of English. He has also been a Senior Fulbright Lecturer in Brazil. Dr. Tanner's first professional love is teaching. He is the recipient of several teaching awards, along with other academic honors. John Tanner is married to Susan Winder Tanner. They currently reside in Brazil, where he has been serving as president of the Brazil São Paulo South Mission since July 1, 2011.

1. William Shakespeare, *King Richard II*, act 2, scene 1, line 40.
2. Perry Miller, "The Garden of Eden and the Deacon's Meadow," *American Heritage* 7 (December 1955): 54; cited in *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History*, ed. Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 5–6.
3. John Alden, "The Bible as Printed Word," in *The Bible and Bibles in America*, ed. Ernest S. Frerichs (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 9.
4. Robert Alter, *Pen of Iron: American Prose and the King James Bible* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 1, 6.
5. Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 372.
6. Noll, *America's God*, 372.
7. In 2002, 41 percent of Americans reported a preference for the KJB, while the NIV garnered 45 percent of Bible sales in Christian bookstores. See Jennifer Robison, "The Word on Bible-Buying," Gallup Polls, June 18, 2002, <http://www.gallup.com/poll/6217/Word-BibleBuying.aspx>. However, buyers increasingly prefer a Bible translation that is easier to understand. There are significant demographic as well as denominational differences that affect preferences for Bible translations. See "Grey Matter: Research on Denominational Uses of Bible Translations," released May 4, 2004, http://www.greymatterresearch.com/index_files/Bible_Versions.htm.
8. Alden, "Bible as Printed Word," 11. The famous "Mayflower Edition" of the KJB, normally on display in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth Mass., is featured in the traveling exhibit "Manifold Greatness: The Creation and Afterlife of the King James Bible," <http://www.manifoldgreatness.org/index.php/late/historic-american-bibles/>. The exhibit also includes pictures of the Lincoln Bible.
9. Robert Alter discusses the KJB's stylistic influence on these and other works from American high literary culture in *Pen of Iron*. For a more superficial overview of the influence of the KJB on American literature, see also Melvyn Bragg, *The Book of Books: The Radical Impact of the King James Bible, 1611–2011* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 2011), 164–81.
10. Sacvan Bercovitch, "The Biblical Basis of the American Myth," in *The Bible in American Arts and Letters*, ed. Giles B. Gunn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 219, 221, 223.
11. All citations from the sermon are taken from the text reproduced as appendix A in Matthew S. Holland's *Bonds of Affection: Civic Charity and the Making of America—Winthrop, Jefferson, and Lincoln* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2007), 261–75.
12. Matthew S. Holland, "Remembering John Winthrop—Hawthorne's Suggestion," *Perspectives on Political Science* 36 (Winter 2007): 9–12. See also Holland, *Bonds of Affection*, 88 n. 39.

13. Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

14. For an eloquent discussion of how American Puritans appropriated the biblical types, see the lecture given by Neal A. Lambert, "Pilgrim and Puritans: The Meaning of the *Mayflower* in the Twenty-First Century," KBYU FM, November 15, 2001, <http://www.byub.org/talks/Talk.aspx?id=2467>.

15. Quoted by Lambert (typescript, p. 8) and by Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1975; rpt. 2011), 107–8.

16. Similarly, in his history *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Cotton Mather refers to John Winthrop as "Nehemias Americanus" after Nehemiah, the biblical prophet who led the Jews back from Babylon to rebuild Jerusalem. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from Its First Planting in the Year 1620 unto the Year of Our Lord 1698. In Seven Books*, 2 vols. (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Sons, 1853), 1:118.

17. Alden, "Bible as Printed Word," 12.

18. Alden notes Harry Stout's argument that the KJB had more appeal than Geneva because it better supports the notion that God's covenant binds him to a people rather than to individuals, the emphasis in the Geneva notes. Alden, "Bible as Printed Word," 12–13. See Harry S. Stout, "Work and Order in Colonial New England," in Hatch and Noll, *Bible in America*, 19–38.

19. Alden, "Bible as Printed Word," 12.

20. David Daniell, *The Bible in English* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 581, 642–43, 653–54, 768.

21. Jon Nielson and Royal Skousen, "How Much of the King James Bible Is William Tyndale's?" *Reformation* 3 (1998): 49–74.

22. "The Translators to the Reader," in *The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611).

23. David Daniell, *Tyndale's New Testament* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), ix–x. In *The Bible in English*, 429–30, Daniell expands this list to include proverbial phrases that enter the KJB through the Geneva Bible. Daniell feels that the KJB translators were hampered by having to base their translation on the Bishops' Bible rather than on the more popular and less stuffy Geneva.

24. Quoted in Daniell, "Introduction," in *Tyndale's New Testament*, viii. Daniell wrote the standard modern scholarly biography of Tyndale: *William Tyndale: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

25. For an LDS discussion of this background to the First Vision, see Milton L. Backman, "Awakenings in the Burned-over District: New Light on the Historical Setting of the First Vision," *BYU Studies* 9, no. 3 (1969): 301–20.

26. For a fuller discussion of the KJB translation of James 1:5, see my forthcoming article "The Aural Authority of the King James Bible: 'Appointed to be Read in Churches,'" in *The King James Bible and the Restoration* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, Religious Studies Center, 2011).

27. John Bois, *Translating for King James: Notes Made by a Translator of the King James Bible*, trans. and ed. Ward Allen (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1969), 87. Scholars are deeply indebted to Ward Allen, who discovered and meticulously translated John Bois's notes, taken at Stationer's Hall, London, during the final revision of the Epistles.

28. See Benson Bobrick, *Wide as the Waters: The Story of the English Bible and the Revolution It Inspired* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 73.

29. See Richard Bennett's unpublished article "'Without Note or Comment': The Holy Bible Rising to the Restoration" for a discussion of how the explosion of inexpensive, widely available Bibles in the early nineteenth century impacted the emergence of Mormonism. For general discussions of the flood of Bibles in America, see Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999); and Daniell, "Mathew Carey and the American Bible Flood," in *Bible in English*, especially 634–58.

30. For histories of the development of the Sunday school movement in England and America, see Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988); Philip B. Cliff, *The Rise and Development of the Sunday School Movement in England, 1780–1980* (Redhill, UK: National Christian Educational Council, 1986); Thomas Lacquer, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and the Working Class Culture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977). The influence of Sunday Schools on Bible reading in mid-nineteenth-century America is comically captured in a famous scene from *Tom Sawyer* in which Tom trades the spoils from his white-washing gambit for tokens that prove he has memorized two thousand verses of the Bible. He hopes to impress Becky Thatcher but is exposed as a fraud when he cannot recite the names of even two apostles.

31. For a modern history of the British and Foreign Bible Society, see Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

32. For histories of the American Bible Society, see W. P. Strickland, *History of the American Bible Society from Its Organization to the Present Time* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1849); Henry Otis Dwight, *Centennial History of the American Bible Society* (New York: Macmillan, 1916).

33. William Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1904), 1:318; quoted in Bennett, "'Without Note or Comment.'"

34. See "Fiftieth Annual Report of the American Bible Society, Presented May 10, 1866," in *Annual Reports of the American Bible Society*, vol. 4 (New York: American Bible Society, 1871), 225.

35. Daniell, *Bible in English*, 703.

36. The Gideons have been enormously successful in placing English Bibles, the great majority of them KJBs. They presented George H. W. Bush with the five hundred millionth Bible in 1990! See Mark A. Noll, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), 269–70. See entire chapter, "Day-to-Day Christian Spirituality and the Bible," 253–74.

37. See Mark A. Noll, "The Bible Alone," in *America's God*, 370–76, and Nathan O. Hatch, "Sola Scriptura and Novus Ordo Seclorum" in Hatch and Noll, *Bible in America*, 59–74. Hatch quotes Joseph Smith's mother, Lucy Mack Smith, as follows: "I said in my heart that there was not then upon the earth the religion I sought. I therefore determined to examine my Bible, and taking Jesus and the disciples as my guide, to endeavor to obtain from God that which man could neither give nor take away. . . . The Bible I intended should be my guide to life and salvation." Hatch, "Sola Scriptura," 69.

38. Kent P. Jackson, "Joseph Smith and the Bible," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 63, no. 1 (2010): 25.
39. 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), 2:14.
40. See William J. Wolff, *The Religion of Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Seabury Press, 1963), especially appendix 3, "Lincoln Not a Church Member," 201–3.
41. See David Elton Trueblood, "Lincoln and the Bible," chapter 3 in *Abraham Lincoln: Theologian of American Anguish* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 48–71.
42. Trueblood, *Abraham Lincoln*, 49–50, 53, 58.
43. Alter, *Pen of Iron*, 12–13.
44. For a fine book-length analysis of the speech, see Ronald C. White Jr., *Lincoln's Greatest Speech: The Second Inaugural* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002).
45. Photographic image of original document at <http://dl.lib.brown.edu/catalog/catalog.php?verb=render&id=1210012353437500&view=pageturner&PHPSESSID=b7c3db07179a0422af6bf3622b48013a>.
46. See the final three chapters in Noll, *America's God*, 386–438. Also see Daniell, *Bible in English*, 717–26. For a popular account of the KJB and the American Civil War, see Bragg, *Book of Books*, 229–58.
47. See Joseph Smith–History 1:9.
48. Alter, *Pen of Iron*, 16.
49. Photographic images of original document at <http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mal&fileName=mal3/436/4361300/malpage.db&recNum=0>.
50. Noll, *America's God*, 434.
51. Lewis V. Baldwin, *The Legacy of Martin Luther King, Jr.: The Boundaries of Law, Politics, and Religion* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 131–32.
52. Frederick L. Downing, *To See the Promised Land: The Faith Pilgrimage of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Macon, Ga.: Peters and Mercer University Press, 1986), 52–53.
53. Drew D. Hansen, *The Dream: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Speech that Inspired a Nation* (New York: HarperCollins, 2003) 101.
54. Hansen, *Dream*, 101.
55. Hansen, *Dream*, 103.
56. Hansen, *Dream*, 101–3.
57. See Alter, *Pen of Iron*, 146–83, on the use of parataxis by modern American novelists.

John Taylor's June 27, 1854, Account of the Martyrdom

Transcribed by LaJean Purcell Carruth

Introduced and Edited by Mark Lyman Staker

On Tuesday, June 27, 1854, a large congregation of Latter-day Saints gathered in what has since become known as the Old Tabernacle in Salt Lake City. The meeting served as an extension of the annual April general conference and was scheduled to mark the tenth anniversary of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. As the day grew miserably hot, Brigham Young directed the bishops in the audience to provide fifty buckets of water from City Creek at the doors in order to pass drinking ladles into the crowded, perspiring congregation.

John Taylor was the featured speaker and would give what appears to be his first public address sharing his eyewitness account of the events leading up to and including the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Two scribes, George D. Watt and Thomas Bullock, recorded the meeting, including Brigham Young's introductory sermon on Joseph Smith followed by John Taylor's historical narrative detailing the martyrdom.

George D. Watt's high skill level with Pitman shorthand enabled him to work quickly. He recorded these sermons virtually verbatim, only occasionally missing a few words as he strove to keep up with the speakers. Most of what Watt recorded survives in his 1854 papers in a bound notebook. The title to this book is written in Deseret Alphabet, a phonographic writing system Watt helped develop earlier that same year, and reads: "Note book June 27th 1854 Contents." Underneath this, written in Pitman shorthand, is a brief description of the contents of the notebook: "Sermon by President Brigham Young on the death of Joseph testifying of him. A description of the murder of the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum his

brother by John Taylor. See note book mark, part of the description of the murder of Joseph Hyrum.”¹

The booklet includes Brigham Young’s entire morning sermon in which he bore a lengthy testimony of Joseph Smith, his prophetic call, and their close relationship. Parts of the transcription of Brigham Young’s sermon are included in the footnotes to provide background to some of John Taylor’s comments. The rest of the notebook has roughly two-thirds of John Taylor’s sermon. The “note book mark” referred to in the title is an asterisk at the end of the text along with a brief note that the remainder of the sermon is in another book even though there are several empty pages at the end of the volume. Unfortunately, the second notebook with the remaining portion of the Watt transcription is missing. It likely served as the basis for John Taylor’s later published account since Watt at times discarded his shorthand records after transcribing them into longhand. The missing Watt material is replaced here with Thomas Bullock’s record of the last one-third of the sermon.

Unlike the Watt record of the sermon, Bullock’s account was primarily in longhand but included shorthand for conjunctions, prepositions, and many words that could be produced with a single dot or flick of the hand. His account only summarized the narrative, however, and, even when it reads as a seamless sentence, when compared to the Watt material it is clear that Bullock often combined three or four spoken sentences into a single phrase as he wrote, leaving out significant details. Bullock also wrote in the middle of his manuscript that he stopped recording briefly because of a nosebleed, but he recovered in time to record the historical narrative included here. A digital copy of the Bullock recording of the sermon is readily available as part of the Selected Collections series published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.²

Significance of the Document

John Taylor’s June 27, 1854, sermon followed Willard Richards’s death on March 11 and Church Patriarch John Smith’s death on May 23 of that same year. Although John Smith had visited his nephews Joseph and Hyrum at Carthage Jail, Willard Richards had been their close companion throughout the events of their last few days and kept a journal during the days

1. George D. Watt, “Note book June 27th 1854 Contents,” George D. Watt Papers, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. The shorthand manuscript of John Taylor’s sermon is found in this book.

2. Richard E. Turley Jr., ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002).

and hours leading up to the martyrdom. The journal focused heavily on recording the time events occurred, however, with only brief notes as to what happened, so Richards could go back and fill in the details later.³ The journal was useful to the person who had written it as an aid in recalling the sequence of events, but because of its cryptic, sketchy nature it was not as useful for others who wanted to learn about those events. Both of these deaths represented a loss of knowledge about events surrounding the martyrdom.

George A. Smith was called in April 1854 to replace Willard Richards as Church Historian. He moved rapidly to collect Church history, specifically that which focused on the martyrdom. Edward A. Bedell, an aide-de-camp to Illinois Governor Thomas Ford at the time of Joseph and Hyrum Smith's martyrdom, was then in the Utah Territory as an Indian agent and was interviewed in the Historian's Office during April 1854. Thomas Bullock recorded brief notes of Bedell's memories, some of which were written down in Pitman shorthand. Transcriptions of Bullock's shorthand are reproduced in the following paragraph in italic font to distinguish them from transcriptions of the longhand text in standard font.⁴

3. Dean C. Jessee, "Return to Carthage: Writing the History of Joseph Smith's Martyrdom," *Journal of Mormon History* 8 (1981): 3–20. For more information about the Martyrdom and Nauvoo during this difficult time, see Ronald K. Esplin, "Life in Nauvoo, June 1844: Vilate Kimball's Martyrdom Letters," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (1979): 231–40; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "The Road to Carthage Led West," *BYU Studies* 8, no. 2 (1968): 204–15; Stanley B. Kimball, "Thomas L. Barnes: Coroner of Carthage," *BYU Studies* 11, no. 2 (1971): 141–47; Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *BYU Studies* 22, no. 1 (1982): 47–72; Steven G. Barnett, "Wilson Law: A Sidelight on the Expositor Incident," *BYU Studies* 19, no. 2 (1979): 244–46; Joseph L. Lyon and David W. Lyon, "Physical Evidence at Carthage Jail and What It Reveals about the Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 4 (2008): 4–50; Dan Jones, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum," trans. Ronald D. Dennis, *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 78–109; Jan Shipp, "A Little Known Account of the Murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 14, no. 3 (1974): 389–92; Steven C. Harper and Jordan Watkins, "'It Seems That All Nature Mourns': Sally Randall's Response to the Murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 46, no. 1 (2007): 95–100; Richard Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, "The Joseph/Hyrum Smith Funeral Sermon," *BYU Studies* 23, no. 1 (1983): 3–18; Warren A. Jennings, "The Lynching of an American Prophet," *BYU Studies* 40, no. 1 (2001): 205–16; Paul D. Ellsworth, "Mobocracy and the Rule of Law: American Press Reaction to the Murder of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 20, no. 1 (1979): 71–82; Timothy Merrill, "'Will the Murderers Be Hung?': Albert Brown's 1844 Letter and the Martyrdom of Joseph Smith," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 88–99.

4. Edward A. Bedell, Report, April 17, 1854, holograph, George A. Smith collection of Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60, Church History Library.

Bullock recorded significant details by Bedell on what happened outside the jail during the attack at Carthage. When asked about Mormon Warsaw militia member William M. Daniels's July 4, 1844, account, he confirmed "*in the main Daniels statements are correct.*"⁵ He provided in his affidavit information about the Warsaw militia's intention to kill Joseph Smith, their movements on the prairie, and their role in the deed. Bedell also agreed with Daniels's account that "Joseph after *he* jumped out of the window lived some time." This assertion was supported by an independent account given the evening after the murder by a citizen of Warsaw and written August 13, 1844. Henry Matthias, who lived on Mr. Pinchback's farm four miles east of Warsaw village, testified: "Charles Gullier said he then shot him [Joseph] at the window, from the door, or near the door, and Vorus shot him from the outside of the prison; and he fell out upon the ground; and that Vorus saw him stretch out his hand towards the well curb, when he laid hold on him and turned him on his back, and struck and said, you are the damned old Chieftain, we have him after a long time. Now go and see your spiritual wives in hell."⁶ Joseph was then shot until dead.

Citations from shorthand transcribed by Mark Staker are included in italics. See an explanation in the text of editing procedures.

5. The Daniels account was later elaborated and expanded with information not provided by Daniels but included by the publisher, Lyman O. Littlefield, who distributed the pamphlet *A Correct Account of the Murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith, at Carthage, on the 27th Day of June, 1844; by Wm. M. Daniels, an Eye Witness* (Nauvoo: Littlefield, 1845). Dean Jessee addresses issues of accuracy in this account in "Return to Carthage," 14–18.

6. Henry Matthias shared what he knew with his friend of more than fifteen years, Jeremiah Willey, and Willey related the account on August 13, 1844, agreeing to testify in court if called on to do so. Matthias was in Warsaw at the time of the murders, but when Thomas Sharp arrived in Warsaw and convinced Mr. Pinchback to take a wagon to pick up the wounded who arrived at dark, Matthias joined them all for dinner at Mr. Hosford's house while Doctor Adams treated the wounded. It was here that Matthias joined in conversation with his neighbors. "A man by the name of Willis was shot in the hand and wrist; Willidin was shot in the shoulder; Chas. Gullier received a slight wound on the cheek. These three said that they were the first at the prison door; and they could not open the door. One of these three then shot through the door; they then burst the door open, when they received these wounds from Joe's pistol; and Joe then went to the window; Charles Gullier said he then shot him at the window, from the door, or near the door, and Vorus shot him from the outside of the prison; and he fell out upon the ground; and that Vorus saw him stretch out his hand towards the well curb, when he laid hold on him and turned him on his back, and struck and said, you are the damned old Chieftain, we have him after a long time. Now go and see your spiritual wives in hell. Vorus then left him, when there were more guns fired at him. These men then started for the woods." Jeremiah Willey, Statement, August 13, 1844, Joseph Smith history

Grafton Owen, a thirteen-year-old boy sitting on the rail fence near the well looking toward the jail, years later confirmed some of the Bedell account as he also saw the men coming over the prairie. "Some of these men had on horns; some wore masks, and other queer things." He observed Joseph Smith "riddled with bullets, jumped from an upper window" but did not stay around long enough to see the details observed by Bedell.⁷

In addition to conducting the Bedell interview, George A. Smith moved quickly to gather information about the events that occurred inside the jail and contacted John Fullmer, Cyrus Wheelock, Stephen Markham, and Dan Jones, encouraging them to write down their memories of the days leading up to the martyrdom.⁸ While these accounts provided important

documents, 1840–60. Matthias listed the names of the individuals involved in the murder as: William Vorus, Charles Gullier, Joseph Snare, John Frasier, Thomas Crompton, William Riens, Doc. Adams, ____ Willis, and ____ Warner. Men not at the dinner but also involved in the murder included Benjamin Chandler and Selvenis Hapson. Edward A. Bedell confirmed in his interview the names of "Gallagher of Warsaw" and "Voorheis of Green Plains." He suggested a division in the sentiments of the men of Warsaw. As Ford's aide-de-camp, Bedell, observed the governor's actions carefully and recalled, "Ford ordered Sgen Knox at Warsaw to march with 2 field pieces to Nauvoo & meet Ford on *the wa[y]* –after going 2 ½ miles *from* Warsaw orders were countermanded at 9 a m *to* return to Warsaw the troops under Williams refused to go scattered & agn [again] gath[ered] *there* at Preintice's railroad station at 10 ½ a m *where* they concocted *the* attack on Carthage jail he next sent agn [again] for *the* 2 cannon to blow *the* jail down Knox still continued *the* command of *the* artillery and returned them *to* Warsaw." He later added in his report, "Nearly all *the* Warsaw ppl [people] went *to* Carthage." Bedell, Report, April 17, 1854.

7. Thomas Grafton Owen (born July 30, 1830) reported in a later account brought to our attention by Mark Ashurst-McGee: "It must have been sixty-five years ago, for I know it was before I had sense enough to resist the temptation to run away and go to Carthage twelve miles away, though I knew I should get a licking for it when I got back at night. The licking was deserved, no doubt, but only think of what I saw! I was sure there were several million soldiers marching around, and while sitting on the fence by the jail, I saw, coming over the prairie, a lot of queer looking men with guns in their hands. Some of these men had on horns; some wore masks, and other queer things. They came straight to the jail where they began to yell, and to fire blank cartridges at the guards, who returned their fire in the same manner, it being a put up job. They soon entered the jail, and I heard firing in there, and groans as if somebody were in great pain. A few moments later Jo Smith, riddled with bullets, jumped from an upper window and fell close to where I sat on the fence. That was war enough for me, and when the smoke lifted, I was not to be seen, for I was on the home stretch." T. Grafton Owen, *Drippings from the Eaves* (Seattle: Lowman and Hanford Company, 1911), 40–41.

8. John S. Fullmer wrote back that he had written a long letter detailing the events surrounding Joseph's death not long after it occurred and had planned on sending it to the *New York Herald* for publication but did not. He shared that

information about the days leading up to the martyrdom, John Taylor was the only person alive who could share memories of the fateful event from within the jail, and his June 27, 1854, sermon served an important role in providing that perspective.

Taylor had written a few hymns expressing his feelings shortly after the martyrdom⁹ and is widely considered the author of the account “To seal the testimony of this book” that is published as Doctrine and Covenants section 135 even though evidence suggests Willard Richards was probably primarily responsible for that account with possible limited assistance from Taylor and others.¹⁰ This suggests the 1854 sermon represents Taylor’s first public recounting of those events from his perspective. It also served as the foundation for John Taylor’s formal account of the martyrdom written under the direction of Church Historians George A. Smith and Wilford Woodruff in 1861 and first published the following year as appendix III in Richard Burton’s *The City of the Saints*.¹¹ The 1861 account was subsequently reprinted several times.¹²

Although the 1854 and 1861 accounts relate the same events, there are some differences in content. The two accounts were produced for different audiences. The sermon was given extemporaneously¹³ and delivered to faithful members of the Church, while the published account was intended for general distribution and was carefully crafted and reviewed. The difference in audience may have influenced subtle shifts in focus between the two

information with George A. Smith. John S. Fullmer to George A. Smith, November 27, 1854, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60; Cyrus Wheelock to George A. Smith, December 29, 1854, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60; Stephen Markham to Wilford Woodruff, June 20, 1856, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60; Dan Jones, “The Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith,” January 20, 1855 (filed by Thomas Bullock), Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60; Dan Jones published an account in Welsh that has been translated and made available in English by Ronald D. Dennis in Dan Jones, “The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum,” *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 79–109.

9. John Taylor wrote both “The Seer” and “O Give Me Back My Prophet Dear.” See Michael Hicks, “Poetic Borrowing in Early Mormonism,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 18 (Spring 1985): 139–40.

10. See the sidebar on page 31.

11. John Taylor, “Appendix III, The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith,” in Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1862), 517–47.

12. Mark H. Taylor, “John Taylor: Witness to the Martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph Smith,” in *John Taylor: Champion of Liberty*, ed. Mary Jane Woodger (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 2009), 45–61.

13. Evidence for this assertion comes from the sermon itself. Taylor changes direction several times midsentence, and he uses occasional words and phrases that suggest a spontaneous recollection.

Authorship of Doctrine and Covenants Section 135

Regarding the authorship of section 135, much can be said. Heber J. Grant noted in 1933: "I have understood that this splendid account of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith was written by President John Taylor." (Heber J. Grant, in *One Hundred Third Semi-annual Conference of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* [Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1933], 7; see also section heading for Doctrine and Covenants 135.) President Grant did not explain how he came to this understanding. If Taylor did write the piece, he almost certainly participated in a larger joint effort with others rather than writing as sole author. Since John Taylor was the editor and publisher of the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants, it seems likely he played some role in producing the account. Evidence suggests the influence or contributions of others to the document, however.

After the murders of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the public clamored for information, and the city newspaper *Nauvoo Neighbor* obliged by publishing an *Extra* on June 30, 1844, which was repeated verbatim in several subsequent editions of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* and *Times and Seasons* ("Awful Assassination!" *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Extra Sunday, 3 o'clock P.M., June 30, 1844; and "Awful Assassination of JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH!" *Times and Seasons* 5 [July 15, 1844]: 1). Although the account was printed over the signatures of Willard Richards, John Taylor, and Samuel H. Smith, Samuel Smith was not at the jail during the mob attack and John Taylor was recovering from his wounds in Carthage at least until July 3. The newspaper reported he was finally able to travel on a couch in an "easy carriage" on that day and was expected to arrive back in Nauvoo sometime that evening. ("The Editor," *Nauvoo Neighbor*, July 3, 1844, 2.) But William Hamilton, who helped his father care for Taylor at the Hamilton Hotel, remembered that Taylor stayed under his care for ten days. (William Hamilton, *Portrait and Biographical Record of Hancock, McDonough and Henderson Counties, Illinois* [Chicago: Lake City Publishing, 1894], 135–36.) This would have placed Taylor in Carthage until July 6.

Not only were Samuel Smith and John Taylor not in a position to provide much information, but the details included in the June 30 story parallel Willard Richards's journal. This initial published

account, which placed the attack at about six o'clock, was picked up and reported by the national press. This time can be found in Richards's journal where he noted a conversation he and Joseph Smith had as occurring at about 5:20, followed by the jailor's son bringing in some water shortly before the attack "~~in a few minutes & before 6 o'clock~~." (Willard Richards journal, June 27, 1844, holograph, Willard Richards Papers, Church History Library.) Since the 6 o'clock time is crossed out in Richards's journal, and the next account published under Richards's name on July 3 placed the attack at "about half past five o'clock," he may have used Taylor's watch, then in Richards's possession, to adjust the timing of events. "The Editor," 2.)

Although the *Nauvoo Neighbor* reported the following week that "Mr. Taylor is recovering as fast as can be expected [and that] his wounds do very well," he was still not fully recovered from his injuries when the next edition of the *Times and Seasons* came out on Monday, July 15 ("Wilful Murder!" *Times and Seasons* 5 [July 1, 1844]: 1), with the beginning concepts of what would develop into section 135. Since the article would have taken some time to write and typeset before it came out, it is likely that others played a role in producing the piece. The article, titled "The Murder," focused on Joseph Smith and his contributions but included a few details of the actual murder and some events that led up to it. Taylor was specific in his later account that the last words he heard Joseph Smith speak to him before his death were: "That's right, Brother Taylor; parry them off as well as you can." (Taylor, "Appendix III," 537.) But this article included what was identified as "Joseph's last exclamation . . . 'O Lord my God!'" a phrase spoken a few moments later and one Taylor had not heard because bullets were striking him as he lay under the bed. The July 15 account also summarized some of Joseph Smith's accomplishments achieved "in the short space of twenty years," alluding to the angel Moroni's first visit a little over twenty years earlier in September 1823. The article noted Hyrum's noble characteristics as he "lived godly and he died godly" and died, along with his brother Joseph, an innocent man. The article refined the time of the martyrdom to "5 o'clock, 16 minutes and 26 seconds," a detail clearly drawn from John Taylor's damaged watch but without identification of who had the watch at that point, and included

a few other details of the actual event including information from a “friend” who shared with the author Joseph’s statement given “two or three days” before the murder, “I am going like a lamb to the slaughter: but I am calm as a summer’s morning: I have a conscience void of offence toward God, and toward all men: I shall die innocent.” John M. Bernhisel was likely the friend who shared this information. He later signed an affidavit recalling hearing this statement from Joseph Smith and quoted a version that is closer to the one printed in the July 15 account than the version published later in the Doctrine and Covenants. (John M. Bernhisel to George A. Smith, September 11, 1854, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.) Although Richards likely played a significant role in contributing information to this article, there is evidence he was not the sole author. The article used a British phrase near the beginning, “murdered in cool blood,” that may have come from John Taylor or one of the other British immigrants then working in the printing office.

A week later the *Nauvoo Neighbor* published the only detailed chronological account of what actually took place moment by moment in the jail, with Richards listed as the sole author. Richards’s account, entitled “Two Minutes in Jail,” gave the timing of the event and Joseph Smith’s last words as published in the July 15 article. On August 1, “Two Minutes in Jail” was reprinted in the Church newspaper *Times and Seasons*. Although John Taylor later noted having stereotype plates of the Doctrine and Covenants that he had prepared to send east for their protection before going to Carthage (Taylor, “Appendix III,” 528), his wounds received during the June 27 attack delayed publication of the Doctrine and Covenants until later that year. (Robert J. Woodford, “The Historical Development of the Doctrine and Covenants,” 3 vols. [PhD diss., Brigham Young University, 1974], 3:1794–96.) When the new edition appeared, it included a section placed at the end of the book after the appendix labeled “Section CXI.” (The Doctrine and Covenants [Nauvoo, Ill.: John Taylor, 1844], 444–45.) No one living at the time ever identified an author or authors for this section, which is now canonized as Doctrine and Covenants section 135. It included information and wording that had appeared earlier in the articles “The Murder” and “Two Minutes in Jail” and added general details about the lives and missions of the two martyrs that were already widely familiar to Church

members. Some of the editing in the canonized version suggests the involvement of an American writer, such as the inclusion at the end of Joseph Smith's "Lamb to the Slaughter" statement the phrase "and it shall yet be said of me, he was murdered in cold blood," but this does not preclude some involvement by John Taylor in the production of the text.

Brigham Young, who knew under what circumstances the Doctrine and Covenants account was produced, did not identify its author but clearly shared the ideas presented in the account. In his June 27, 1854, sermon that preceded John Taylor's address, he described Joseph Smith as "one of the greatest prophets ever lived; one of best men ever lived." He added during the sermon: "He did go like a lamb to the slaughter and like a sheep to be shorn. Opening not his mouth [he] went to go and be slain and was slain and I am a witness of it. I was not in jail, to be sure, when he was shot. But he died. Aye and I saw his body since his death and saw where the bullets pierced him and Brother Hyrum. I am a witness of this." (Brigham Young, Sermon, June 27, 1854, in Watt, "Note book June 27th 1854," Carruth transcription of Watt shorthand.)

Several decades later, John Taylor shared a more reserved assessment when he said, "Joseph Smith revealed more in relation to the kingdom of God, and was a greater Prophet than perhaps any other man who ever lived except Jesus. I do not know how far Enoch and perhaps some others on this continent went; if we had further records from the Book of Mormon they might throw more light on subjects with which we are not at present very well acquainted." (John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. [Liverpool: F. D. Richards, 1855–86], 17:47 [April 19, 1874].)

Several Church leaders, including John Taylor, continued to use the statement roughly as found in D&C 135:3 in later sermons but never identified an author. (John Taylor, in *Journal of Discourses*, 18:326–27 [December 31, 1876]; John Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 6:231–32 [April 8, 1857]; Joseph F. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 24:8 [October 29, 1882]; and Orson Pratt, in *Journal of Discourses*, 16:327 [December 28, 1873].) It seems probable, however, that if Taylor contributed to that statement, it was not intended as a formal account of the martyrdom from his perspective on the level of Richards's account in "Two Minutes in Jail."

accounts since the initial account began with events in 1841 and emphasized the role plural marriage played in the martyrdom, while the later account began with events in 1844 and emphasized sectarian and political influences.

John Taylor's June 1854 sermon includes a lengthy introduction not in the later account that begins with his testimony of Joseph Smith and an assessment of Joseph's character. He mentions specifically seeing Joseph after his death but does not give details about the time, place, or nature of this experience. In discussing the role of plural marriage, Taylor said that the introduction of that practice "was not that very nice, pleasing thing some people thought about it." But he does not identify who the "some people" were who saw it differently than he or most of his associates. His discussion of some of the activities of John C. Bennett and others as well as his mention of Joseph Smith's attempt to make adultery illegal in Nauvoo suggest the failed efforts to direct and keep quiet the practice that contributed to the murders.

As he moved into narrating the events of the martyrdom, Taylor condensed some events into a short summary that made it sound as though the events had occurred in a narrower time frame than was the case. He placed the introduction of "new doctrine," which he said "used to be called then 'spiritual wifery,'" to a period "soon after" the Apostles returned from a mission to England in the summer of 1841. He then transitioned quickly into a meeting of the city council where Taylor initiated legislation to deal with adultery in response to the "corruptions" to plural marriage introduced by John C. Bennett and his associates. This probably happened almost a year later in early 1842. Taylor then shifted from this event to the creation of a newspaper, the *Nauvoo Expositor*, by individuals he described as Bennett's accomplices, which did not occur until the spring of 1844—two years after the laws dealing with adultery were passed. After this quick succession of events, John Taylor then went into great detail about events that took place within just a few days preceding the martyrdom. Although the events surrounding the introduction of plural marriage are only in the 1854 account, Taylor's 1861 account covered the few days leading up to the martyrdom in greater detail than the 1854 sermon. Yet the 1854 account provides occasional details and a slightly different perspective of the events of the last days before the martyrdom than can be found in any other source. Taylor, who indicated he was the one who first recommended destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor*, still believed the way this was done by acting legally through the city council was the best course of action even though, as he remembered it, Governor Thomas Ford suggested they should have organized a mob to destroy the press and entirely avoided trouble. Taylor insisted, "If [I] had the things to do over again ten thousand times, I would do it ten thousand times under the same circumstances . . . we acted strictly according to law."

The 1854 account preserves many small additional details that can best be distilled by comparing it with his later published account. Each one of those small details is significant in that it helps enrich our understanding of one of the most important events in the history of Mormonism. But the greatest strength of this account is probably Taylor's unwavering and forceful testimony of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling. He testified, "I know that he was a good man; that he was an honest man; that he was a man of integrity; that he was a prophet of the Lord; that he lived in that capacity and died in that capacity and maintained his integrity to the end."

Editing Conventions

Although the original users of Pitman shorthand regularly transcribed their materials and published them, transcribing shorthand versions of early sermons recorded by someone else is unusual. Because our efforts represent an attempt to access a new source of information, scholarly conventions as to how this should be done have not yet developed. We have looked to the discipline of documentary editing for a model to follow, but we have made some modifications since shorthand is usually an uncommon item in a document, while here it is the primary source of information.

LaJean Purcell Carruth transcribed the shorthand sermon. Mark Staker then independently verified the shorthand transcription and transcribed the Bullock longhand and shorthand. Silvia Ghosh independently verified the Bullock transcriptions. Because shorthand does not distinguish between homonyms, we have relied on context to provide the most likely spelling of several words, including numerous instances of "council" or "counsel," with the goal to reproduce as complete and accurate a transcription of the material as possible on all levels. In a few instances, a word cannot be recovered. These cases are noted with angle brackets and italics such as <illegible>. Where the shorthand is ambiguous, with more than one interpretation possible, the most likely word or phrase, based on context, is provided in angle brackets accompanied by a footnote with additional possibilities.

Pitman shorthand allows for some variation in the way sounds are joined into a single character. As Watt worked, he sometimes began to write a word in one way only to cross it out or scribble over it and write the word differently. At other times, he worked so rapidly that a word came out automatically that may have had nothing to do with the narrative at hand but was used so often it was produced as a "typo" rather than a reflection of a thought process or the editing of what was written, as sometimes happens in documentary sources. An example of this is the word "doctrine" that was crossed out and rewritten as the less common "doctor." These instances of strikeouts were all reproduced and represented by a line through the

reconstructed word if it is recoverable or by a simple line in angle brackets if the word is not recoverable, such as <—>.

Pitman shorthand provides a way to include punctuation and capitalization, but Watt did not use these characters even though he occasionally left small spaces between some of the phrases that appear to be indications of periods or breaks in the narrative. Watt would have added paragraphing, punctuation, and capitalization when he transcribed the sermon. We have included these elements where they seemed appropriate for clarity. Ellipses are inserted as a punctuation device to indicate where John Taylor changed direction in midsentence while speaking and do not represent an editorial abridgement. Quotation marks have been included as part of the punctuation, relying on context, especially when Taylor recounted dialogue between himself and Governor Thomas Ford. In addition, articles (a, an, or the) or other connecting phrases sometimes do not appear in the text where English usage requires them. Since these articles are used by John Taylor with greater frequency in other sermons recorded by Watt than here and regularly appear in his published material, it is not clear if this phenomenon captured the sermon as Taylor delivered it or was a reflection of Watt's shorthand reporting. In order to aid the reader in making this material accessible, we have elected to include a few appropriate words in brackets to enhance readability.

The Thomas Bullock material differs from that of Watt in that most of Bullock's version is recorded in longhand with occasional Pitman shorthand used to supply conjunctions, articles, or other elements that could be quickly and habitually reproduced. Since Bullock provided punctuation and capitalization as he wrote in longhand, the transcription of his sermon has included punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, and spelling errors exactly as he originally produced them. Since Thomas Bullock's record of the sermon used a mixture of longhand and shorthand, both of these methods of writing have been carefully distinguished in the portions of his account reproduced by using a standard font for the Bullock longhand and an italic font for the shorthand.

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Detail from *The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith* (ca. 1893) by Edward Stevenson and C. C. A. Christensen, oil on canvas, 36" x 48", courtesy of the Church History Museum, Salt Lake City, © Intellectual Reserve, Inc. In 1888, Edward Stevenson joined Andrew Jenson and Joseph Black on a mission to collect history in places where Joseph Smith once lived. Stevenson joined the Church in 1834 and lived in Kirtland, Far West, and Nauvoo before traveling to the Great Salt Lake Basin in 1847, so he was familiar with most of the places the group visited, where they took photographs, talked with local residents, and confirmed data they had gathered. In 1893, Stevenson published a short history of Joseph Smith and commissioned artist C. C. A. Christensen to help him produce images to illustrate his history and public lectures he gave on the Prophet Joseph's life. The painting was based on a photograph and on Stevenson's recollections and input. The original was recently donated to the Church History Museum by the Charles Gibbs Fox and Louise Stevenson Fox family and has been conserved for exhibition in Carthage, Illinois.

Transcript of George D. Watt's Pitman Shorthand Recording of John Taylor's Sermon, June 27, 1854

Tabernacle afternoon June 27th 1854.

John Taylor

I am called upon to address the congregation a little this afternoon. I do so with pleasure, although at the same time the things we have heard this morning and the reflections that have revolved through my mind in relation to these matters produce rather painful feelings. For the things referred [to] by President Young this morning seemed as it were to be fresh before my mind—things of late and old circumstances and things of other nations would seem <as it were>¹⁴ and obliterated unless our minds were again refreshed by that.¹⁵

There is something very pleasing about these matters, pleasing to me and to my brethren. It is pleasing to know that we are the disciples of as good a man as Joseph Smith was; of a man that lived in the fear of God and taught his fear, who was faithful all his life long, and [remained faithful] unto the death.¹⁶ It is pleasing to reflect upon our associations with men of this kind and also with Brother Hyrum—it is to me. And I am happy to be associated with the church and kingdom of God. I feel thankful to my Heavenly Father that I live in this day and age [of the] world when the light and truth of [the] everlasting gospel has shone forth. I consider it one of [the] greatest blessings and *pr* privileges that can be proffered upon me as an individual, next to the spirit of God so brooding upon my mind as to cause me to yield obedience to that gospel and to participate in blessings associated therewith.

I was blessed to be associated with Brother Joseph Smith and, as President Young said he knew him, so did I. I have been with him under all kinds of circumstances—when the thick clouds of darkness gathered around and

14. This is the most likely reading, but the shorthand is awkwardly written.

15. Brigham Young had noted during the morning meeting the purpose of adjourning the April 6 general conference and reconvening it on June 27 was “more especially in consequence of bringing to mind, to our brains, to realize and to contemplate what the Lord has done for us in the last days.”

16. Brigham Young stated that morning: “It is impossible for the natural man to understand the things of God. They are spiritually discerned. They are taught to man by the revelations of His Spirit. Now, when I seek it, I receive the light of [the] Holy Spirit in visions and revelations. And the Holy Ghost helped my natural understanding that I did know by all the knowledge that I have to testify by all the power that I am in possession of that Brother Joseph Smith was a true man of God, a true prophet of [the] Lord, a true apostle of Jesus Christ, as far as I have told you and did know that Jesus now lives and I am his apostle to testify of him. That is what I have got up here for this morning is to testify of Joseph.”

June 27, 1854
John Taylor
Sermon
The first page of John Taylor's formal sermon on his recollections of the events surrounding martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

The John Taylor June 27, 1854, sermon. Shorthand recorded by George D. Watt. This is the first page of John Taylor's formal sermon on his recollections of the events surrounding martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Courtesy Church History Library, © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

the earthquakes seemed to bellow and threaten destruction; when the forces of [the] earth were rallied against him; and in times of prosperity. I have heard him, as many of you have, speak in public to advance the principles of eternal truth, plead with the people to observe the laws of God, and keep his commandments that they might be prepared for a celestial inheritance. I have also been with him in private council so that I have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with his feelings, ideas, views, with his morality, with his truthfulness, with his integrity. And I know that he was a good man; that he was an honest man; that he was a man of integrity; that he was a prophet of the Lord; that he lived in that capacity and died in that capacity and maintained his integrity to the end. I was not only with him living but with him ~~dead~~ dying and this is my testimony concerning Joseph Smith. I know before God and the holy angels. I do not think it; I know it.

I know that he was a servant of God and prophet of the Lord and lived and died in the faith. I not only know it by my natural sight but by the revelations of God. And I know by the same way¹⁷ that he yet lives because I have seen him and I know he yet lives. And therefore I rejoice in the testimony that I can bear concerning him. And I know he will live and I know also that he is a friend of this people and watching over their interests. And I know also that he is a friend of President Young and watches over him and he is interested in the welfare, the happiness, and the exaltation of the saints of the Most High. And having a knowledge of these things, ~~it is~~ it sustains my mind and comforts my heart and strengthens me in the faith of the new and everlasting gospel and in the principles of truth that we continue to hear from day to day. And I rejoice myself exceedingly to be associated with brethren such as I am with at the present time, men that fear God, that keep his commandments, men whose first desire is to keep the law of God, to roll forth his purposes, and to benefit the human family in order that they may be prepared by and by to enter into [a] more extensive field and participate in blessings in wait for them.

I ~~<view>~~¹⁸ esteem it one [of the] greatest blessings conferred upon me to anticipate¹⁹ in this priesthood, that is the government of God in the heavens and upon the earth, that rules and regulates and controls all affairs in the eternal worlds, and when the will of God shall be done on earth as it is in heaven that it will rule and control and regulate all the forces of this earth.

17. Because of his later reference in the sentence to having “seen” Joseph, it appears that his use of “the same way” is a reference to “natural sight” and not “revelations of God” in the previous sentence.

18. This word may also be read as “have.”

19. Taylor may have said or intended to say “participate” here, but the shorthand reads “anticipate.”

I rejoice then to participate in the blessings of this gospel and priesthood, and I look upon everything else as short lived, as temporal; whether it is riches or poverty, ease or pain; whether it is prosperity or adversity; no matter what the circumstances may be in which I or which you may be placed. It is a matter of very little importance unto us if the circumstances that we are placed in have a tendency to lead us nearer to God, to make us more susceptible to his laws, to make us obedient to his command that we may fulfill our destiny on earth and be prepared to join with Joseph, Hyrum, and with those who have lived in the faith and died in the faith of the Son of God. For Hyrum was a good man and a servant of the living God and a man of integrity and truthfulness and I saw him fall when he fell in prison and heard the last words he spoke. And I know that the desire of Joseph and of Hyrum was to promote peace, whatever may have been the feelings of those that were around. Whatever views they well have had in relation to their conduct, in relation to their course, in relation to their views, their ideas, or their private and public feelings, was to promote the happiness and well being of the human family. That was the worst feeling I ever saw manifested by either of them. It was to procure the happiness and well being of the human family as far as God should give them ability to do it and these were their private and public feelings—the feelings they manifested before the public congregation, before the world, in private council, and under all circumstances. And although there are thousands of falsehoods in circulation concerning them, and although many of them are believed by the people, yet this was the bona fide feeling of these servants of God while they lived upon the earth; and I know it!

Did ever anybody hear them teach unrighteous principles? No. Did ever anybody see them practice unrighteous conduct? No. As President Young said, they were men and they were perhaps the best men that lived. They might have some little weaknesses and foibles like other men, but if they had been better than that they would not [have] been fit to associate with people.²⁰ But they were men of God and lived and died in faith of that

20. Brigham Young said in the morning session, “You recollect, many of you, that the brethren would complain of Joseph that he was rude, wild; he was not as sober, gracious, so dead-long-faced, and religious as he ought to be. [A] great many used to complain of him because he was cheerful. Yet Joseph took his own course. You recollect what he used to tell the people once? “Why,” says he, “brethren and sisters if I was as pure, as holy, and sanctified as you wish me to be (have you not got light enough in you to see?), I could not be in your society. The Lord would not let me stay here. If I was as pure and holy as you demand at my hands (do not you see?), I must be one with you. And, if you can produce a man or woman that has got more righteousness than I, that is [as] sanctified as you wish me to be, let me have that person here before you to show up his iniquity.”

gospel. They preached and did it sincerely with honest hearts before God and men. And, therefore, I feel pleasure in testifying of these things. I have borne the same testimony I have done here in different nations and before large public congregations. I know some people don't like especially abroad to say it is, but these have been my feelings here and will be to the day of my death and through eternity.

In relation to some of these events, I can relate some of the outlines of these things. There was a time, some time, little time before these persecutions commenced; there was a time that was particularly trying to the people—new doctrine of ~~what is called~~ what used to be called then “spiritual wifery” (and the doctrine was first introduced of men having more wives than one). It was a thing new to the whole of us. Yet it was a thing that was substantiated by scripture and made manifest also by revelation, and it only needed men to have the spirit of God or women to know and to understand the principles that Joseph communicated unto them. I remember being with President Young and Kimball and I think one or two others with Brother Joseph soon after we had returned from England. He talked with us on these principles and laid them before us. It tried our minds and feelings. We saw it was something going to be heavy upon us. It was not that very nice, pleasing thing some people thought about it. It is something that harried up our feelings. Did we believe it? Yes, we did. I did. The whole rest of the brethren did. But still we should have been glad to push it off a little further. We [would have] been glad if it hadn't come in our day; but that somebody else had something to do with it instead of us. But then at the same time, if we was called upon we felt to do what God required of us. I know what my feelings were and ~~thought~~²¹ thought I understand what some of the rest of the brethren's feelings were.

About this time John C. Bennett²² commenced some of his operations. He made use of some of those principles to corrupt to destroy not only himself but others. And as it was impossible ~~almost~~ together to come out and teach correct principles before the public in those days, some of those men got an inkling of these things and corrupted themselves—were full of <lasciviousness>²³ and abomination, and corrupted their own bodies—and sought to destroy others. And they succeeded in great measure with many.

21. The placement of the shorthand character (above, on, or across the line of the page) often indicates a vowel. Watt wrote the symbol for “thought” on the line in the wrong position for the vowel, crossed it out, and wrote it in the correct position, above the line.

22. John Cook Bennett (1804–67) served as an Assistant President in the Church during 1841–42 and played a prominent role in Nauvoo's history.

23. This is the most likely reading, but the transcription is uncertain.

I could name the names of many: John C. Bennett, the two Higbees,²⁴ and some others I could name [but] do not feel disposed [to do so]. But they had to be handled and brought before the high council and the council had to sit with closed doors because of the corruptions there manifested. It was pretty generally known the course that was pursued. Joseph came out strongly against John C. Bennett. He was naturally a corrupt man and given to it.²⁵ The first trouble that ever we met with was in the city council. I was present [in] the city council of Nauvoo and Joseph wished an **ordinances** ordinance to be introduced there upon adulterous practices. This militated so much against John C. Bennett, he began to go away from that time and to be Joseph's enemy. **and** He then began to publish and circulate.²⁶ And finally those other men associated with them—there were [a] number of them, and some perhaps who didn't know the iniquity of the parties. They asserted, "We believe Bennett's stories about the ladies, that white veil, black veil story."²⁷ They joined with him and purchased a press; called it the *Nauvoo Expositor*.²⁸

24. The two sons of Judge Elias Higbee, Chauncy Lawson Higbee (1821–84) and Francis (Frank) Marion Higbee (1819–56), were residents of Nauvoo and later helped establish the *Nauvoo Expositor*.

25. This may be a reference to Bennett's activities before he joined the Mormons. See Andrew F. Smith, "Introduction," John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints or, an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), xxii.

26. After Bennett left Mormonism, he published a series of newspaper articles and an exposé, *The History of the Saints* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), that attacked the Latter-day Saints. Parley P. Pratt, like Taylor, believed Bennett's motive was vengeance for embarrassment over his activities, although Pratt does not mention the attempt to make adultery illegal. He observed in a letter to his cousin shortly after Bennett was excommunicated and began to attack Nauvoo's citizens in print: "His object was vengeance on those who exposed his iniquity." Parley P. Pratt to John Van Cott, May 7, 1843, holograph, Church History Library. Shortly after the book appeared, Pratt wrote: "As to Bennett or his book I consider it a little stooping to mention it. It is beneath contempt. . . . There is not such a thing named among the saints here as he represents. & his book or name is scarcely mentioned. & never except with a perfect disgust." Pratt may have had reference to Bennett's story of the veils as addressed by Taylor in his sermon.

27. Taylor references here an account that appears in Bennett's *History of the Saints*, 220–25, which described how women of different moral character wore different-colored veils in Mormonism, where those women condemned for immoral behavior were forced to wear white veils, those who "indulge[d] their sensual propensities, without restraint" were applauded and wore green veils, and those set apart as "secret, spiritual wives" wore black veils as the special favorites of heaven.

28. There is no evidence that John C. Bennett helped purchase and operate the *Nauvoo Expositor* press. He was not in Nauvoo at the time.

This press went to work to defame the character of the sisters of Nauvoo and of the brethren. And there were some of the most scandalous things published in it that was ever published in any paper, having a tendency to abominably defame, and destroy the character of the females of [the] City of Nauvoo.²⁹ And at the same time there was not a more Zion, pure, and honorable community in the world, with some few exceptions, of course. There were some exceptions, but those were not the exceptions they made; they were the things they called honorable, that is, they loved corruption and hated correct principles. And that when they found they could not carry out their design, which was tending to destroy and contaminate society, then they went to work with all the power and venom of the devil to suffocate and berate and destroy and truly to obliterate, if possible, the Latter-day Saints. The thing was brought before the a city council. Some people thought that that council acted improperly, that they did that which they had no right to do, namely, to pass a law to destroy the press—that is this *Expositor*. It may be well here perhaps for me to give an explanation of some matters in relation to that matter. It may be of use to elders abroad, as I was on that council and I believe made perhaps the first move towards the destruction of it.³⁰ It may be well to give [the] reasons why here.

But as it regards the legality of things is a question some people may not fully understand. We possessed in the city of Nauvoo a city charter, and there was embedded in it an article like this—it gave us power to declare what is a nuisance and to remove that nuisance.³¹ I don't profess to be much

29. The *Nauvoo Expositor* promised to reveal information in future issues but did not publish the “scandalous” details in its first issue, as Taylor suggests here. It appears that this accusation is an outgrowth of Taylor's connection in this account of Bennett's earlier publishing activities in 1842 with those of the later *Expositor* press. Bennett did publish numerous scandalous accounts, including his details about the colored veils worn by the women of Nauvoo. Much of this information was repeated in his exposé *The History of the Saints*.

30. Taylor later noted, “I think, but am not certain, that I made a motion for the removal of that press as a nuisance,” Taylor, “Appendix III,” 520.

31. The specific reference to nuisance in the ordinance Taylor references is found in section 7 of the regulation of the city council. That section authorizes the council “to make regulations to secure the general health of the inhabitants, to declare what shall be a nuisance and to prevent and remove the same in the streets for the extinguishment of fires, and convenience of the inhabitants.” This appears to be primarily intended as an ordinance to protect the safety of inhabitants rather than protect them from something that may “injure” feelings, but Taylor considered that Blackstone included a scandalous newspaper in this classification. Section 16 of the city charter also designated the mayor and aldermen “conservators of the peace” with all the powers of justices of the peace. 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), 4:239–49 (hereafter cited as *History of the Church*).

of a legal mind myself; but Blackstone³² ~~one of great~~, one all our lawyers refer to, he states in his writing that a scandalous newspaper may be considered as [a] nuisance.³³ The city charter of Nauvoo gave unto us power to declare what was a nuisance and remove it. We did so. We considered that was a nuisance and that it was calculated to injure, destroy [the] community. We passed a law accordingly and ordered the City Marshal³⁴ to remove³⁵ it, which was done, as most of you know. It was removed, destroyed, and the type scattered to the four winds. And if had the things to do over again ten thousand times I would do it ten thousand times under the same circumstances ~~the circumstances~~. My mind never altered about it in life or death staring me in my face. My feelings, views in that matter never ~~charged~~ changed. We acted strictly according to law ~~and~~ in that thing, and laws are made for the punishment ~~of~~ of wrong and protection of right.

I know what the feelings of many men are in these days. It is a thing got by zeal handled by men that were not men of understanding. They thought we were attacking the great bulwark of America—the freedom of press—in destroying these few types and destroying their office. That we were attacking one of the great bulwarks of American freedom, that was the idea entertained by many. But there is a difference between freedom and abuse of it. Freedom, as I understand it, don't go any further in any country

32. William Blackstone's four-volume work, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the first volume of which was originally published in 1766, influenced America's Constitution, its reliance on the British Common Law, and its whole legal system. Lawyers throughout the nation in 1844 considered it one of the legal standards by which they argued law, and book 3, "Private Wrongs," included an entire chapter (13) devoted to nuisance. It did not address newspapers but primarily discussed offensive trades such as that of a tanner or tallowchandler and discussed how these could be considered a nuisance and abated. John Taylor seems to suggest the city council broadened these arguments to include a newspaper.

33. For a detailed discussion of this issue, see Dallin H. Oaks, "The Suppression of the Nauvoo Expositor," *Utah Law Review* 9 (Winter 1965): 890–91. The author argues that even though there was "considerable basis in the law of their day for their action in characterizing the published issues of the *Nauvoo Expositor* as a nuisance . . . there was no legal justification in 1844 for the destruction of the *Expositor* press."

34. The city marshal was John Portineus Greene (1793–1844), a Latter-day Saint who had been ordained a high priest in Kirtland, Ohio. John Lytle later related that he was the one who opened the door of the *Expositor* office "using the sledge hammer for a key." John Lytle, statement about June 10, 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

35. In his 1861 account, John Taylor wrote, "The press was removed or broken, I don't remember which, by the marshal, and the types scattered in the street." Taylor, "Appendix III," 521.

than people being free to do right. There is no country, no place under the heavens that freedom will extend further than that. <—> Many people do wrong, of course, all the time; but there is no freedom that will allow me to interfere with the rights of my brethren. There is no country I can go to that will allow me to interfere with the rights of citizens in that country. If I was attacked individually by a press, I have a right to punish him as editor as libel[ous]. We stood in municipal capacity at that time and had a right to put an end to the <engine>³⁶ that caused it. I must tell you what Governor Ford's³⁷ views was upon this thing. I talked with [him] about it. Says he, "Mr. Taylor, I was sorry you destroyed that;" "yet," says I, "it was legal." "That is nothing but it comes in contact with the prejudice of people." "Do you know the law about that? Yet, what were we to do then? Were we to be trampled upon? Is there a city in the union that ever did?" "No." "What were we to do then?" "I would have got up a mob to destroy it and that would have cleared the city council."

We had honest integrity enough to maintain the truthfulness of law but the governor of state so afraid of the what the people say but let us get up a mob to destroy the damned thing. We knew we were right and did it. That was the belief we acted upon. In that case what was the result of it? The whole country was aroused and there was Thomas C. Sharp,³⁸ the editor of [a] newspaper in Warsaw, and the anti-Mormon body of men combined together [to] seek to destroy the Latter-day Saints. These parties with their newspapers circulated every story that human ingenuity or malice of [the] devil could invent. [They] fabricated every kind of falsehood in order to inflame and irritate the public mind, and they succeeded in great measure in doing it. "But," say some, "how is it possible?" (I have been spoken to abroad by men of intelligence), "how is it possible that circumstance of that kind could be brought about and that such things could be raised against you? So many thousand people in his armies and full in integrity. How is it possible if you had done no wrong?" I tell you how it was. I told them there were two or three reasons. In the first place, our religion [was] not popular religion. It was opposed to their religion.³⁹ And theirs to ours. We had met them in argument but they could not withstand them. It was

36. This word may be "engine," but the shorthand is not clear. It appears to be either *ntine* or *njine*.

37. Thomas Ford (1800–50) served as governor of Illinois from 1842 to 1846.

38. Thomas Coke Sharp (1818–94) became the owner, editor, and publisher of the newspaper *Warsaw Signal* from 1841 to 1842 and regained ownership of the newspaper in February 1844, shortly before the events described here occurred.

39. Brigham Young spent much of his sermon earlier in the day addressing this issue. He argued, "Christ and Baal can't be good friends."

not possible for them to maintain their position as religion under those circumstances. Consequently, some other plan must be adopted [with a] feeling of right, naturally <inside>⁴⁰—just the same as has been the case under all circumstances where religion has been at stake and where there has been [a] difference of sentiment. When ~~sk~~ argument failed, persecution stepped in. But did this religion believe those things? No.

There was another party, which was a political party. We possessed the power of the votes in that county, and we got control in a great measure by going into one of the schools at the time. But, [as has] been mentioned, we could put it down either way. As American citizens, we had to vote. If we voted for the Whigs, the Democrats were our enemies; if for the Democrats, the Whigs were our enemies. Now it was the policy of Joseph Smith to take a middle ways and consolidate as far as possible the feelings of people. Hence, we could have voted in all the officers in the county having the power to do so through our votes. We didn't do it. We had voted them on city council in Nauvoo in order to do away with prejudice. There was several persons in it not in the church—Squire Wells,⁴¹ Barnett,⁴² Warrington⁴³ ~~and those were.~~⁴⁴ I speak of these things in order to show the conciliatory spirit Joseph Smith made use of in order to calm the troubled feelings of people and do away with the strong antipathy that generally ~~privileged~~ prevailed in relation to <—> politics, where every body knows⁴⁵ with regard to American politics how strong the feelings of each party [is] against [the other].

I remember an anecdote, reading it in [a] French paper: each party set the other down as [the] most infamous, scandalous in existence—setting the ~~the president~~ person down as ~~being~~ who was putting up for [another] person.⁴⁶ The ~~<frch>~~ French editor says, “bet they could find an honest man in

40. This is the most likely reading.

41. Daniel Hanmer Wells (1814–91) was baptized into the Church on August 9, 1846, and later became an Apostle.

42. John Tipton Barnett (1809–1905) moved to Knox County, Illinois, shortly after Joseph Smith was killed, where he remained for the rest of his life.

43. Benjamin Franklin Warrington (1810–50) was elected to the Nauvoo city council on February 6, 1843, and was also a member of the Nauvoo Legion. Warrington, along with non-Mormons Daniel H. Wells and Hiram Kimball, had also developed property and sold lots in Nauvoo.

44. The crossed-out material could also be read “and this way.” Hugh McFall (1799–after 1860) was another non-Mormon elected to the city council, who also served as adjutant general of the Nauvoo Legion. Hiram S. Kimball (1806–63) was elected as a non-Mormon but was baptized on July 20, 1843.

45. Written “noise”; the obvious intent is “knows.”

46. In other words, condemning a person who supported someone else.

America." Of course we must have a strong⁴⁷ party of that kind opposed to us; put the religion in and <that in>.⁴⁸

Then there was another set of rabble—pickpockets, cutthroats, black-legs—which would go [to] any length to accomplish his purpose who could be <hired> hired to kill a man for [a] small sum and perjure himself any day for [a] glass of grog. Some of these politicians gave a lot of such men as these a little grog; says they should damn all Mormons; let's go and destroy them; and the <illegible> party would wink at it, saying they were opposed to our religion. If we could get up a posse, get them out of [the] way—they we would not like to be among us. Yes, we put them on a litter. Thus, their influence with the devil at their head was the great cause of this animosity and trouble excited in that place. It was not any Joseph Smith or any Hyrum, not any one of the elders or authorities that lived in Nauvoo, for there never was a city of men in this world that were more desirous to seek peace and promote it than the authorities and politicians of that city. Here the plan, <—> the <blame>⁴⁹ commenced. The spirit of persecution began to rage. A road was cut out against the city council, against the mayor and city council—Joseph Smith was mayor—for destroying this press. The excitement ran very high. Mobs got up in different parts of the county and they commenced to burn houses in the neighborhood that Brother Morley⁵⁰ lived [in] out at Lima.⁵¹ And around in that district they began to bear away

47. "Strong" is written over illegible shorthand.

48. "That in" could also be read "hold on."

49. This is the most likely reading. This word could also be read "flame."

50. Isaac Morley (1786–1865) was president of the stake centered in Lima, Illinois.

51. Matthew Caldwell confirms Taylor's account. He recalled many individuals settling in his neighborhood after they were driven from Nauvoo. "Most of my neighbors by this time were Mormons. . . . I well remember these burnings. . . . One morning I counted fourteen Mormon homes burning at the same time. . . . After these burnings there was not a house left standing within seven miles from my home. On June 24, 1844, the sheriff, Levi Williams, rode up to my place early in the morning while I was doing my chores and said, 'I have a "Fortwith" for you.' 'What does that mean?', said I. 'It means for you to be in Warsaw by ten o'clock today.' . . . On the evening of June 26, 1844, the old Mob leader, Col. Levi Williams, with Tom Sharp, the editor of the Warsaw Sentinel, had a few new wagons rolled out from under a shed and placed a two inch plank on the box of one of the wagons. Col. Williams then climbed on the box and gave orders for the captains of the militia to form their companies facing the wagon.

"As soon as the orders were obeyed, Col. Levi Williams said, 'Boys, the governor is not going to do anything for us. All that is in favor of going to Carthage in the morning step out three paces in front. Those contrary stand fast.' At the word, 'March,' all but six men stepped out. The names of the six were: Matthew Caldwell, George Walker, William Guymon, Platt Fairbanks, Eldred Hailey, and

and⁵² destroy the property of the brethren. When they did so, rumors kept coming in every day to Joseph Smith. He wrote to the governor and wanted to know what he was to do. He received word back he was to maintain the peace as lieutenant general of [the] Nauvoo Legion. He did so. And in order that the governor might not be misinformed in relation to the matter, when the excitement began to rage in great extent, he sent messengers for a number of days in succession with affidavits and testimony concerning the events taking place all around, asking his counsel and laying before him the position of things and of the people—among other things requesting him to come down. Brother Hunter⁵³ went on one of these expeditions [with a] number of others whose names I have forgot. It was s[pring] time; heavy rain. Set⁵⁴ out as parties here or there were⁵⁵ [on the] way to meet the governor. He on ~~has~~⁵⁶ his way, they missed each other.

In [the] midst of this burning, the sheriff called upon Backenstos.⁵⁷ He called out a posse of men to put down the men who was stirring up this commotion and take out the company. And as soon [as] they came in their neighborhood they made tracks and cried for more. I rather think, perhaps in this skirmish, there may be some few persons killed. I do not remember the detail of these circumstances but merely the outlines. The governor by and by made his appearance at Carthage, and he sent a deputation down to Joseph Smith requesting him to send out a deputation to him to wait upon him in Carthage to acquaint him with [the] state of affairs in Nauvoo.

Joseph Smith appointed Doctor Bernhisel,⁵⁸ who is now in Washington, and myself to go with the deputies of the governor and meet him in Carthage and to take with us the papers. We had the documents, affidavits, testimonies, etc., that had been presented before Joseph Smith of acts of

an old English gentlemen by the name of Zilburn.” Caldwell later talked his two brothers out of participating in the action. Matthew Caldwell, *Autobiographical sketch, holograph*, Church History Library. See also Matthew Caldwell, *Testimony of Matthew Caldwell*, January 15, 1908, holograph, Church History Library; punctuation standardized for clarity.

52. “Bear away and” inserted above line.

53. This was probably Edward Hunter (1793–1883), who was a bishop in Nauvoo.

54. Likely reading for this word.

55. Could also be read “that were.”

56. Probably an attempt to write “his.” The symbols are the same, but “his” is placed above the line and “has” is placed on the line.

57. Jacob B. Backenstos (1811–57) was clerk of the Hancock County, Illinois, Circuit Court and was elected to the Illinois legislature in 1844. He was elected sheriff of Hancock County in 1845.

58. John Milton Bernhisel (1799–1881) was Joseph Smith’s personal physician and friend.

violence that had been sworn to by different individual[s] as they came and made their cases known to him. I believe Squire Wells took a good many of them. We went to the governor and found everything there in [the] greatest state of excitement. All the blacklegs, murderers (though some of them I was acquainted with and believe them to be such from our testimony), apostates, and greatest enemies that Joseph Smith and Mormonism had in the country were there; and as it is said about Brutus having his right hand men, many of them seemed to me to be the right hand men of the governor. We did not obtain an interview with him immediately, but perhaps it might be well here to relate a little incident occurred about the time we arrived there about 11 at night.

We went right to the hotel the governor stayed at and took up our quarters there. We had not been in there ten minutes when there was a soldier came in and he knew that one of our brethren, Brother Carns⁵⁹ of German descent, as good [a] man [as] anywhere, <knew>⁶⁰ he had been committing some great misdemeanor, he [the soldier] said. And naturally that it was necessary he [Carns] should be imprisoned. But they felt bowels⁶¹ of compassion towards him, being [the] man held, and they wanted one of us to go and give bail for them. It struck me to be [a] rather curious kind of night to take up prisoners to give bail, and we knew our documents to be laid before the governor. I said, "I don't believe your statement about Carns, but if bail is necessary, tomorrow morning <we>⁶² [will] go and see him and it will all be right." We passed along and went to our lodging, and as we were going into our room we passed through another room and we saw laying in that room a man by the name of Jackson,⁶³ a repeat murderer. Our bed was placed beside⁶⁴ his, just two board posts between. We had with us arms.

59. Daniel Carn (1802–72) was American born but raised in the German communities of Pennsylvania.

60. This word could also be read "owned."

61. This is the most likely reading. It may also be "balance."

62. This word could possibly be read "I."

63. This is probably Joseph H. Jackson, whose name Willard Richards included first on his list of individuals involved in the murder of the martyrs. See Willard Richards, List, ca. 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60. In April 1854, shortly before Taylor's sermon, Thomas Bullock went through the list and made notations about the current whereabouts of these individuals. Joseph L. Heywood noted that on May 12, 1844, Joseph Smith received an anonymous threat letter that he suspected had been written by Joseph H. Jackson, calling on Joseph "to make his peace with God—he would soon have to die." Heywood believed it was because Jackson had been refused the privilege of marrying the daughter of Hyrum Smith. Joseph L. Heywood, Statement, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

64. This word could also be read "opposite."

I had a good six shooter. I did not sleep any that night. Thought I would be on the alert as nobody else was. So we had just got into bed when [a] rap came to to [the] door and Chauncey Higbee came [in].

Many of you know him, a notorious scamp, as black [an] apostate and full of [the] devil as anybody. He came there and knocked at our door and of course he thought it would be of no use speaking to me after what has taken place now. ~~Doctrine~~ “Doctor, it is a pity Carns should be in.”⁶⁵ Believe him to be a good sort of fellow. Sorry to see him lying in jail. Would it not be better to go and liberate him?” Talked with the doctor and he thought he would go. Chauncey went out of [the] room until he got his clothes on. Says I, “You ~~may~~ better stay where you are. Don’t you know, we have papers and documents? [Their] very purpose [is to] part us to destroy ~~us~~ either one of us.” We stayed together that night. Towards the next night we had an interview with the ~~governor~~ ~~he~~ when we went into the room he was surrounded with just such characters [as] I had mentioned. And if it had not been [that] I was going on public business, if I had been on private instead of public, I should have turned around and said, “Governor Ford, if you choose to [be] with such characters as these, I shall withdraw.” But it was necessary we should do our business in [a] public capacity.

I said we had been sent by General Smith, that we had with us documents to inform him of [the] position of the country and all what was going on generally. He took our documents and commenced reading them, but while he was reading ~~another~~ one [would] say, “That is a lie,” another, “That is a damned lie,” another, “That is a God damned lie.” But his Excellency did not hear it. Perhaps he thought it very polite. It passed off comfortably with him. The result of it was he told us he would prepare a letter for us. He did so sometime late on in the evening. We got a letter and went back to Nauvoo with it.

When Joseph Smith read the letter, he believed there was mischief intended by the governor and the parties. And we talked over the matter for [a] length of time in the Nauvoo Mansion. And finally there was some gentlemen came in, some relation of the late president, and wished to see Joseph Smith and have some little conversation with him.⁶⁶ As it was very late, and we had been up for one or two nights before, I went ~~out~~ off and left

65. This is the most likely reading. This word may also be “not.”

66. Charles Francis Adams, the son of President John Quincy Adams, and his cousin Josiah Quincy Jr. visited with Joseph Smith on May 15, 1844, a little more than a month before the other events Taylor describes. See Jed Woodworth, “Josiah Quincy’s 1844 Visit with Joseph Smith,” *BYU Studies* 39, no. 4 (2000): 71–87. This may well have been the relation to the “late president” Taylor referenced.

him ~~that~~ that evening. In the morning I heard Hyrum and Joseph [and] one or two others crossed the river and thought it [the] best thing to go.

I crossed but did not see him until sometime [the] next day when I got word from him. Brother Elias Smith went to search [for] Joseph [and] brought me word that Joseph and Hyrum had concluded to go to Carthage and requested me to come and go along. I had peculiar feelings at the time. I had not seen them, but I had been arranging my business to leave in half an hour. I should have been started east except if I did not find them over the river I should meet them by there.

There was peculiar feelings among many of the brethren in relation to it.⁶⁷ I was not there during the whole of those deliberations. As I said, I was preparing to arrange my business for the east. Hyrum extended a strong wish to return and stated his feelings precisely, and Joseph gave way to his brother's feelings. Joseph had told them in [a] public speech before, says he, "brethren I will stand by you to the death." Some of ⁶⁸ went and

67. Jason R. Luce recalled the conversation between a man named Powers and a Mr. Davis when a group met on June 11, 1844, to discuss the men returning over the river and going to Carthage. "Powers said they would attempt to kill Joseph—Mr. Davis replied No I think not,—Yes say Powers they will by God & you know it by—God." Willard Richards, Minutes, ca. 1844, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60, Church History Library; punctuation as in original. This is reminiscent of Jonathan Wright's recollection of a conversation between him and Colonel Enoch C. March between the Mansion House and Richard Briers's Ferry Landing on Water Street in Nauvoo on June 26, 1844, at about 5 p.m., after he met with George T. M. Davis, editor of the *Alton Telegraph*, when March's soldiers had come looking for Joseph and were unable to find him. After Wright bore witness to March that he had a testimony of Joseph Smith's prophetic calling, "Col. March Replied. Mr. Wright—you are mistaken—and I know it—you do not know what I know. I tell you—they will kill Jo Smith before he leaves Carthage & I know it—and you never will see him alive again—said I Enoch, I do not believe it. he is in the hands of God—and God will deliver him—says he I know better—when you hear of him again—you will hear he is dead & I know it—and I will tell you why I know it—The people at Carthage wanted permission from the Gov. to kill you all—and burn up your city—and Ford (the Gov.) asked me if I thought it was best to suffer it—I replied—No no—for Gods sake Ford—don't suffer it—that will never do—no never—Just see for a moment Ford what that would do—it would be the means of murdering 1000s of Innocent men women & children—and destroying, Thousands of Dollars worth of property—and that never would do. it would not be sanctioned—it would disgrace the nation—you have now got the Principal men—here under your control—they are all you want, What more do you want When they are out of the way, the thing is settled & the people will be satisfied & that is the easiest way you can dispose of it & Gov Ford thought upon the whole that was the best policy & I know it will be done." Jonathan Calkins Wright, Affidavit, January 13, 1855, Joseph Smith history documents, 1840–60.

68. Shorthand reads only "m," but this is an apparent abbreviation for "them."

asked him if he was going to leave them now, so I heard. I do not know the particulars of ~~course~~. Then he turned around and said, “Die? Yes, I am a man of honor and integrity. I stand up to my post if the devil stand in the way.” There was nothing of cowardice in him. ~~Rest~~ Lots of ~~brethren~~ others here say no one⁶⁹ sought to destroy the brethren. He went out with <100>⁷⁰ men ~~to meet~~ in the prairie to meet 2500—no, nothing of cowardice. But he thought it would be better to ward off the blow a little while and trust to pardon to regulate things when the storm should be [a] little abated. These, I believe, were his feelings in going over the river. We had been . . . I believe . . . Before that, I must mention a circumstance here.

That the city charter of Nauvoo possessed the right of a writ of habeas corpus, which gave the parties the privilege of being taken from before an officer, if they considered there was injustice going to be done them, and receive a trial in another place. Before this mob came—before [the] governor came—Brother Joseph, Brother Hyrum, and all of the city council appeared before Squire Wells, who was then one of the magistrate[s] to answer to this charge brought ~~them~~ against them. The municipal [court] issued a writ of habeas corpus, and the city marshal took us out of [the] hands of [an] officer sent from Carthage, and we was brought before Squire Wells. Why? Because he was not in the Church at that time and they could not have any reasonable objections for us to be tried before him in order to conciliate the people.⁷¹ We were acquitted, but we⁷² were not satisfied.

Now I return to where I left off. We agreed to go to Carthage. Joseph said very little when we went, but he did talk [of] feelings on leaving home. I remember a remark that President Young made down at North Ogden [one] day a while ago in speaking about Brother Joseph. He said at that time, he believed the spirit of God was withdrawn from it at the time and he was left to grapple with the powers of darkness. I believe it. I believe it from the statement he made. Somebody asked him as we were journeying to Carthage, says they: “Joseph what will be the upshot of this matter?” “Well,” says he, “I do not know anything about it. Do not talk to me about matters now. I have given up my office and calling for the time being.” Made some remark like that. “I do not profess to guide this people now while I am in [the] hands of officers. Somebody else must do it.” This is [the] body of meaning, [the] spirit of [the] words, if not the exact words.

69. Shorthand for “one” is awkwardly written.

70. “1” is written over “2”; the number originally read “200.”

71. This word could also be read “plea.”

72. This word is written “we,” but context suggests Taylor may have meant to say “they.” The symbol for “they” is almost the same as that for “we” but much larger.

He went to Carthage, and it was not Joseph and Hyrum alone [that were] implicated in that matter but all the city council. I was one of them. ~~we went to~~ Our brother the governor sent for Joseph Smith. He pledged to us his honor and the honor of the state that these men should be protected and should not be injured. He gave it to us as delegates that had been sent out by Joseph to convey this message to him. We spoke about the position of [the] country. We told him we were abundantly able to defend ourselves. We neither asked his help nor any other. We had at that time 5000 men in arms, and we could have taken one fourth of it and whipped out the governor's posse and his mobocrats. Consequently, it was not because we could not defend ourselves but to be subject to the law of the land and conciliate the feelings of people. "Shall we go forward and bring posse?" "No," says the governor, "don't bring any." "What shall be the situation of Joseph and Hyrum and those with them?" "I pledge my honor and honor of [the] state they shall be protected and no harm shall come to them." I deviate [a] little in detail—perhaps because [of] things that occur to me which I have passed over.

When we got there we had a hearing in the hotel. We stayed at the same place the governor stayed in. [The] man's name that kept it was Hamilton.⁷³ However, as there was so much excitement at that time abroad, it was thought best we should go early [and] have our appearance another time. That was thought the best course to pursue by the lawyers and all parties concerned. And as that was legal, we thought we would give our bail, have [an] appearance another time, and go at another time not in that excitement. We went bail for one another and that thing was cleared for the time being.

In speaking of this bail, I must refer back to the bail that was required of me and Brother Bernhisel in relation to Carns. It is a little disconnected, but I wish to put the thing in as it was and show you why I came to such opinions about their proceeding. Next morning we went and waited [upon] Squire Smith.⁷⁴ When we waited upon him, we spoke about this case of

73. Artois Hamilton (1795–1875) operated a hotel in Carthage, east of the county jail.

74. Robert F. Smith, captain of the Carthage Greys, was also the local judge and was so busy during this period that he did not have time to sleep during the night leading up to the martyrdom. His wife left the following account of that last day. "That day [June 27, 1844] I was unusually depressed and out of sorts. [I] had been living in almost constant ~~dread~~ terror of the Mormans for years and never knwen from day to day and hardly from one hour to another, what dreadful catastrophe would happen and when the rumor reached me about half past two P.M. that a mob had collected on the prairie ~~some~~ a few miles out and were on the road to Carthage.

Carns and told him we had come to give bail for him. Says he, "I do not know whether I should be authorized to receive bail from any inhabitants from [the] City of Nauvoo, seeing things [are] in such a troublesome state." Before either one of us would have done it. This time both were there. He did not think ~~they~~ he would be justified. "We have both got property in the county," says I. "Search the records." "Well, says he, "I do not think, finally, [it is] best for me to take bail. But it would have done if one night before."

Now I go back to where I left. We gave bail ~~to~~ for one another and it was not opposed and could not be rejected. The next thing was there was two ruthless characters. I don't suppose anybody would have trusted them in death. I shall not mention any names about these. One of them I have forgot. The other matter [is] of little moment, let it pass. Suffice it to say they were men in whom could be placed no confidence. They went and made affidavit to the same Smith. All referred to that Joseph Smith and Hyrum were guilty of treason against the United States. They had been put up to this by one of the lawyers. They did this because treason was not aailable case and they thought they would get them into prison where they could accomplish their designs upon them. As soon as I heard of this, a constable, a ruffian came into the room and was for bearing them off first.

After⁷⁵ I told him to hold on and asked him what he was after, Brother Phelps and others was present, I went to the governor's room [and] says, "Governor Ford, are you aware that [a] writ has been issued against Joseph and Hyrum Smith accusing them of treason and [there is a] constable

Some thought they were Mormans comeing to liberate the Smiths from jail and and [*sic*] would destroy the town and every thing in it. My neighbors began to make preperations to leave their homes with their families and the part of town where I lived was soon entirely deserted but myself. . . . [My husband] had not been home a single night for two weeks. He with his men had been keeping gard of the town day and night all that time. . . . [She dressed and sent her six children to friends' houses one block away and about an hour later she heard gunfire.] [I] was powerless to move for a minute or so. When I became conscious there was a Mormon girl, who lived in the neighborhood, standing in the door. I was holding on to the bench of my chair and she was ringing her hands and saying 'Oh my God! Mrs. Smith they are shooting the men down at the jail and throwing them out of the window. . . . All brought word of what terrible revenge the Mormans were going to take on the Carthage people for killing the Smiths. They were frightened and beleaved all the stories they heard." Mrs. Robert F. Smith, "A Short Sketch of the Trials of Mrs. R. F. Smith at the Killing of the Smiths, The Mormans Profphet," holograph, SC 1434, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois. (Misspellings in title and numerous transpositions of letters and misspellings in narrative retained as in original.)

75. Shorthand is ambiguous for this word.

now wishing to put them into prison? I call upon you to use your official authority and liberate them." "I am sorry," says he, "that the thing should occur. But," says he, "it is a thing [that] belongs to the judiciary, and the executive [has] nothing to do with it." Says I, "Did not you pledge me your word of honor and faith of [the] state [that] you [would] see these men protected"? "So I will," says he. "Are you going [to] allow them to be thrust into prison at the insistence of felons like these?" "It is a thing [that] belongs to the judiciary; it would not hurt them for one night. Gentlemen, I expect different things from you."

I went. Outran <mocking> and saw some of our party readying to <mock> them back.⁷⁶ To a soldier I say, "Will you go and tell your captain I wish to see him immediately, and if not see him bring the first captain"? He came and brought me his captain. "I believe there is a design to murder these men, and here is a ruffian wanting to <illegible>⁷⁷ them among the people. I wish you [to] bring your company to protect them." "I will do so," says he. And just as quick as the constable got them to the door, the company arrived to escort them to the jail. Everything was excited at **time**. Another circumstance about this I mention. I do not know who he was. I suppose he was in the militia—perhaps a friend to the Mormons. He came and whispered to my ear. Says he, "Remember me." But I never saw him from that time to this. I should like to come across him. He did all he could to save them.

A whole lot of us went with Joseph, most of [the] city council and one or two strange gentlemen that went into prison at [the] same time. They considered abuse and outrage. There was a room full of us that night. In inquiring into the matter it was found they had <come>⁷⁸ acted illegally in this matter. The officers had . . . They had committed them to prison under what is called a mittimus, as though they had been before them tried and proven guilty and they committed them to prison without a hearing. After having commenced [and] committed them to prison, the officer had no right to take them out of it unless they came to [a] county court and [were] brought out by right of habeas corpus. This was about the position of things. Well, they refused to go out. They appeared to before a court called the next day [by] this same officer Smith. He was captain of [a] company. He went

76. The words "mocking" and "mock" are written in the vowel position for "making" and "make," but the difference is less than $\frac{1}{6}$ of an inch higher on the line, and since Watt wrote rapidly he was not always careful about his placement. The sentence reads awkwardly either way but "mocking" is the preferred reading.

77. This word is illegible but probably "push." Bullock wrote, in longhand, "Ruffian was for pushing them."

78. This word is awkwardly written in shorthand.

to the governor. Says he, "Joseph and Hyrum refused to go out of prison." "Have you not got a posse?" says he. "Do not you know what to do?" He could not interfere before in any capacity whatever to protect them, but he could tell the officer what he could do to take them out by force on the principle of mobbing <—>⁷⁹ he spoke about before. Consequently, they were brought out as [a] company of men came and we all went out. There was no charges against any but Joseph and Hyrum. As witnesses could not be brought, they were remanded back to prison for two days until witnesses could be gathered and [a] proper hearing had.

The next day the governor, Governor Ford, went to Nauvoo and he took away all of the military, I believe, with the exception of a company which was under the command of Captain Smith. This same Smith, captain of Carthage Grays, the most blood thirsty men [that] could be found anywhere, and these were the guards of Governor Ford, as he said, to protect the lives of Joseph and Hyrum Smith when we were in jail remanded a second time. There was only one or two allowed to go into jail besides myself and Brother Willard Richards. We obtained liberty from the governor, Richards being Joseph's private secretary and myself as his friend. There was one or two others [who] were permitted to go in, and different people came to see us. And we were left alone pretty much with the exception of two or three individual that came now and again. One was Captain Jones,⁸⁰ as he is called, from Wales. Another was Brother Wheelock,⁸¹ Brother Markham,⁸² and some two 3 others.⁸³ There was a strong feeling manifested by individuals of the brethren who would have been glad to have been with Joseph.*⁸⁴

79. This appears to be an aborted attempt to write "principle."

80. Dan Jones (1810–62) left the prison to request legal assistance from Orville H. Browning in Quincy, Illinois. He published an account of the martyrdom in Welsh in July 1847 titled "Merthyrdod Joseph Smith At Frawd Hyrum!" See Dan Jones, "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith and His Brother Hyrum," intro. by Ronald D. Dennis, *BYU Studies* 24, no. 1 (1984): 79–109.

81. Cyrus Hubbard Wheelock (1813–94) left the jail "on some errand" and was not allowed to return.

82. Stephen Markham (1800–78).

83. Others who were in the jail for part of the time included John Solomon Fullmer (1807–83), John Milton Bernhisel (1799–1881), John Smith (1781–1854), Hiram S. Kimball (1806–63), and several lawyers.

84. "*" indicates the sermon was continued elsewhere, as noted in the introduction.

Transcript of Thomas Bullock's Longhand Summary of John Taylor's Sermon, June 27, 1854 (concluding paragraphs only)

[Staker's note: The surviving portion of George D. Watt's shorthand recording of the Taylor sermon ends here, and the remainder is filled in with Thomas Bullock's recording, with italics indicating where Pitman was used, as noted above.]

We ad [had]⁸⁵ various conversations *on the* curious spirit *there*. The mob had prevented all *to* come. The last one was sent out for a little wine. He was not allowed *to* come back. Bro W^d [Willard] says, bro Jos[eph] if *there is* any scuffling *to be* done let me [get it] done *and* let you go *and* I s^d. [said] if you *will* let me go[.]⁸⁶ *in a few hours I will have* enough men *to* liberate you even if *we* tear down *the* prison. He objected preferring peace. I rem[em]ber bro Hy[rum] requested me *to* sing a poor wa[y] faring man of grief which *I* done. He requested it *the* 2nd time. I then saw a crowd of men⁸⁷ *with* disfigured faces *and* came up *to the* door up stairs. I made a rush *to the* door. bro H[yrum] *and* bro R[ichards] got *there* first. They leaned agsⁿ. [against] *the* door. some one fired a gun thro *the* key hole. He then walked a little distance. a ball came thro *the* door *and* struck him *in his* face. another thro *the* windows fired by *the* Carthage Greys. He fell on his back *and* s^d [said] I am a dd [dead] man. Jos^h [Joseph] came and s^d [said] Oh my poor bro Hy.[rum.] Bro Wheelock gave *the* pistol *to* bro Jos[eph] [—]⁸⁸

He pulled the pistol deliberately 6 times. 3 times whent [sic] of[f] *and* 3 didn't. I seized a thick hickory stick *and* bro Jos[eph] [was] behind me. I parried *off the* guns firing *and the* last I heard bro Jos[eph] sa[y] parry them of[f] *as well as* you can. *In a few moments the* door was full of bayonets. *The* window was open. I made an attempt *to* jump out *of the* windo.

85. Thomas Bullock, who was British, as was John Taylor, frequently dropped the initial "h" in words as he wrote; he also commonly wrote "and" as "ad." To keep bracketed information to a minimum, these instances have all been silently corrected to "had" or "and."

86. Bullock leaves a space here to indicate a period.

87. Debra Jo Marsh, who has developed the most comprehensive and detailed list of individuals who participated in the attack to date, has argued that over two hundred individuals attacked the prisoners in jail. Debra Jo Marsh, "Respectable Assassins: A Collective Biography and Socio-Economic Study of the Carthage Mob" (master's thesis, University of Utah, 2009).

88. An illegible word was wiped out here.

I fell on *the* windo sill *and* fell inside. I recovered my feeling *and* crawled under *the* bed. I had given Dr. Richards my watch *and* money.⁸⁹ my watch was all broken up. *the* wa[y] I fell *in* was a par[ty] outside shot me *as* I was falling *and* the force of the gun threw me back. I was shot once or twice under *the* bed. The next I noticed was bro R[ichards] going *from the* windo to the door towards some cells. I s^d. [said] D^r come *and* take me along. He opened *the* door *and* dragged me along *the* two balls *in*⁹⁰ I was in excruciating pain. He put me *in* a cell *and* threw me under *the* mat-tress. He

they ma[y] kill me⁹¹

s^d. [said] is it possible Jos^h is dd [dead] <illegible> pray you may live *and* tell *the* story. they ret^d [returned] *and* found *no* one *in the* room *and* they absconded. *the* coroner's jury was called *in the* room. I bel[ieve] Hy[rum] never moved. I heard Frank⁹² Higby at mart^d. [martyrdom] I s^d. [said] Cap Smith I want you to *have* F H arrested for I swear my life ags^t [against] him. *And* he left *and* another of men wanted me to go to *the* tavern. but I wo [would] not. *the* D^r. was attending to *the* bodies. I s^d. [said] this jail ma[y] protect me. . . .⁹³ I co^d [could] not believe them. *In* ½ an hour *the* whole place was left. when D^r. R[ichards] came along I consented *and* went.

these r [are] *the* outlines *and* mor[e] *as* I know them at *the* present time. I la[y] *in the* tavern till the next, mor[n]<ing>]. when my wounds *were* dressed. we co^d [could] only whisper no. I went to Nauvoo. we rd <cost>⁹⁴ our P. O I suppose but was <illegible> *and* I suppose they r [are] better off *and* can act *in* that position *and* I expect we shall meet them *and* strike hands. it was a barbarous thing *and* a real stain upon them *and* they can't

89. Taylor makes the point in his later account that he gave his watch and money to Willard Richards after the attack was over while the surgeon was working on his hand. He probably mentioned this detail here to explain his notice of damage to the watch. Taylor concluded his watch had been damaged by a bullet, but the evidence suggests it was likely damaged when he fell against the window sill. Joseph L. Lyon and David W. Lyon, "Physical Evidence at Carthage Jail and What It Reveals about the Assassination of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," *BYU Studies* 47, no. 4 (2008): 36–37.

90. There is a long space here in the manuscript indicating Bullock could not keep up with the narrative and jumped forward in the sermon in an attempt to catch up with John Taylor's speaking.

91. Phrase is above the line without an insertion mark.

92. Frank was a nickname for Francis Higby.

93. Bullock leaves a long space here, indicating missing material.

94. This word is difficult to read, and the transcription is uncertain.



Martyrdom of Joseph and Hiram Smith in Carthage Jail, June 27, 1844. Tinted lithograph by C. G. Crehen based on an image by G. W. Fasel. for Nagel & Weingartner, and dedicated to Orson Hyde, New York, 1851. Courtesy Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. This lithograph was made in September 1851 based on an image printed by William Daniels in 1845. Even though Daniels acknowledged during the subsequent trial of the murderers that his initial image and the scene it depicted was largely inaccurate, some details are consistent with John Taylor's account. Daniels's image was likely based on a now lost 1844 painting by an unidentified artist used in Daniels's presentations sharing what he observed outside the jail during the martyrdom.

get rid of it *in time and et^r. [eternity] and they will be dd⁹⁵ and they are dd and we shall see it. they have not hurt Jos[eph] or Hy[um] but they have hurt themselves. There r [are] 100^s in this cong^r [congregation] who would have been glad to have been where we were. I know they lived and dd [died] men of God and will live for evermore and many of my bren [brethren] round about here*

95. The letters "dd" are sometimes used as a short form of "dead" but in this context may have been a shortening of "damned."

if they r [are] gone *there is others* in their places. *I rem[em]ber Xerxes*⁹⁶ had a C^o [company] called *the Immortals*. if any *were* killed another twenty stept into *his* place *and* it was always kept full. it *is a* regular place *and as* soon *as* one steps out another steps *in and* that man that don't fill it *have* not *the sp[irit] of God*. *as those were men of God* so r [are] thos who r [are] *with us*. ~~from~~⁹⁷ it is all ri^t [right] in t[ime] *and in et.[ernity]* God bless you all ever *and* ever Amen

96. Xerxes was leader of the Persians who attacked the Spartans at the Battle of Thermopylae.

97. This word appears to have been wiped out.

“Thy Mind, O Man, Must Stretch”

John W. Welch

This forum address was delivered May 17, 2011, at Brigham Young University. Dr. Welch was invited to speak on this occasion as the recipient of the 2010–2011 Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award, BYU’s highest faculty honor.

I am truly grateful for this recognition. And thanks to all of you for your presence here today, especially to my family to whom I owe so much. I’m glad my brother Jim could play the organ today. He and I were roommates in Helaman Halls in 1968; with great talents, he is a brother I have always looked up to. Also, it is fun to be able to address you here in the de Jong Concert Hall. I remember ushering here as a freshman in 1964. My wife, Jeannie, and I have many good memories of dates and events here in this building. I’m so glad that she and I have been able to share such an abundant life together.

Concerning this award, let me note that we are currently celebrating several fiftieth jubilee anniversaries, of BYU Studies, the BYU Honors Program, and the Harold B. Lee Library. This year is also King James Version’s 400th anniversary (its 8th jubilee), and Mormon’s 1,600th birthday (his 32nd jubilee)—all of these representing huge parts of my life. So, I count it as a special privilege to be added as the 50th recipient to the list of this award’s previous designees, who include many of my teachers, mentors, role models, and senior colleagues. In addition to our family trees, we also have our intellectual genealogies, made up of people who have forged the roots and filled out the branches of our minds, interests, ideals, and testimonies. How fortunate we are for such influences in our lives.

What a challenge it has been to prepare this talk! As this talk has developed and changed, it has also changed me. At times like this, words simply fail. Preparing this talk has made me more grateful than ever for BYU. This university is a beacon on a hill that cannot be hid. Its influence will go forth to bring to pass much goodness and righteousness.

As I puzzled over what to say, I felt directed to re-read the BYU Mission Statement. I have read this statement many times over the years, though probably not often enough. I now see it as something like a patriarchal blessing for the university. As I looked at it and at my thirty-one years on the faculty, I felt like the boy in Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story of the old man of the mountain, as it dawned on me how closely my experiences and desires have come to track the contours of this mission statement. While that statement is not holy scripture, I hope it's okay for a true blue cougar to bear testimony that the BYU Mission Statement is good and true. I believe it was inspired. It was drafted in 1981, in short order, at a quiet mountain retreat, by the recently installed BYU President Jeffery R. Holland.¹ It was tweaked only a little, and then approved without hesitation by the Board of Trustees, led by President Spencer W. Kimball. As an overriding take-home message for you from my remarks today, it would be, "Follow this mission statement." You can find it on the BYU web site. Take any line in it, and it will bless your intellectual life with perspective and purpose.

My title, "Thy Mind, O Man, Must Stretch," comes from the poignant letter dictated by Joseph Smith from the dungeon of Liberty Jail (that so-called Temple-Prison that was more often prison than temple). The Prophet revealed these words almost five months into his miserable and legally unjustifiable detention there. After counseling the Church to avoid pride and trifling conversations, the Prophet burst beyond the walls of his surroundings with these expansive words: "The things of God are of deep import, and time and experience and careful and ponderous and solemn



The rock formation known as the Old Man of the Mountain. Photo courtesy Jeffrey Joseph, at Wikipedia Commons. In Nathaniel Hawthorne's story "The Great Stone Face," a boy searches and waits for a great man who will match this majestic face portrayed in a stone cliff near his village; as he grows in wisdom and serves his village, the people discover that the boy has become that great man.

Brigham Young University Mission Statement

The mission of Brigham Young University—founded, supported, and guided by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—is to assist individuals in their quest for perfection and eternal life. That assistance should provide a period of intensive learning in a stimulating setting where a commitment to excellence is expected and the full realization of human potential is pursued.

All instruction, programs, and services at BYU, including a wide variety of extracurricular experiences, should make their own contribution toward the balanced development of the total person. Such a broadly prepared individual will not only be capable of meeting personal challenge and change but will also bring strength to others in the tasks of home and family life, social relationships, civic duty, and service to mankind.

To succeed in this mission the university must provide an environment enlightened by living prophets and sustained by those moral virtues which characterize the life and teachings of the Son of God. In that environment these four major educational goals should prevail:

- All students at BYU should be taught the truths of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Any education is inadequate which does not emphasize that His is the only name given under heaven whereby mankind can be saved. Certainly all relationships within the BYU community should reflect devout love of God and a loving, genuine concern for the welfare of our neighbor.
- Because the gospel encourages the pursuit of all truth, students at BYU should receive a broad university education. The arts, letters, and sciences provide the core of such an education, which will help students think clearly, communicate effectively, understand important ideas in their own cultural tradition as well as that of others, and establish clear standards of intellectual integrity.
- In addition to a strong general education, students should also receive instruction in the special fields of their choice. The university cannot provide programs in all possible areas of professional or vocational work, but in those it does provide the preparation must be excellent. Students who graduate from BYU should be capable of competing with the best in their fields.

- Scholarly research and creative endeavor among both faculty and students, including those in selected graduate programs of real consequence, are essential and will be encouraged.

In meeting these objectives BYU's faculty, staff, students, and administrators should be anxious to make their service and scholarship available to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in furthering its work worldwide. In an era of limited enrollments, BYU can continue to expand its influence both by encouraging programs that are central to the Church's purposes and by making its resources available to the Church when called upon to do so.

We believe the earnest pursuit of this institutional mission can have a strong effect on the course of higher education and will greatly enlarge Brigham Young University's influence in a world we wish to improve.

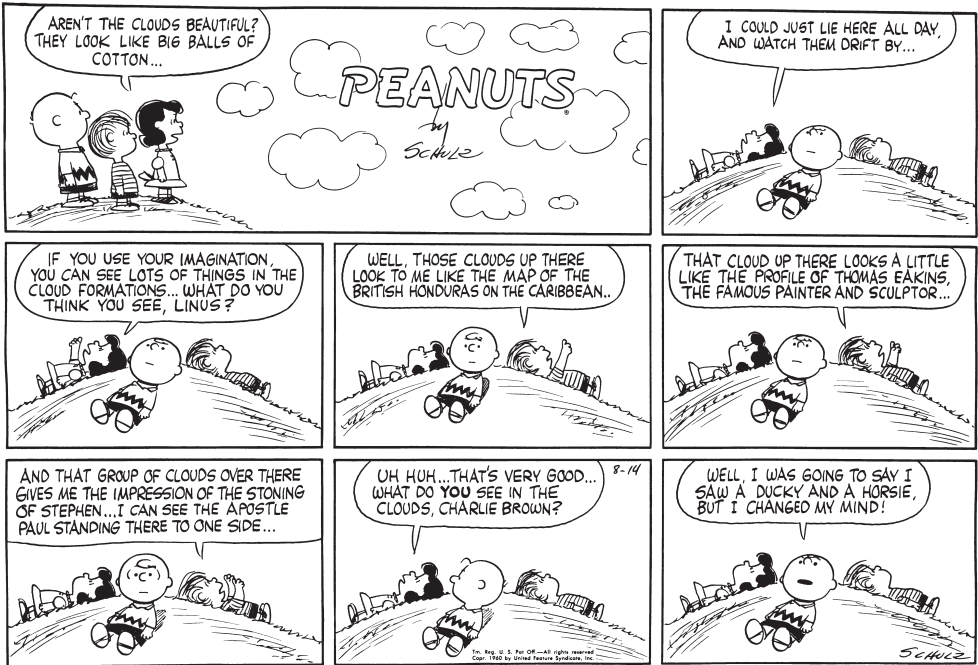
—Approved by the BYU Board of Trustees November 4, 1981

thoughts can only find them out. Thy mind, O Man [and we may add O Woman as well], if thou wilt lead a soul unto salvation, must stretch as high as the utmost Heavens, and search into and contemplate the lowest considerations of the darkest abyss, and expand upon the broad considerations of eternal expanse; he must commune with God. How much more dignified and noble are the thoughts of God, than the vain imaginations of the human heart, none but fools will trifle with the souls of men.”²

Altogether, these expansive words reward deep reflection. Here is a most compelling mandate for a broad BYU education and a lifetime of learning. Joseph's prophetic words impel, to the *n*th degree, all who are not just scholars who happen to be Mormons, but Mormons who happen to be scholars.

Being a part of Mormon scholarship at BYU has been a perpetually rewarding, mind-expanding experience for me. There is nothing closed-minded about being a true Latter-day Saint. With the Holy Ghost, you will never get a “disk full” warning. Every year, there have been new and amazing discoveries.

You might wonder, so, how does this happen? How does one's mind expand to see or discover new things? In this acceptance speech today, I thought it would be appropriate to try to explain how this has worked for me personally, and, as I know, for many others as well. Actually, saying how any discovery happens is a pretty tall order, because most discoveries are



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not planned or orchestrated. They often come as flashes of inspiration, or as the Doctrine & Covenants says, “as . . . moved upon by the Holy Ghost” (D&C 68:3). But whenever they happen, especially when they involve seeing some new extension or application of gospel-truth, the moment is unmistakable, bringing an abiding sense of joy and satisfaction.

Consider these lines from a Peanuts comic strip. Charlie Brown, Lucy, and Linus are lying on a hillside looking up at the clouds. Lucy asks, “What do you think you see, Linus?” Linus says, “Well, those clouds up there look to me like the map of the British Honduras on the Caribbean. That cloud up there looks a little like the profile of Thomas Eakins, the famous painter and sculptor . . . And that group of clouds over there gives me the impression of the stoning of Stephen . . . I can see the Apostle Paul standing there to one side . . .” Lucy says, “Uh huh . . . That’s very good . . . What do **you** see in the clouds, Charlie Brown?” He answers, “Well, I was going to say I saw a ducky and a horsie, but I changed my mind!”

What might help us to see like Linus? The first thing is to be looking, purposefully and constructively, for something of value. The mind expands by recognition, or re-cognizing. Seeing in one thing something that is

faintly reminiscent of something else that is higher, deeper, or of greater substance is the beginning of knowing and not just observing. Connecting and seeing recurring patterns, such as those with which the gospel is replete, is the beginning of discernment and the development of potentially meaningful relationships.

For example, one day as my wife and I were visiting Chartres Cathedral, we listened to a guide explain a stained-glass window that had twelve scenes depicting the parable of the Good Samaritan on the bottom, and twelve scenes telling the story of Adam and Eve on the top.³ This pairing, which struck me at first as very odd, turned out to spawn meaningful connections at every point with not just a single act of kindness, but with the broad pattern of the eternal plan of salvation. In this context, the man who goes down from Jerusalem, a holy place, and falls among the robbers, represents the fall of Adam and Eve and of all mankind as we all have come down from our heavenly home and have fallen among the forces of evil. The Good Samaritan, who saves the injured man, represents the Savior, who comes, has compassion, and alone is able to save all who have been left half dead, having suffered a first but not yet the second death. He anoints with oil, washes wounds with his wine, binds us, and promises to return a second time. But the initial burst of connective insight is just the beginning of the discovery process. Extensive reading, pondering, and lots of work soon yielded further insights and even found that this understanding of the gospel of Jesus Christ was evidenced in this long-lost line of allegorical Christian interpretation stretching back at least as far as the second century A.D.⁴

Indeed, most discoveries require lots of hard work. As a tax lawyer in Los Angeles, I repeatedly saw the value of the Mormon commitment to hard work. In one case, I represented movie-star Burt Reynolds. A tax issue had arisen whether he was a California or a Florida resident, and his case hung in the balance. People had been over the documents many times. A couple days before our hearing in Sacramento, I decided to double check everything. I even went back over Burt's appointment books, to see if any detail might have been missed. And there it was: every year Burt was always in Florida on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day. Well, I walked into the hearing humming, "I'll be home for Christmas." The legal issue of residency, after all, is all about where home is. I introduced this new fact into the record, and the State asked for a recess. When they returned, they dropped the case. The point of this little story is simply that I was glad to have gone the extra mile.

Indeed, most academic discoveries come after poring over materials again and again. The mind expands by hard work over sustained stretches. Thus, the first paragraph of the BYU Mission Statement emphasizes that

a BYU education demands "a period of intensive learning" with a high "commitment to excellence." Our BYU way of doing things enthusiastically embraces work. There are no shortcuts to good scholarship. Brilliant ideas remain mere figments until they are verbalized, embodied in images, and brought to life. In Joseph Smith's words, this takes "time, experience, careful and ponderous . . . thoughts."⁵ We learn best by strenuous effort. I remember vividly my student days at BYU, at Oxford, and at Duke, because those experiences were so intense; they indelibly seared words and ideas upon my mind. Think of how much you have learned in accelerated courses, in the compressed MTC experience, during intense travel abroad, or by competing under pressure-packed circumstances. A Mormon motto is, "We do hard things." Do not shy away from hard work, from long course assignments, or from demanding challenges, for work precedes the a-ha moment.

But hard work alone is also not enough. It is possible to exert endless energy spinning one's wheels. To expand our understanding, we must formulate more precise, potentially answerable questions, and then keep searching, believing that an answer is out there somewhere, giving the scriptures credence, suspending judgment, giving God the benefit of the doubt, praying every day for his guidance, trusting that he knows the answer, that it can somehow make sense, and not presuming that the answer must necessarily come out "your way." What we are looking for is frequently going to be found outside of the box. Sometimes the answer is "none of the above," or "all of the above."

Under its second bullet point, the BYU Mission Statement speaks of "the pursuit" of truth. It doesn't speak of "inventing" or "voting on" truth, but rather of "pursuing" truth. We expand our knowledge by looking for things, pursuing things that exist beyond our current understanding. How can one logically pursue something that one assumes does not exist? As former BYU Academic Vice President Robert K. Thomas said, "Skeptics, by definition, cannot affirm anything—even their own skepticism."⁶ Thus, discoveries that have given me the greatest satisfaction have begun by assuming the correctness of a text, the truthfulness of a proposition, or the wisdom of an instruction given by one in authority.

In a recent email, Terry Warner, one of my philosophy mentors and the creator of the Education in Zion exhibit here on campus, spoke of what he sees as the astonishing momentum that has developed in Mormon studies by many first-rate scholars here at BYU. He said: "I have wondered whether the first dislodged stone in what is becoming almost an avalanche of scholarship was not Nibley's gutsy determination to see what could be made of the available historical evidence by assuming (at least the possibility of) the truth of LDS claims, rather than by assuming their falsehood. . . . It was

Leibniz,” he added, “who insisted that one cannot adequately understand the meaning of a proposition without assuming its truth.”⁷

Of course, the scientific method rightly propounds a hypothesis and then tries to invalidate it; but still the hypothesis is not considered false *before* it has been found to have failed. There is something wrong—as much in academic halls as in courtrooms—about assuming something or someone to be guilty until proven innocent.

As an example, when I began teaching a course on ancient laws in the Book of Mormon, I ran across the case of Seantum, the man who secretly stabbed his brother seated on the judgment seat and was detected by Nephi’s prophecy in Helaman 8–9. Since there were no witnesses, how could Seantum be executed under the law of Moses, which required two or three witnesses in order to convict? Rather than sadly conceding that there must be an embarrassing blunder here, I continued studying more about ancient Hebrew law, only to learn quite unexpectedly at a Jewish law conference that an ancient exception to the two-witness rule, which was traced in rabbinic law as far back as Joshua 7, allowed that the two-witness rule could be satisfied if the culprit confessed voluntarily outside of court, or God’s hand was involved in the detection of the offender, and if corroborating physical evidence (such as blood on the skirts of his cloak) was found. As it turns out, the Book of Mormon goes out of its way to report these very points. The case against Seantum is not an embarrassment, but remarkably sound.⁸

When we come up against things that seem out of sorts or nonsensical, our critical instincts lure us into thinking that there must be something wrong. But, a special joy attaches to the discovery of a new insight that began with the thought that something was wrong but turned out to be right. It’s the joy of finally seeing an odd little puzzle piece snap into place in the bigger picture. It’s the joy that comes from the great gospel principle of reversal: that by small things come great purposes; that the Lord’s ways are not always the world’s ways (Isa. 55:8); that the poor are rich; and that those who lose their lives for Christ’s sake will be the ones who will ultimately find eternal joy (Matt. 10:39).

So, I go on high alert when I notice interesting anomalies, which are often clues of something going on below the surface. Truth will be found in odd places, as high and low and broad as the eternal expanse, as Joseph said. Moses’s mind was certainly stretched by the amazing things he saw in unexpected places, which things he had never supposed (Moses 1:10). No one was more surprised by what Joseph Smith was told in his First Vision than was he himself. It was not at all what he was expecting.⁹

Recently, reading on a plane to Portland, Oregon, I noticed something unexpected in the hardly ever mentioned parable of the two sons in

Matthew 21. After Jesus's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the chief priests approached him, in the Temple, and demanded: "By what authority doest thou these things? and who gave thee this authority?" (23). Jesus answered by telling a story about a certain man who had two sons. When asked to go down and work in the vineyard, the first son initially refused, but then he went, while the other initially said yes but then does not go, or so it seems (28–30). This parable may be useful in parenting, and it can be read at that level; but remember, that's not what Jesus was asked about. With the question of authority in mind, as I read this parable in the Greek, something jumped off the page at me. Think about it: When did a certain father have two sons, one who went and the other who did not? When did the first (the firstborn) say, "*ou thelo*," which in Greek means "I will it not," or "I'd rather not" or "it is not my *will*." As the Greek continues, that son reconciled himself (not repented himself) and went. In contrast, the "other" (the *heteros*) son simply said, "*Ego*," meaning "I." But "I what"? Readers must fill in this blank. In this verse, the word "go" in the King James Version is italicized because it has only been implied there. One might as well supply other words: "I . . . will have it my way," or "I . . . will get the glory." In any event, this egotistic son did not go. As Latter-day Saints, we can easily but unexpectedly see at this deeper level how this unassuming little parable answers the all-important questions about Jesus's authority. He received it from the Father in the Council in Heaven when he was commissioned to go down and do, not his will, but the will of the Father.¹⁰

Believing that God has revealed and yet will reveal many great and important things commits us to approach some things differently from the rest of the world, and for me that's okay. There will always be worldly things that will make it difficult to be a Latter-day Saint, by making some Mormon beliefs objectionable, frustrating, or awkward. And we won't always have all the answers to these difficulties, certainly not the moment they first arise. But this too invites further stretching and expansion. Our ongoing task as Latter-day Saints is to locate defensible answers that are also consistent with our scriptures, doctrines, and assumptions, and to understand how opposing views often depend principally upon other fundamentally different assumptions.

For example, the Mormon point of view sees work differently from the world, because we know that God himself has a work, and it is his glory; and we affirm, by our actions, that faith without works is dead (Moses 1:39; James 2:26).

We also see ethics quite differently because, for us, humans are not disconnected creatures with whom we selectively enter into social contracts, but all are related to us, as members of our premortal family.¹¹ That

expansive factor transforms the foundations of ethics and the meaning of ethnicity.

We see moral agency differently. As President Hinckley taught, false freedom is freedom to do what one likes; true freedom is freedom to do what one ought.¹²

We see history differently. The reality of the Apostasy shows that the fittest don't always survive.

We see power differently, because we take seriously the scriptural curse placed on anyone who misuses power for glory or gain, and we know that the greatest must be the servants of all (D&C 121:36–39; Matt. 23:11). Because of this, we do not share the common animus against hierarchy and authority.

We see issues of gender equality differently. The secular world would collapse equality into sameness. But equality does not mean identity.¹³ Four plus four, and two plus six, are different, but both are equal to eight.

At BYU we have the constant opportunity to bring many Mormon insights to bear on scholarly topics, and just as much to bring scholarly perspectives to bear on topics of importance to Latter-day Saints. If we think there isn't a Mormon point of view on any subject, it may well be that we haven't yet looked high or deep or wide enough.

With stretching the mind comes an openness to embrace more. The BYU Mission Statement speaks of the pursuit of *all* truth. Our desire is for further light and understanding, to circumscribe all truth. To me, Mormonism thrives because it welcomes the idea that the world is fundamentally pluralistic by nature. Over and over, the Mormon world view relishes multiplicity. Words found traditionally only in the singular are boldly spoken of as plurals in Mormon doctrine: we speak of priesthoods, intelligences, noble and great ones, two creations, worlds without number, continuing revelations, scriptures, covenants, degrees of glory, eternal lives, saviors on Mt. Zion, and even gods. Joseph Smith spoke of there being many kingdoms and that “unto every kingdom is given [its own] law,” and “all truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it” (D&C 88:38, 93:30). To me, such statements of cosmological relativities unleash and transfigure the concepts of natural law and eternal truths.¹⁴

It took a century for the world to even begin to catch up with this expansive notion revealed by Joseph Smith. For example, I am fascinated by the implications of Gödel's 1931 incompleteness theorem, which demonstrates that a system can be either complete or consistent but not both.¹⁵ Thus, systematic theologies or rational philosophies may well be internally consistent, but they do so at the expense of completeness. Sets and abstractions may be helpful, but they are simply extractions of selected elements of otherwise messy realities. Mormon thought, in contrast, privileges fullness,

abundance, completeness, and all that the Father has, even if that means that Mormon life becomes joyously overloaded or torn by competing pressures that pull, stretch, and expand us in many ways. This may produce episodes of cognitive dissonance, social quandaries, mystery, and uncertainty, but if forced to choose, Mormon thought will always prefer openness over closedness, boldly inviting further growth, progression, and—fortunately for us in academia—further questions.

This dynamic view has certainly influenced my legal thinking. Over the years I have taught classes about corporations, partnerships, and other organizations that are all managed by various kinds of officers, trustees, and administrators. The law holds these people to standards called fiduciary duties. Despite thousands of cases, the law hasn't addressed the question of what makes one fiduciary duty high and another low. But in our complex world, one size does not fit all. Thinking more expansively, Professor Brett Scharffs and I have identified a set of factors that reveal whether a fiduciary duty is high, medium, or low, and what degree of duty is required of fiduciaries in all kinds of settings.¹⁶ Thinking this way may seem obvious enough to you as a Latter-day Saint, since you already believe that there will be varying degrees of treatment and glory for every person according to their individual deeds and circumstances. But recent events in the corporate world show how much in need we are of a more robust legal approach to the duties owed by people in positions of greatest trust.

Concerning duties, let me mention one other part of this subject that has occupied much of my thought in the last decade.¹⁷ Because we know that there must be an opposition in all things, LDS thought often harmonizes traditional paradoxes. The world has fought wars over whether we are saved by faith or works. We peacefully say, "Both." People argue over whether we come to know by study or faith. We confidently say, "Both." "Each of us must accommodate the mixture of reason and revelation in our lives. The gospel not only permits but *requires* it," President Packer has said.¹⁸ In the same way, Mormon thought brings together both rights and duties. Rights and duties go hand in glove with each other, for with all rights come duties. I think this is because with all rights come powers and privileges, and with powers and privileges come duties. As Latter-day Saints, again, we intuitively sense this, for we know that all who have been warned have the duty to warn their neighbors (D&C 88:81), and that with greater knowledge comes greater stewardship and accountability, and that "Because I have been given much, I too must give."¹⁹

But this is decidedly not the way people usually think about rights. The world usually thinks that, because I have a right, someone else has a duty, namely to protect or fulfill my right. While that is true enough, at the same

time, if I claim a right, power, or privilege, I also acquire a duty as its necessary flip side.²⁰

I have no doubt that the twentieth century will go down in history as the century of rights: voting rights, workers' rights, civil rights, human rights, privacy rights, disability rights, and many more. With these rights in place, I can only hope that the twenty-first century will someday go down in history as the century of duties: civic duties, human duties, fiduciary duties, religious duties, environmental duties, and duties to future generations. I yearn for the day when we will have a Bill of Duties to go with our Bill of Rights. As world resources become scarcer, and as all nations, tongues, and peoples become more vulnerably interdependent, the idea of individual rights will necessarily change. How many rights can the world support without all people assuming commensurate duties? The point is not to take rights away but to recognize the duties that are inherent in those very privileges.

Speaking of privileges, we in the academic world are certainly among the most privileged. We enjoy the extraordinary blessings of time to read, think, write, listen, and talk about things we love. With those blessings, one would have thought, would also come a great awareness of our responsibilities. As Joseph said, "None but fools will trifle with the souls" of others.²¹ Yet, as Stanford President Donald Kennedy wrote in 1997, "The responsibility of the professoriate is a difficult subject about which surprisingly little has been said,"²² and that serious defect still remains inexcusably unaddressed.

I am pleased that we at *BYU Studies* have adopted a code of academic duties (see sidebar). This multidisciplinary LDS quarterly journal is open to all authors and readers. Its code draws on scriptural mandates, hoping to encourage among LDS scholars such things as unity ("if ye are not one, ye are not mine" [D&C 38:27]); charity (for, if we have not charity, we are nothing [1 Cor. 13:2]); edification ("the goal is to be spiritually and intellectually upbuilding"), and honesty and integrity (for, accuracy and reliability are the essence of scholarship). And, by the way, it's all right, like Charlie Brown, to see a ducky and a horsie, if that's what you honestly see.

As President Monson has often said, duty basically means charitably putting other people ahead of one's own self-interests.²³ Our minds stretch the farthest when they are pure and actively concerned about the welfare of others. Unselfishness is what allows the mind to stretch without snapping. Thus, for good reason, the *BYU Mission Statement* again stretches us to know as much as possible, not only about our own culture, but also the cultures of others. It is rightly said that he who knows only one culture knows no culture.

I like the way George Handley, an associate editor of *BYU Studies*, sees this. He writes, "My discovery [has been] that listening carefully to other

BYU Studies Author Guidelines: Article Submissions

BYU Studies strives to explore scholarly perspectives on LDS topics. Contributions from all fields of learning are invited. BYU Studies strives to publish articles that openly reflect a Latter-day Saint point of view and are obviously relevant to subjects of general interest to Latter-day Saints, while conforming to high scholarly standards. BYU Studies seeks articles that document or analyze, in a scholarly manner, topics related to LDS history, culture, society, art, language, literature, science, thought, or experience. Short studies and research involving significant historical documents are also welcomed.

BYU Studies is dedicated to the correlation of revealed and discovered truth and to the conviction that the spiritual and the intellectual can be complementary and fundamentally harmonious avenues of knowledge. All who venture to write for BYU Studies should morally confront certain responsibilities that may be said to comprise a sort of academic code of professional conduct. Some important components of such a code would embrace at least the following precepts.

Unity. The Lord has clearly stated: "If ye are not one ye are not mine" (D&C 38:27). In a shifting world that necessarily and fortunately features diversity, individuality, heterodoxy, and change, the goal of unity with God and our fellow beings must be continually cultivated and nourished. The goal of unity does not imply that all scholarly methods or personal views must be the same.

Harmony. BYU Studies is committed to seeking truth "by study and also by faith" (D&C 88:118). It proceeds on the premise that faith and reason, revelation and scholarly learning, obedience and creativity are compatible. Traditional dichotomies such as mind and body, God and man, spirit and matter, time and eternity are not viewed in the gospel of Jesus Christ as competing opposites. The objective is to embrace both: ancient and modern, word and deed, intellectual and spiritual, research and teaching, reason and revelation, the "ought" and the "is," community and individuality, male and female, nature and custom, induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, rights and duties, subjectivity and objectivity, theory and practice, even mortality and godhood. We can grow beyond issues over which is greater, the spirit or the intellect. As Elder Boyd K. Packer has stated, "Each of us must accommodate the

mixture of reason and revelation in our lives. The gospel not only permits but requires it.”

Honesty. As a primary trait of character, “we believe in being honest” (A of F 13). Accuracy and reliability are of the essence of scholarship. All scholars worth their salt have wrestled long with the questions of what can and cannot, what should and should not, what must or must not be said. They acknowledge and evaluate data both for and against their ideas and theories. They eschew all forms of plagiarism and generously recognize their indebtedness to other scholars. They guard on all sides against the covert influences of unstated assumptions, bias, and esoteric terminology. They avoid material omissions, for often what is not said can be as misleading as what is said.

Thoroughness. “If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report or praiseworthy, we seek after these things” (A of F 13). BYU Studies welcomes contributions from all disciplines, addressing “all things that pertain unto the kingdom of God, that are expedient for you to understand; of things both in heaven and in the earth, and under the earth; things which have been, things which are, things which must shortly come to pass; things which are at home, things which are abroad, . . . that ye may be prepared in all things when I shall send you again to magnify the calling whereunto I have called you” (D&C 88:78–80).

Humility. Pride has been identified as the pervading sin of our day. As scholars, we have more than our share of exposure to this problem. Arrogance, disdain, overconfidence, dogmatism, and many other manifestations of intellectual and spiritual pride may well be the main occupational hazards of academia. But the perspectives of scholarship and the gospel can also provide the antidote. First is the acknowledgement that all people are at different stages in the eternal journey toward the glory of God, which is intelligence. Second is the humble awareness that scholarship is not an end in itself. Research cannot create faith; it can only set the stage for greater light and knowledge.

Charity. In order for communication to occur, there must be charity, for no statement exists (including this one) that cannot be misconstrued. If fellowship and goodwill do not exist, especially in an academic setting, we will not communicate with one another. Paul’s

confession comes to mind: "Though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge . . . and have not charity, I am nothing" (1 Cor. 13:2). Charity is also necessary to avoid offending even the weakest of the saints. Jesus said: "It is impossible but that offences will come: but woe unto him, through whom they come! It were better for him that a millstone were hanged around his neck, and he cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones" (Luke 17:2).

voices and other cultures doesn't have to involve sacrificing our values," but rather helps me to understand better my own "Mormonness."²⁴

As Brigham Young charged the elders going out into the world, he said: "Whether a truth be found with professed infidels, . . . or the Church of Rome, . . . it is the [duty] of the Elders of this Church . . . to gather up all the truths in the world pertaining to life and salvation, to the Gospel we preach, to mechanism of every kind, to the sciences, and to philosophy, wherever it may be found . . . and bring it to Zion."²⁵

Indeed, it was from a Catholic Jesuit that I first learned about chiasmus;²⁶ and from a Jewish barrister that I learned about the ancient legal difference between thieves and robbers.²⁷ And, by the way, both of those scholars were genuinely glad to see in the Book of Mormon these things that they had found in Hebraic settings.

As Latter-day Saints we certainly understand the benefits of learning from others and reaching out to collaborate with others. Our experiences in councils and presidencies instill in us a sociality that easily carries over into our way of doing scholarship. Identify a project, assemble the right team, and see what you can accomplish. Team victories magnify the thrill. Among the best memories of my academic life are many team efforts, such as Macmillan's *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* with Dan Ludlow's team of eight hundred contributors.²⁸ I am now thrilled to be working on the legal team of the vital Joseph Smith Papers Project.²⁹ We now know that Joseph was distracted by over 200 lawsuits in his lifetime, and their documentary records are astonishingly more complex than any one person can sort out. Two or three lawsuits are usually enough to overwhelm most men, but Joseph succeeded by working collaboratively and expansively with numerous associates, including the Holy Ghost as his regular companion.

Well, our time is nearly gone, and we've only scratched the surface of the BYU Mission Statement. I intend no disregard of any word in it. Equally

important to me are its dozens of other vital elements, upon which we could equally expand: assisting individuals in realizing their full human potential; staging a variety of extracurricular experiences; preparing people to meet personal and family challenges; competing with the best in each field; making scholarly resources available to the Church when asked; loving God devoutly;³⁰ following the living prophets, and teaching the gospel of Jesus Christ to all—in other words, no child of God left behind. If nothing else, I hope my comments today have opened up some intriguing possibilities for you to think about.

In the end, the BYU Mission Statement calls on us to “have a strong effect on the course of higher education” and “be an influence in a world we wish to improve.” In this, our uniqueness can be an asset. As mediators between competing views, we can offer alternative solutions. And we need not be reluctant. We have all been electrified this season by Jimmer Fredette’s incredible, dramatic long shots. The sign I liked the best was “Jimmer’s in range when he steps off the bus.” Mormon thought is also capable of hitting a stunning array of intellectual long shots, doing things that traditional Western thinkers have said cannot be done. Everywhere you turn, Joseph’s words hit the mark. He was in range every time he opened his mouth.

In a book now at press with Oxford, Stephen Webb, a non-LDS professor of religion, writes of Mormonism: “No other religious movement lies so close to traditional Christianity. . . . Mormon theology is Christology unbound. . . . Of all the branches of Christianity, Mormonism is the most imaginative, and if nothing else, its intellectual audacity should make it the most exciting conversational partner for traditional Christians for the twenty-first century.”³¹

I know that we can accomplish the goals of the BYU Mission Statement. Like many other Latter-day Saints, I have spoken to various academic groups, with their respect and genuine interest. After one paper I gave to a meeting of the Jewish Law Association in Boston,³² an older rabbi congratulated me and said, “Very very good, but why does a goyyim [a Gentile] have to show us these things in our own Torah!” After a paper I presented on ritual theory and temple themes in the Sermon on the Mount,³³ of all the comments I received, I was most gratified by this one: “I have been attending these conferences for thirty years. You, for the first time, brought the Spirit into the room.” Latter-day Saints can indeed be an influence in a world we wish to improve.

So, let us rejoice! Shall we not, each in our own way, go on in so great a cause? The point is to come to think more as God thinks, and to see his children and this creation more as he does. The more we become like that, the more the stone face on the mountain of the Lord, that stone which some

builders have refused, can become the head of the corner, and that image can be received in our countenances.

We need not be ashamed of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Joseph Smith was truly a prophet. The scriptures are true and in them we find our way. The expansiveness of the truth invites us to venture forward, as high, and as deep, and as broad as our minds may go. Thy mind, O man, must stretch. Indeed, it can and will stretch, if you will lead a soul (including your own) unto salvation and will commune with God, that our joy may be full and abundant, in time and all eternity. For your thoughtful attention and goodness, I thank you very, very much.

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Beginning with Hugh Nibley's "The Expanding Gospel" (vol. 7, no. 1, 1965), *BYU Studies* has published the lectures or works related to the lectures of seventeen previous recipients of the Karl G. Maeser Distinguished Faculty Lecturer Award. This article follows in that tradition.

1. Jeffrey R. Holland and Jae R. Ballif, interviewed by John W. Welch, May 9–11, 2011.

2. Dean C. Jessee and John W. Welch, "Revelations in Context: Joseph Smith's Letter from Liberty Jail, March 20, 1839," *BYU Studies* 39, no. 3 (2000): 137, spelling and punctuation standardized. Part of this passage is quoted in "The Aims of a BYU Education," <http://unicomm.byu.edu/president/aim1.aspx>, which followed the BYU Mission Statement.

3. Our guide, Malcolm Miller, has published several books on Chartres Cathedral, including *Chartres Cathedral* (Andover, UK: Pitkin, 1996).

4. John W. Welch, "The Good Samaritan: A Type and Shadow of the Plan of Salvation," *BYU Studies* 38, no. 2 (1999): 50–115; John W. Welch, "The Good Samaritan: Forgotten Symbols," *Ensign* 37 (February 2007): 40–47, and *Liahona* (February 2007): 26–33.

5. Jessee and Welch, "Revelations in Context," 137.

6. Robert K. Thomas, "Plato's Honey Head: Facing the Challenge of the Ideal," in *A Love of Learning: Speeches of Robert K. Thomas*, ed. Daryl R. Hague (Provo, Utah: BYU Studies, 2011), 174.

7. Terry Warner, email to John W. Welch, March 6, 2011.

8. John W. Welch, *The Legal Cases in the Book of Mormon* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2008), 331–33.

9. See, for example, Joseph Smith's comment at the end of the King Follett Discourse in his diary kept by Willard Richards, "had I not experienced it could not believe it myself," and in the report of Thomas Bullock, "if I had not experienced what I have I should not have known it myself," in *The Words of Joseph Smith*, ed.

Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1980), 343, 355; Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1979), 361; also in Stan Larson, "The King Follett Discourse: A Newly Amalgamated Text," *BYU Studies* 18, no. 2 (1978): 208. For the collection of First Vision accounts, see Dean C. Jessee, "The Earliest Documented Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," and James B. Allen and John W. Welch, "The Appearance of the Father and the Son to Joseph Smith in 1820," both in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844*, ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 1–75.

10. John W. Welch, forthcoming article on the parable of the two sons, *BYU Studies* (2011).

11. See First Presidency and Council of the Twelve Apostles of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," at <http://lds.org/family/proclamation?lang=eng>, or *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 102.

12. President Hinckley spoke of the disappointment that came to those who, seeking freedom from moral restraint, "had been told of freedom, that evil was only a thing of the mind. But they found they had lost their freedom. . . . Can anything be more false or dishonest than gratification of passion without acceptance of responsibility?" Gordon B. Hinckley, "In Search of Peace and Freedom," *Ensign* 19 (August 1989): 5. My wording paraphrases the widely quoted *Charles Kingsley, His Letters and Memories of His Life*, vol. 1, eleventh abridged ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1882), 230.

13. See "The Family: A Proclamation to the World," *Ensign* 25 (November 1995): 102; B. Kent Harrison and Mary Stovall Richards, "Feminism in the Light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," *BYU Studies* 36, no. 2 (1996–97): 181–99; and Richard G. Wilkins, "The Proclamation: Ten Years of Hope," *BYU Studies* 44, no. 3 (2005): 7–14.

14. John W. Welch, "Toward a Mormon Jurisprudence," *Regent University Law Review* 21, no. 1 (2008–9): 95–100.

15. Kurt Gödel, "Über formal unentscheidbare Sätze der Principia Mathematica und verwandter Systeme, I," *Monatshefte für Mathematik und Physik* 38 (1931): 173–98; Ernest Nagel and James R. Newman, *Gödel's Proof* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971); Douglas R. Hofstadter, *Gödel, Escher, Bach: An Eternal Golden Braid* (New York: Vintage, 1980); Welch, "Toward a Mormon Jurisprudence," 90.

16. Brett G. Scharffs and John W. Welch, "An Analytic Framework for Understanding and Evaluating the Fiduciary Duties of Educators," *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal* vol. 2005, no. 2 (2005): 159–229.

17. See generally Welch, "Toward a Mormon Jurisprudence," 79–103.

18. Boyd K. Packer, "I Say unto You, Be One," address at Brigham Young University, February 12, 1991, available at <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=373>.

19. *Hymns of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1985), no. 219; Alma 9:20–24.

20. See the important work of Wesley Newcomb Hohfeld, including "Some Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Legal Reasoning," *Yale Law Journal* 23 (1913): 16–59.

21. Jessee and Welch, "Revelations in Context," 137.

22. Donald Kennedy, *Academic Duty* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997),

68. Kennedy discusses Edward Shils's *The Academic Ethic* (Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1984) on the responsibility of professors to act as role models and as agents for improving society. See also Eric Ashby, "The Academic Profession," lecture under the "Thank-Offering to Britain Fund," delivered June 11, 1969, and printed for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.

23. See, for example, Thomas S. Monson, "Do Your Duty—That Is Best," *Ensign* 35 (November 2005): 56–59.

24. George B. Handley, "A Poetics of the Restoration," *BYU Studies* 49, no. 4 (2010): 50, 51.

25. Brigham Young, *Discourses of Brigham Young*, comp. John A. Widtsoe (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1954), 248.

26. The Jesuit was Paul Gaechter. The story is told in John W. Welch, "The Discovery of Chiasmus in the Book of Mormon: 40 Years Later," *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 16, no. 2 (2007): 74–87.

27. The barrister was Bernard Jackson. Welch, *Legal Cases*, 52; John W. Welch, "Thieves and Robbers," in *Reexploring the Book of Mormon*, ed. John W. Welch (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 248–49.

28. Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), available online at <http://eom.byu.edu/>.

29. Joseph Smith Papers: Legal and Business Records, forthcoming from Church Historian's Press.

30. See John W. Welch, "And with All Thy Mind," address given at Brigham Young University September 30, 2003, available at <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=145&tid=7>.

31. Stephen H. Webb, *Jesus Christ, Eternal God: Heavenly Flesh and the Metaphysics of Matter* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), in chapter 9. An extended excerpt of this chapter is printed in this issue: Stephen H. Webb, "God-bodied: The Matter of the Latter-day Saints," *BYU Studies* 50, no. 3 (2011): 83–100.

32. John W. Welch, "Chiasmus in Biblical Law: An Approach to the Structure of Legal Texts in the Bible," in *Jewish Law Association Studies IV* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 5–22.

33. John W. Welch, *The Sermon on the Mount in the Light of the Temple* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

Appetite

“A sparrow is hunger organized.”

—Wendell Berry

I read the phrase and see back years
to our eager daughter, unaware in first grade
she'd become *student*: animated
for the daily walk to school with her next-door friend
under oak and birch sidewalk kingdoms, rich
with green and yellow, leaves
kept moving by flocks of small birds.
On their way, they always bowed
to The King of the Corner: bright fire hydrant
they moved past with grins and solemn genuflect.

It's called that to this day in my family—
King of the Corner: the story-landmark
all the childhoods were mapped around:
 don't go past the King of the Corner;
 meet me at King of the Corner;
 collect acorns across the street from the King, hoard them like gold
 under the backyard slide.

With an appetite for space and surface and making,
they chalked their names and hopscotch grids
under bird sounds, held the neighbor cat back
in its high place on a car hood, lifted it,
hind legs dangling, into their playhouse after school.

Not blackboards in memory
from that season, only the yellow, the green,
the yellow, sun engraving edges of leaves,
King of the Corner a private overseer
to an age of brevity, energies organized
in color and light, now perceived
like a sparrow's swift flight
down the mind's zones of time.

—Dixie Partridge

*This poem won honorable mention in the BYU Studies 2011
poetry contest.*

Godbodied

The Matter of the Latter-day Saints

Stephen H. Webb

The following excerpt from Stephen H. Webb's book, Jesus Christ, Eternal God: Heavenly Flesh and the Metaphysics of Matter (forthcoming, 2012), is reprinted with permission from Oxford University Press.

A Necessary Dialogue

Vigorous and vibrant religious dialogue is rare these days. The very word *dialogue* suggests a perfunctory grade-school exercise of “show and tell” that too frequently and predictably ends up with saccharine platitudes and generic pieties. This is unfortunate for Christianity, because the Christian faith has always grown through intellectual clashes and vigorous disputes. In the early church, heretics—those close enough to traditional Christianity to really get underneath the skin of its foundational beliefs—were the ones who challenged the orthodox. Today, that role should be played by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, whose members are more popularly known as Mormons. No other religious movement lies so close to traditional Christianity while speaking, at times, in such a vexing yet enchanting voice. When I began listening to what Mormons say about their beliefs, I was astounded by what I heard. Mormonism speaks straight to the heart with the clearest of proclamations about the believer’s longing for intimacy with Jesus Christ.

Mormonism can be a controversial topic for many non-Mormon Christians, but I have come to the conclusion that no theology has ever managed to capture the essential sameness of Jesus with us in a more striking manner. At the heart of Mormon cosmic optimism is the idea that the incarnation of Jesus was not an afterthought to creation or a contingent response to an

Stephen H. Webb

As a professor of religion and philosophy at Wabash College in Crawfordsville, Indiana, I am a newcomer to Mormon Studies. I set out a couple of years ago to recover an obscure heretical position on the nature of Jesus Christ and ended up developing a deep interest in and admiration for the thought of Joseph Smith. When I started researching what I call Heavenly Flesh Christology, I quickly found that there is very little information about it. Only occasionally mentioned in scholarly histories of the early church, who



actually taught it, what it really means, and why creedal theologians were so opposed to it are matters of much mystery and dispute. One thing, however, is clear: defenders of Heavenly Flesh Christology believed that Jesus Christ was eternally embodied in some way and that he brought his material substance with him when he became incarnate on the earth. The more I looked into this position, the more I found traces of (or at least some precedent for) the theology of Joseph Smith. The loosely related ideas that God is essentially embodied, that Jesus Christ has a history that extends backward into the aeons, and that spirit and matter are not absolute opposites can all be found in early Christianity and are all developed in remarkably prescient ways by Smith.

Making these connections has led me to spend many hours pondering Mormon metaphysical beliefs. I think the potential for mutual understanding between Mormon and creedal Christians is unlimited, and that both groups have much to learn from each other about how to best praise the name of Jesus. I look forward to continuing to think about Smith's theological depths for years to come.

accidental fall of humanity into sin. Christ embodied is the center of the cosmos; he lived as we do before we were created to be like him.

Of all the branches of Christianity, Mormonism is the most imaginative, and, if nothing else, its intellectual audacity should make it the most exciting conversational partner for traditional Christians for the twenty-first century. Studying Mormonism is like looking into a mirror that, upon closer inspection, turns into a maze. Keep exploring and the maze leads to multiple exits, each of which opens onto hauntingly familiar rooms that comprise unexpected additions to the mansion of faith.

Mormonism is a mirror because it departs from traditional theology most radically only when it is trying to do justice to the honor and glory of Jesus Christ. I have noted how Robert Jenson laments the way theologians all too commonly resist thinking through all of the implications of the claim that “Jesus is Lord.”¹ In affirming the divinity of Jesus, Mormons are Christians who do not know where to stop. They answer the question of whether it is possible to say too much about Jesus with a resounding “No!” Indeed, never has a religious movement combined so effortlessly the most extravagant assertions with the most level-headed and commonsensical tone. Mormon rhetoric is guided by the conviction that the only way to say enough about Christ is to say too much.² As a result, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints puts Jesus Christ front and center in ways that would make many members of mainline Protestant denominations blush. Mormon theology is Christology unbound—extremism in defense of Christology that can appear eccentric only to those who think that understatement is a virtue.

For that very reason, however, Mormonism is also a maze. Bluntly put, Mormons do not play by the rules of the Nicene Creed. Their theological arguments can look like a form of cheating when, in reality, they are trying to change the way the game is played. Mormonism is like an alternative reality come to life—a counterfactual history of post-Nicene developments of pre-Nicene theology, the ultimate “what if” theological parlor game. What if Tertullian had been more successful in his explication of the materiality of the soul? What if the monks of Egypt had won their battle in defense of anthropomorphism? What if Augustine had not read the books of the Platonists? Mormonism invites creedal Christians into a world where everything is slightly but significantly skewed from what they are used to. It is as if you are hearing stories you had never heard before about someone you love and thought you knew perfectly well. Better put, it is as if you had discovered another branch of your family that you did not know existed. For most non-Mormon Christians (I will call them traditional or creedal Christians in this chapter), suspicion of Mormonism runs so high that taking Mormonism seriously requires something like an intellectual if not

spiritual conversion. Indeed, part of the problem is that conflict between estranged relatives can be more heated than arguments among strangers. Only a movement so close to traditional Christianity could incite such strong feelings.

From the standpoint of religious dialogue, interpretations of Mormonism are complicated by the question of whether Mormons can even be said, in David Paulsen's words, to "do theology."³ Without an established clergy or a class of professional theologians trained in divinity schools, it can be difficult at times for an outsider to get a feel for what is essential and what is peripheral to the Mormon faith. Where doctrine begins and ends in Mormon thought is often hard to say. Beliefs that are common to Mormon experience are not necessarily Mormon doctrines. Moreover, as part of the nineteenth-century restorationist movement, Mormons mistrusted the early Christian creeds, with their tidy logic and philosophical terminology, but among the restorationists Mormons stood out with their trust in visions, and visions are always hard to translate into systematic terms. Besides, Mormonism is committed to progressive revelation and an ongoing office of prophecy, so the incomplete nature of its doctrines is built into it from the very beginning. With more truth yet to be revealed by the President of the Church, who is recognized as having the power of the Old Testament prophets, how can Mormonism propound a systematic theology?

Perhaps the most complicating factor for creedal dialogue with Latter-day Saints is that Mormons, unlike other restorationists, were not content to flounder in suspicion of the way the early Church absorbed Greek metaphysics. Instead, Mormons put the Platonization of Christianity at the heart of their critique of the ossification and corruption of Christianity. Something went terribly wrong after the age of the Apostles, they argue, and that something has to do with the theological turn toward a metaphysics of immaterialism. Far from ignoring early church history, then, Mormons are committed to an interrogation of the relationship of theology to philosophy that objects to nearly every development that led to the ecumenical creeds. They do not just raise objections, however. It is as if, as they follow the road orthodox theologians took to the creeds, Mormons pause to pick up the detritus that was jettisoned along the way. They recycle these discarded beliefs into a shining, novel creation of their own.

Mormonism is still a young branch of Christianity, which would make it unfair to press it for theological completeness even if it did not have a doctrine of ongoing revelation. Nonetheless, there are many—and their numbers are increasing—Mormon scholars, intellectuals, writers, scientists, philosophers and, yes, theologians willing and eager to explicate Mormon doctrines. There is so much discussion about Mormon beliefs in books,

articles, and on the web that it is no exaggeration to suggest that Mormonism is ready to be discovered by the rest of the Christian world and that its exploration will be the next great adventure of creedal theology.

Much of the burgeoning discussion of Mormonism centers, paradoxically, on its metaphysical commitments. For a religion without many professional theologians and deeply suspicious of academic philosophy, Mormonism is very specific about its metaphysical commitments while, at the same time, profoundly expansive in its trust of the religious imagination. Theological and philosophical critics of Mormonism often focus on their rejection of the doctrine of creation out of nothing, as if the Mormon relationship to traditional theology is merely negative. What critics miss is the flip side of this rejection, namely, the affirmation of the eternity of matter and how this affirmation functions as the philosophical foundation for a dramatic revision of the pre-existence of Jesus Christ.

Indeed, one way of thinking about Mormon Christology is to see it as an attempt at remythologizing the gospel story. Throughout the twentieth century, liberal theology turned Jesus into a moral example, the ultimate doer of good deeds, while conservative theology has often responded by doing the same thing, only changing the content of those deeds from social justice to personal responsibility. The gulf between the two groups has widened due to liberal skepticism about the reliability of the Gospels and conservative insistence on their literal truthfulness. In response to these ceaseless and frequently arid debates, there have been calls for the development of a cosmic Christology, especially from environmental theologians struggling to make Christianity relevant for global perspectives on the future of the earth. Still, too much theology today is beholden to historical guesswork that keeps Jesus bound by the written page. Seen in this light, Mormonism unleashes a squall of fresh air on the question of who Jesus Christ really is.

An example of this phenomenon is Robert Millet, a professor at Brigham Young University and one of the best and brightest defenders of the Mormon faith. More than an apologist, however, he is a creative thinker who challenges creedal Christians to be more true to the implications of the eternity of Jesus Christ. Family metaphors dominate Mormon discussions of Jesus, as when Millet calls him “the first-born spirit child of God.”⁴ Jesus Christ and humans are members of one family because they are made of the same basic stuff, which is the eternal substance of divinity. Families are meant to be together forever in Mormonism, and there is no greater bond than our familial relationship with Jesus.

Jesus Christ and human beings partake of the same eternal properties, but they share in those properties in different ways. Jesus Christ has the priority, which is why, Millet explains, Mormons call him “our Elder brother.”⁵

This language sounds like it could be a classical example of subordinationism, that is, the subordination of the Son to the Father, thus rendering Christ a secondary or inferior God, which also runs into the problem of polytheism. More generously interpreted, Mormonism takes a strongly social view of the Trinity, seeing each member as an independent or relatively independent person, a position that is not uncommon among many creedal Christian theologians today. Their independence is relative because, as Millet explains, Latter-day Saints “believe they are infinitely more one than they are separate.”⁶ Indeed, they enjoy a transcendental unity of divine indwelling that serves as a blessed state that all of God’s children can hope to attain.

Mormonism arrives at its unique interpretation of the relationship of the one to the three in God through a reinterpretation of the nature of the divine substance. If the divine substance is simple, as we have seen, then it is beyond number, except that we can say it is one in the sense of being indivisible. This raises difficult questions for the doctrine of the Trinity. For Mormons, divinity is not invisible, simple, and immaterial, which means that it can take different forms without losing its essential unity. This redefinition of divinity also means that the particular forms the divine substance takes are not unchanging. Jesus Christ, for example, has a history before his absolute equality with God, which sounds strange to creedal ears. Millet tries to soften the inevitably negative reaction by insisting that “when he was God, he was God.”⁷ What he was doing before that time is hard even for Mormons to say. Millet, rightly or wrongly, tries to downplay the practical implications of the mind-boggling nature of Mormon Christology. “To what extent does it truly matter whether Jesus was always God or at a certain point in the pre-mortal realm he became God?”⁸ It probably does not matter much to everyday faith and ethics. It certainly does not matter to evangelism, because Mormons take the Great Commission more seriously than most creedal Christians.⁹ For the pursuit of truth, however, the consistency of this position needs careful scrutiny. Christocentricity here has an infinite depth, it seems, and a breadth to match—to the point of theological eccentricity perhaps, but does it cross the line and leave behind traditional Christianity altogether?

From the perspective of classical metaphysics, of course, little of Mormon doctrine makes much logical sense. The idea of a radically plural and finite divine substance, however, just might have its own logic as well as its own religious and ethical advantages. At the very least, the fluidity and materiality of the Mormon view of God enables it to capture the essential sameness of Jesus Christ with us in a most striking manner. Mormons go so far as to insist that God was once a man just like us, which can sound confusing, but it is, in a way, the flipside to the belief that we will become, in the afterlife, just like him. There is a grand and cosmic circularity that connects Jesus with

humanity, and it never stops rolling, like a dance with countless changing partners and yet everyone always comes around to dancing with him.

Christ has never been *logos asarkos* (the Word without form or the divine voice without body). If this is theological error, it is on the side of excess rather than deficiency, resulting in an immoderate Christology born out of a surplus rather than an insufficiency of faith. It puts creedal Christians in the odd position of saying that Mormons make too much of Jesus Christ. Is such excess really a vice?

By now it should be clear how narrow-minded the charge is that Mormonism is a modern version of Arianism. A better analogy, if we must try to find an ancient precedent for this most American of Christian movements, can be made to Heavenly Flesh Christology. Mormonism is evidence that perennial conceptual possibilities in any intellectual framework or system are never completely shut down, no matter how much history leaves them behind. Roads not taken can be not only rediscovered but also broadened and paved for new uses. For me, Mormonism raises the hypothetical question of what would have happened if the best theological minds had dedicated themselves to explicating all of the implications of the heavenly flesh position. Even this analogy, however, is difficult to make, not only because Mormonism is a hybrid of so many historical influences but also because Mormonism is so radically (and intentionally) out of step with church history. One of the amazing things about Mormonism is that it transgresses most theological categories as well as the standard account of the history of theology. Consequently, we cannot simply turn back the clock to try to find a place and time where we can locate Mormonism in order to make it look familiar. Comparing Joseph Smith to Arius, who denied the Son's equality with the Father, or, better, Eutyches, an early defender of Heavenly Flesh Christology, is not an unproductive thought experiment, but it misses the point that Mormonism demands a rethinking of classical theism from the ground up and thus a retelling of the Christian story from the Gospels forward—and the ground upon which it erects its speculations is as earthy as it can be.

Eternal Matter without Pantheism

Mormonism is not the return of Eutyches, but it just might be a form of Christianity deprived of the influence of Augustine. This is true in a variety of ways, but I will just note two. First, Mormonism's optimistic view of humanity puts it firmly on the side against Augustine's doctrine of original sin. Second, Augustine was very suspicious of any attempt to read the apocalyptic signs of the times or to bring together the kingdom of God with the kingdom of man. He interprets the thousand years of the earthly kingdom (Rev. 20) in his *City of God* as a symbol for the Christian era,¹⁰

which led him to have a fairly guarded attitude toward any attempt to bend history toward the will of God. One of the consequences of his rejection of apocalyptic speculation, as Brian Daley explains, is his insistence that “the time for meriting reward or punishment from God is ‘here and now,’ not in the time after death.”¹¹ If the souls of the dead do benefit from the alms and prayers of the living, he writes in the *Enchiridion*, it is only those souls that “during their lives earned such merit.”¹² He is firm on this point: “No one, then, need hope that after he is dead he shall obtain merit with God which he has neglected to secure here.”¹³ By drawing a sharp metaphysical line between the immaterial and the material, he also drew a soteriological line between this life and the next (a line that was deepened by the Protestant reformers). Consequently, Augustine could not imagine how we could be embodied in heaven in a way that parallels our spiritual and moral growth on earth. Is it any coincidence that Mormons, who have the most materialistic metaphysics of the divine, also have the most vivid, detailed, and dynamic portrait of spiritual progress in heaven?

The Mormon suspicion of Augustine actually goes much deeper than these examples indicate. Built into Latter-day Saint theology is a firm conviction that some of the power of the gospel message was lost with the Hellenization of Christianity. Mormonism emerged in the environment of restorationist theology, led by Alexander Campbell and others who thought the early Church was corrupted by the centralizing power of the bishop of Rome. The restorationists wanted to purify the Church to meet the needs of the new world. The goal for Campbell, the father of the Disciples of Christ denomination, was to raise the foundations of the Church to the higher ground of commonsense rationalism. Campbell thought that a pragmatic approach to philosophical problems and theological differences could unite Christianity as it spread across the American frontier. Mormons took a much different track. With the same boldness of Martin Luther’s disdain for the Aristotelianism of the medieval schoolmen, Joseph Smith dismissed the Platonism of the early Church Fathers. Campbell wanted to use commonsense rationality to streamline and update the faith; he labored for a more efficient and adaptable theological program. Smith wanted to reinvigorate Christianity by releasing it from the stranglehold of an alien and imposing set of philosophical assumptions. He was unafraid of theological complexity and thus patiently followed each of his religious insights to their logical conclusion. The boldest of his insights was given to him in a vision he received in 1820, near Palmyra, New York. Mormons call this the First Vision, and, as David L. Paulsen has demonstrated, by 1838 it was interpreted by Smith and his followers as a charter for affirming divine embodiment.¹⁴

Just as it is easy but mistaken to get carried away by Luther's rhetoric and imagine him putting an end to medieval thought with an absolutely novel beginning, it would be a mistake to think of Mormonism as simply rejecting the Greek heritage of metaphysics. Paulsen has done more than any Mormon thinker to demonstrate how Smith's idea of divine embodiment would have been in the theological mainstream prior to Origen and Augustine. In fact, Paulsen, who is also a professor at Brigham Young University, has done more than any theologian of any denomination to rediscover the metaphysical depths of anthropomorphism in early Christian theology, and his work has been extremely helpful for my own project. Paulsen shows how the Mormon version of the restoration of the Church requires a strong reading of the history of metaphysics. Joseph Smith spoke plainly, but that should not disguise the revolutionary nature of his claims. I have discussed emerging ideas of matter in the context of the Neo-Platonists, the Gnostics, and the early theologians, and Smith would have held his own in debating with all three groups.¹⁵ Smith had the imagination of the Gnostics in his multilayered portrait of the divinities that populate the cosmos. Nonetheless, he would have agreed with the Neo-Platonists and the Christians that the Gnostics erred in identifying matter with evil. He would have liked the Platonic concept of pre-existent souls as well as Plato's portrait of the Demiurge as being not absolutely different from the world.¹⁶ Indeed, his sense of the rhythmic and cyclical movement of spirits from a refined to an embodied state and back again would have led him to express great interest in the circular framework of Plotinus, but Smith would not have accepted the elitism and intellectualism built into Neo-Platonic thought. He would have sympathized with Christians who struggled to identify nature's inherent goodness, but he would not have shared their solution in attributing infinity to God. Smith absorbed and revised so many Christian traditions, but negative theology has virtually no room in his thought. In the debates over infinity, Smith, ever the concrete thinker, would have affirmed an actual, as opposed to a potential infinity in order to defend his vision of the afterlife as an eternal progression through space and time. His cosmos was big enough for both the eternity of the divine and the infinity of matter, but his materialism left no room for one entity that is both eternal and infinite. In sum, he would have de-Augustinized theology in order to baptize Greek philosophy anew.

In fashioning his own Christian metaphysics, it should be no surprise that Smith raises a set of conundrums as intractable as any that befuddle traditional metaphysics. Francis Beckwith has been one of the most astute critics to point this out. Beckwith begins with the presupposition that orthodox theologians used metaphysical speculation to explicate God's uniqueness, so that Augustine and company never adopted Greek philosophy indiscriminately.

He also rightly insists that the question is not whether theology should use metaphysics but which metaphysics does the best job of explicating Christian faith. Beckwith is a defender of the Platonist tradition in theology, so he thinks Mormons bet on the wrong horse, but that in itself is not sufficient reason to reject Mormon speculations. Beckwith shows how Mormon arguments deserve to be examined on their own grounds for internal consistency and biblical adequacy. Not being Platonic is not equivalent to not being rational.¹⁷

Rightly or wrongly, Christian theologians have long connected the rational, orderly, and knowable character of the world with the doctrine of creation out of nothing. God's infinity is the reason for matter's finitude. The consensus of the Church Fathers held that any blurring of the line between God and matter threatened both God's freedom and matter's status as finite and thereby knowable. Classical theism sought to maintain God's essential otherness and matter's predictable nearness. Mormonism, in a way, stands this project on its head. Mormonism is willing to risk making God much more knowable (much more like us) than traditional theism allows while treating matter as a source of endless surprises and fantastic permutations. Matter is unpredictable and impenetrable, while God is as familiar as you or I. For Mormons, a God who is less than infinite leaves room for matter that is much more than dead weight.

Augustine is the classic example of a theologian who thought the world was rational, orderly, and knowable only if it was created by a transcendent God who stood beyond all that we know. He thought that if God did not create the world willfully, then physical substance would be a force as eternal, powerful, and mysterious as God himself (and thus result in metaphysical dualism, which he himself entertained in his Manichaean years). Likewise, if God created the world willfully but out of his own substance, then the world would be a necessary part of God's being (and thus result in pantheism).

Augustine's position is actually not as sound as it first appears. If God makes the world out of himself, does it necessarily have all the attributes of the divine? Does it necessarily follow that matter is a substance that equals God's own power? The problem with Augustine's position (and the whole of classical theism on this issue) is that he can imagine no middle ground between creating and shaping. From the perspective of classical theism, if God does not create matter out of nothing, then God merely shapes (or adds form to) the matter that is already there, and that means that God is neither infinite nor omnipotent. If matter is too close to God, then God must not have complete mastery over it. Likewise, if matter comes from God, then God must be tainted by it, which means that God shares in its corruptibility. Either way, God would not be God, or at least, God would not be infinite. But what if there is a middle ground? What if matter is one

of God's perfections without the world being divine? If the perfection of matter is already an expression of who God is (indeed, if it is the substance of the Father's relation to the Son), then matter can come from God without compromising God's nature. Moreover, God would be neither master nor victim of matter's nature, since God's relation to matter would be nothing more than a reiteration of the Father's relation to the Son.

Augustine worried about pantheism at a time when pagan practices were still a real threat to the Christian Church. Now that the pagan gods are long gone, one might wonder if his worries are still so pertinent. True, much of the environmental movement is inspired and guided by pantheistic assumptions, even when those assumptions are not recognized or made explicit by the advocates of a green theology. It also needs to be admitted that there are problems inherent in pantheism that make Augustine's rejection of paganism a living testament that has not lost all of its relevance today. Nevertheless, the pantheism of New Age or green theology is of a different kind from the pantheism of ancient Roman paganism. Today's pantheism is an attempt to rethink nature in the shadow of Christianity's decline, but not its complete absence. History cannot be reversed. A pagan pantheism with no overtones of the Christian doctrine of creation is not a conceptual possibility, unless a complete and abrupt rupture with all of Western history were to occur.

Even in its attenuated green form, however, pantheism poses a problem for Christians, if for no other reason than that it detracts from the central significance of the drama of the very human life of Jesus Christ. The question is whether the eternity of matter is necessarily implicated in the way that pantheism focuses on the divine in nature in general and not the divine in the nature of Jesus. The answer to that question depends on how the divine substance is conceived. For classical theists (as we saw with Aquinas), the divine substance is simple and unchanging, yet it is not so simple and unchanging that it does not accommodate the Father begetting the Son and their love producing the Holy Spirit. Classical theists explain how simplicity and relationality come together in God by arguing that these Trinitarian relations are eternal and thus simply are what the divine substance is. God is this unchanging set of dynamic relations. If these relations are truly dynamic, however, then it is incredibly difficult to conceive of how God is unchanging—and that is where heavenly flesh becomes interesting to contemplate.

From the perspective of classical theism, if the Son is enfleshed prior to the incarnation, then either (a) he must always have been enfleshed or (b) he must have been given a body as the first instance of God's creation of matter. (It makes little sense to think of the Father giving the Son a body after creation but before the incarnation.) The less troubling of these choices

for classical theism is (b), since it keeps intact the essential immateriality of the divine while helping to explain how Jesus can be the foundation of the world and elected by God before time began. Much of what I have said on this topic could be defended from the standpoint of (b), but (b) is the most minimal form of Heavenly Flesh Christology. The more ambitious claim is (a), because it challenges theologians to rethink the concept of God's nature as well as the nature of matter. If the Father really gives something to the Son that distinguishes them, then isn't that something necessarily what we call "matter"? And if matter is merely an addition to the divine nature of the Son, then isn't it really irrelevant to what they share and thus relegated to a secondary status? Perhaps so, if the divine substance is indivisible by definition and anything that is divisible is comprised of matter and form, but that is the very premise Heavenly Flesh Christology calls into question. Classical theism pushes Heavenly Flesh Christology into the following either-or: Either the body the Father gives the Son is created out of nothing, in which case we have position (b), or that body is eternally divine, in which case we have position (a), which entails the further position that matter is both eternal and divine. But what if that body came from the Father without being identical to the divine essence? In other words, what if the divine substance is such that the Father can grant form to the Son without creating something entirely new? Obviously, if this were the case, the divine substance and the nature of matter would have to be entirely different from how classical materialism conceives of them. If God is neither immaterial nor material, or if matter is one of God's perfections, which admittedly means that matter is not what we think it is, then the Father's gift of a body to the Son can be eternally what God is, and that body can be the source and origin of not only human bodies but also of all material objects whatsoever. It would follow that God creates the world out of himself, not from nothing, but the world would not be simply an extension of the divine substance. The world is really something new in the life of God, an accompaniment to the bodily gift the Father gives the Son, and thus it cannot be identified in a crude way with what the Father and the Son already are. *Matter as we know it has a beginning, an origin, in Christ, but matter as it can be, in its perfected form, is eternally an attribute of the divine.* In this way, the eternity of matter can be conceived without falling into the trap of pantheism, and this possibility, I am convinced, is precisely what Joseph Smith saw, even if he did not put it into these words or this theological context.

The Mormon Church stakes its whole theology on the coherence of the idea that God formed the world from a material substance that is not totally unlike his own divine nature. That makes Mormonism either a religious oddity in Western history or an utterly crucial metaphysical correction

to our understanding of the role and value of matter in God's creation of the world. At the very least, Mormonism presents a prod to theological thought at the precise time when materiality is more central to public awareness than ever before. Our relationship to the material world, whether it goes by the name of environmentalism, ecology, sustainability, or evolution has never been so urgently pressed before us as today. To respond to this urgency, we need not only an ethic but also a metaphysics of matter. We cannot know how to treat matter unless we know what it is, and the nature of matter has to include but ultimately go beyond the specificities of science. We need to know what matter is for, where it comes from, and to what extent it is identical to what we are. Those are the central questions of our time, and creedal Christians can answer them only in a self-critical and mutually beneficial dialogue with Latter-day Saints—and that dialogue has to begin with an assessment of the life and thought of Joseph Smith.

Evidence That Demands Our Amazement

By any measurement, Joseph Smith was a remarkable person. His combination of organizational acumen with spiritual originality and personal decorum and modesty is rare in the history of religion. He was so steadfast in his ability to inspire men and women through times of great hardship that none of those who knew him could claim to fully understand him. He knew more about theology and philosophy than it was reasonable for anyone in his position to know, as if he were dipping into the deep, collective unconsciousness of Christianity with a very long pen. He read the Bible in ways so novel that he can be considered a theological innocent—he expanded and revised the biblical narrative without questioning its authority—yet he brusquely overturned ancient and impregnable metaphysical assumptions with the aplomb of an assistant professor. For someone so charismatic, he was exceptionally humble, even ordinary, and he delegated authority with the wisdom of a man looking far into the future for the well-being of his followers. It would be tempting to compare him to Mohammed—who also combined pragmatic political skill and a genius for religious innovation—if he were not so deeply Christian.

Visions, interpreted literally, appear to have driven his corporeal and anthropomorphic understanding of God. Take, for example, a revelation he had in 1830, after he was harassed by a mob and twice hauled into court. Significantly, the revelation does not address his legal battles or the precarious state of his finances. Instead, Smith's focus is on God. What he sees—which is recorded in the first chapter of his *Book of Moses*—is a new version of the story of Moses meeting God face to face. God addresses Moses as “my son” and tells him that “thou art in the similitude of mine Only Begotten; and mine

Only Begotten is and shall be the Savior.”¹⁸ Several features of Smith’s theology are on display in this text. Smith has a fully embodied understanding of how we are created in the image of God. We are all the Father’s sons because we are all not just like God but actually similar to him. We *resemble* him. Moreover, Smith thinks it perfectly natural that the Old Testament prophets were told explicitly about Jesus Christ. Jesus does not just make his entrance in the incarnation. He is as present and active in the Old Testament as in the New. Smith also has a sophisticated understanding of divine corporeality. Moses says that “my own eyes have beheld God; but not my natural, but my spiritual eyes.” Whatever God is made of, there is still a significant difference, even if it is only one of gradation, between the spiritual and the material. Finally, God talks about the many worlds he has made, and says that there is no end to his works, which is evidence of how deeply tuned Smith was to an advanced understanding of cosmology from the beginning of his ministry.

Subsequent visions deepened but did not depart from these basic features of his thinking. In 1832, Smith recorded a revelation that is known as the “Olive Leaf,” because he called it “the olive leaf which we have plucked from the tree of paradise.” Richard Bushman, in the best biography of Smith, says of this document that “nothing in nineteenth-century literature resembles it,” and he is surely right.¹⁹ Following the Gospel of John, Smith calls Christ the light of the world, but he takes this metaphor in a decidedly metaphysical direction. This is the light, he says, “which is in all things; which giveth life to all things; which is the law by which all things are governed: even the power of God.”²⁰ Smith identifies Jesus Christ not only with God but also with both the eternal power that fuels the cosmos and the laws by which that power is regulated. Everything radiates with the energy of Jesus. This is truly the beginning of a Christological metaphysics of matter.

A materialistic worldview flowed naturally from the way Joseph Smith thought and lived. Bushman observes how casually he uttered the famous statement he made to a Methodist preacher: “There is no such thing as immaterial matter. All spirit is matter but is more fine or pure and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We can’t see it but when our bodies are purified we shall see that it is all matter.”²¹ He transferred to metaphysics the subjective turn that Luther’s quest for salvific certainty took. While Luther’s “Here I stand” put the emphasis on the “I,” Smith put the emphasis on the ground beneath his feet. Physical matter is so trustworthy and good that it is capable of taking innumerable forms in countless worlds, each with their own spiritual drama. That is the best way, I think, to understand his increasing commitment to a kind of polytheism. Far from reverting to paganism or simply falling into sloppy thinking, Smith was carrying his confidence in Christ to its fullest possible expression. Bushman emphasizes

the unusual degree to which he “had little sense of the flesh being base.”²² All things are possible not only for us but also for God, in that this universe does not exhaust the divine creativity. The universe is not big enough to hold the majesty of God’s ingenuity. Rather than reacting negatively to the apparently infinite expansiveness of the universe, Smith called astronomy’s bluff and multiplied the universe by the same expansive factor. Smith was wiping the theological slate clean of the Neo-Platonic metaphysics that had so influenced Augustine.

Matter has infinite folds and unbounded depths, but it always evolves toward the form of Christ, which is our form too. One of the sections (section 130, dating to 1843) from *The Doctrine and Covenants*, the official collection of the revelations given to Joseph Smith, states simply, “When the Savior shall appear we shall see him as he is. We shall see that he is a man like ourselves.” The ease with which Smith speaks the language of anthropomorphism surely stems from the self-confidence of one who knows himself to be made in a holy form. This section goes on to reject the idea that the Father and the Son dwell in our hearts. Smith does not pretend to know in exact detail where God is or what God looks like, but he is clear that the Father occupies space and the Son has a face not unlike our own. There is a part of God that is able to pervade earthly matter, but that is what Smith calls the Holy Ghost. “The Father has a body of flesh and bones as tangible as man’s; the Son also; but the Holy Ghost has not a body of flesh and bones, but is a personage of Spirit. Were it not so, the Holy Ghost could not dwell in us.” The Holy Spirit is the most immaterial of the divine persons, and yet even the Holy Spirit takes a personal form.

Finally, there is Joseph Smith’s most famous address, the King Follett Sermon. It was given April 7, 1844, to twenty thousand people gathered for the funeral of Smith’s close friend, Elder King Follett. The context is crucial and frequently overlooked. These are words of consolation, not systematic theology. Taken out of that context, no matter how often you read them, they can sound astonishingly strange:

God himself was once as we are now, and is an exalted man, and sits enthroned in yonder heavens! That is the great secret. If the veil were rent today, and the great God who holds this world in its orbit, and who upholds all worlds and all things by his power, was to make himself visible,—I say, if you were to see him today, you would see him like a man in form—like yourselves in all the person, image, and very form as a man; for Adam was created in the very fashion, image and likeness of God, and received instruction from, and walked, talked and conversed with him, as one man talks and communes with another.²³

Notice that Smith couches his great insight, which is that God was once as we are now, in a conditional form. He says we would know this if he were to make himself visible, which implies that his form is ordinarily invisible

to earthly eyes. The material of his divine nature is thus both similar and dissimilar to the stuff of which we are made.

That God was once man means that “God came to be God.”²⁴ Smith recognizes that this is a puzzling concept, and he wishes that he “could tell the story in such a manner that persecution would cease for ever.”²⁵ He tries to speak plainly even as he knows that his revelations will sound peculiar, but the premise of his argument is fairly simple. What Jesus does is not alien to the Father. They both have the same power, and they exercise it in the same way. So what did Jesus do? “The answer is obvious—in a manner to lay down his body and take it up again.”²⁶ Smith does not mean that the body of Jesus does not really belong to him. He is referring to Christ’s death and resurrection. Divine power consists of the mastery of life and death—the power to create, to suffer and sacrifice for others, and to become greater in the process. Since we participate in that power, eternal life is a matter of learning “how to be Gods yourselves, and to be kings and priests to God, the same as all Gods have done before you, namely, by going from one small degree to another, and from a small capacity to a great one; from grace to grace, from exaltation to exaltation, until you attain to the resurrection of the dead, and are able to dwell in everlasting burnings, and to sit in glory, as do those who sit enthroned in everlasting power.”²⁷ Divinization never looked so real.

Two corrections of common misrepresentations of Smith’s theology need to be made at this point. First, Mormons are often charged with denying the efficacy of grace and thus making salvation dependent upon the exercise of the individual’s free will. All theologians use the language of effort, reform, and growth, so this is not a fair charge, at least concerning this passage. In any case, Smith describes the process of sanctification as being “from grace to grace.” Rather than replicating Pelagianism, Smith is siding with that aspect of the Christian tradition best represented by Thomas Aquinas, which says we can and must cooperate with divine grace in order to permit it to actualize our potential for divinization. Second, even though Smith says that believers will become gods, he also says that they will be kings and priests to God, a phrase that qualifies his alleged polytheism. Clearly, the faithful are meant to share in the divine power and glory, and thus they too will have mastery over life and death, in the sense of being able to creatively participate in the creation, sustenance, and governance of life. Divine power seems to be the universal constant in this teaching, but it is not so diffuse that it has no source. God’s power will be shared, but it will still be God’s.

God’s power, for Smith, is embedded in a mutually fortifying relationship between two principles, matter and intelligence. Neither is created and neither can be destroyed. God could create matter from nothing no more

than he could create himself. Smith does not hesitate to call intelligence “immortal spirit,” but spirit is not to be defined in opposition to the elements of matter. Indeed, it is the eternity of our destiny that leads Smith to posit the eternity of our origin: “Is it logical to say that the intelligence of spirits is immortal, and yet that it has a beginning?”²⁸ If the human spirit has a beginning, he reasons, it must have an end. Conversely, no end means no beginning. Intelligences are eternal, but eternity is not egalitarian. That is, eternal beings are not at all equal in power and glory. What makes this world so fascinating is that God has organized the universe in such a way as to grant us a share of his distinctive nature. “God himself, finding he was in the midst of spirits and glory, because he was more intelligent, saw proper to institute laws whereby the rest could have a privilege to advance like himself.”²⁹ These laws, at least in this universe, are no more changeable than God is. These laws govern the living and the dead. “Hence the responsibility, the awful responsibility,” Smith says, “that rests upon us in relation to our dead; for all the spirits who have not obeyed the Gospel in the flesh must either obey it in the spirit or be damned.”³⁰ Smith thus comes upon a most remarkable reformulation of the priesthood of all believers and the communion of saints. The dead cannot be perfect without us. The drama of salvation continues in the afterlife, but the continuity of the living and the dead means that what the faithful do here and now has reverberations in eternity. Never has eternity been so full of time.

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1. See Stephen H. Webb, *Jesus Christ, Eternal God* (New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming), chapter 5.

2. This is how I define hyperbole in Stephen H. Webb, *Blessed Excess: Religion and the Hyperbolic Imagination* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1993).

3. David L. Paulsen, “Polemics, Apologetics and the Fruits of Dialogue,” in *Mormonism in Dialogue with Contemporary Christian Theologies*, ed. Donald W. Musser and David L. Paulsen (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2007), 12–13.

4. Robert L. Millet and Gerald R. McDermott, *Claiming Christ: A Mormon-Evangelical Debate* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press, 2007), 47. Some of this section is taken from my review of this book. See Stephen H. Webb, review of *Claiming Christ*, by Robert L. Millet and Gerald R. McDermott, *Reviews in Religion and Theology* 15 (July 2008): 426–29.

5. Millet and McDermott, *Claiming Christ*, 46. For more information on the LDS view of Jesus Christ as our elder brother, see Corbin Volluz, "Jesus Christ as Elder Brother," *BYU Studies* 45, no. 2 (2006): 141–58.

6. Robert L. Millet, *A Different Jesus? The Christ of the Latter-day Saints* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 142.

7. Millet, *Different Jesus?* 61.

8. Millet, *Different Jesus?* 61.

9. The Mormon confidence in the ultimate triumph of Christianity, envisioned through an elaboration on the traditional motif of Christ as King, is as out of sync with typical interpretations of American exceptionalism as is their metaphysical alternative to Platonic immaterialism. For my own defense of American exceptionalism, see Stephen H. Webb, *American Providence: A Nation with a Mission* (New York: Continuum, 2004).

10. Augustine *City of God* 20.7.

11. Brian E. Daley, *The Hope of the Early Church: A Handbook of Patristic Eschatology* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 137.

12. Thomas Hibbs, *St. Augustine: Enchiridion on Faith, Hope, and Love*, trans. J. B. Shaw (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1996), 127.

13. Hibbs, *St. Augustine*, 128.

14. See the magisterial essay by David L. Paulsen, "The Doctrine of Divine Embodiment: Restoration, Judeo-Christian, and Philosophical perspectives," *BYU Studies* 35, no. 4 (1995–96): 7–94. I am grateful to Paulsen for personal conversations and for sharing with me some of his unpublished work. See also Webb, *Jesus Christ, Eternal God*, chapter 4.

15. See Webb, *Jesus Christ, Eternal God*, chapter 2.

16. Plato *Timeaus* 29a–53.

17. Francis J. Beckwith, "Mormon Theism, the Traditional Christian Concept of God, and Greek Philosophy: A Critical Analysis," *Journal of Evangelical Theological Society* 44 (2001): 671–95.

18. All quotations from Mormon scripture and documents in this chapter are taken from and can be easily found at www.lds.org.

19. Richard Lyman Bushman with Jed Woodworth, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Random House, 2005), 206. The quotation from Smith is from the same page.

20. Quoted in Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 206.

21. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 419. This is recorded in section 131 of the Doctrine and Covenants.

22. Bushman, *Rough Stone Rolling*, 420.

23. Joseph Fielding Smith, comp., *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 345.

24. Smith, *Teachings*, 345.

25. Smith, *Teachings*, 346.

26. Smith, *Teachings*, 346.

27. Smith, *Teachings*, 346–47.

28. Smith, *Teachings*, 353.

29. Smith, *Teachings*, 354.

30. Smith, *Teachings*, 355.

“Myself . . . I Consecrate to the God of Heaven”

Twenty Affidavits of Consecration in Nauvoo,
June–July 1842

Mitchell K. Schaefer and Sherilyn Farnes

Twenty affidavits, handwritten in the summer of 1842 by Latter-day Saints determined to follow an apostolic invitation to consecrate themselves and their property to The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, invite us to reconsider common perceptions of the law of consecration.¹ Many Latter-day Saints believe what Arrington, Fox, and May described as a “folk memory” concerning the law of consecration. It is the belief that the Lord revealed the “higher” law of consecration to Joseph Smith early in Church history and later revoked it because the Saints could not live it. The Lord then revealed the lower law of tithing to replace the higher law. This way of interpreting and relating to Joseph Smith’s revelations seeks to reconcile the past and the present. Arrington, Fox, and May explained this rationale in *Building the City of God*: “A people failing to live a higher law would be given a lesser law that presumably might prepare them for an eventual restoration of the more perfect order.”²

It is not completely clear when or why this way of explaining the past emerged, but historians have generally taken it for granted. Though some Mormon leaders taught this interpretation as early as 1854, it apparently does not appear in any of Joseph Smith’s writings or teachings before or

1. Brigham Young and others, “Baptism for the Dead,” *Times and Seasons* 3 (December 15, 1841): 625–27.

2. Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Fox, and Dean L. May, *Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation among the Mormons* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 8.

during the Nauvoo era.³ Twenty consecration affidavits from 1842 published for the first time on the following pages require all to reexamine previous interpretations of the early practice of consecration and the assumptions on which those interpretations have been based. The purpose of this paper is to introduce and facilitate access to these twenty affidavits for further research and interpretation.

Though unique, these affidavits were not the first, nor were they the last, of their kind created for the purpose of consecrating goods, time, or efforts for “the building up of the New Jerusalem.”⁴ When converts from Colesville, New York, began to migrate to Kirtland, Ohio, early in 1831, Bishop Edward Partridge was charged with obtaining land on which they could settle. Lemman Copley offered the Saints his farm in Thompson, Ohio. On May 20, 1831, Partridge inquired of Joseph Smith on the matter, and Joseph received the revelation that is now section 51 of the Doctrine and Covenants.⁵ The revelation addressed Bishop Partridge’s concern and also included the command that “when he shall appoint a man his portion give unto him a writing that shall secure unto him his portion that he shall hold it of the church, untill he transgresses & is not counted worthy.”⁶ Though later consecration efforts varied, this revelation became the precedent upon which all consecration affidavits and deeds were created in the future. The first of these were made in about 1832 by Bishop Partridge. There are now currently nine known consecration deeds from that period, and the only one dated is that of Joseph Knight Jr., signed on October 12, 1832.⁷ Such deeds were likely

3. Orson Pratt was one early LDS Apostle who taught this interpretation. Pratt, “The Equality and Oneness of the Saints,” *The Seer* 2 (July 1854): 289–300.

4. Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Manuscript Revelation Books*, facsimile edition, first volume of the Revelations and Translations series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian’s Press, 2009), 101.

5. Dean Jessee, “Joseph Knight’s Recollection of Early Mormon History,” *BYU Studies* 17, no. 1 (1976): 38–39; “History of Joseph Smith,” *Times and Seasons* 5 (February 1, 1844): 416.

6. Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 145. See D&C 51:4.

7. Joseph Knight Jr. Consecration Deed to Edward Partridge, Independence, Missouri, October 12, 1832, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Arrington, Fox, and May place the dating of some of the deeds prior to October 12, 1832, and others thereafter. See *Building the City of God*, 26–31. Recently, however, I argued in a paper presented at the annual Mormon History Association that such dating is likely inaccurate. Although these deeds were probably created sometime in 1832, placing an exact date of creation for any of them is problematic. See Mitchell Schaefer, “‘That Rich Men Cannot Have Power to Disinherit the Poor’: New Insights concerning the Law of Consecration

printed at the Mormon printing press in Independence, Missouri, under the direction of William W. Phelps, and later the necessary information was filled in by Bishop Partridge at the time of consecration. However, this type of consecration deed (printing a standardized form and then filling in the information at the moment of consecration) was apparently not utilized again until the Saints arrived in Utah and Brigham Young began to oversee the implementation of cooperative economic organizations in the West.

Another form of consecration deed was created by Wilford Woodruff on December 31, 1834. On that day he recorded in his journal, "Believing it to be the duty of the latter day Saints to consecrate and dedicate all their properties with themselves unto God in order to become lawful heirs to the C[e]lestial Kingdom of God It was under such a view of the subject that I consecrated before the Bishop of the Church of the latter day Saints in Clay County Dec 31st 1834." Woodruff then proceeded to copy the affidavit he had given to Bishop Partridge into his personal journal. This affidavit of consecration by Wilford Woodruff is similar to the twenty affidavits below in the sense that it appears Woodruff himself wrote out the affidavit and then listed the goods he was consecrating along with himself.⁸

Arrington, Fox, and May point out in *Building the City of God* that it had been long assumed that no other attempts to implement consecration were made after the Missouri period until the late 1870s. Yet they call their readers' attention "to the fact that Brigham Young in the 1850s did attempt to secure a general consecration to the church of all property."⁹ It is therefore evident that there were many attempts to implement the law of consecration before and after 1842. But no mention was made in their volume of these Illinois affidavits.

The twenty affidavits that follow were created during the summer months of June and July 1842, in or around Nauvoo. Each affidavit is written, as far as is evident, in the hand of the individual(s) who signed the document and thereby consecrated goods. The first affidavit created was that of Daniel Stillwell Thomas on June 1, 1842, in Nauvoo. So it is likely that the law of consecration was taught in Nauvoo before June of 1842. The last two of the affidavits to be created were those of Orville Morgan Allen and Samuel W. Henderson, on July 1, 1842. Though these twenty documents are the only

as Implemented in Jackson County, Missouri, 1831–1833," presented at the Mormon History Association Conference, St. George, Utah, May 28, 2011, in possession of the author.

8. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833–1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983–84), 1:16.

9. Arrington, Fox, and May, *Building the City of God*, 63.

known affidavits to have survived to the present day, it is not unlikely that others were created. These affidavits are compelling evidence that Joseph Smith and other LDS leaders taught the law of consecration in Nauvoo and expected the Saints to live it as best they could.

Several historians have analyzed the records of Joseph's extant teachings and have come to the conclusion that the law of consecration was revoked or rescinded no later than 1838. These affidavits are compelling evidence to the contrary. In the summer months of 1841, Joseph Smith conferred the responsibility of organizing Church finances on the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles after their return from their mission to Great Britain.¹⁰ On December 15, 1841, the same quorum published an article in the Church's periodical, *Times and Seasons*, calling all Saints to consecrate toward the construction of the Nauvoo Temple. "The Temple is to be built by tything [*sic*] and consecration, and every one is at liberty to consecrate all they find in their hearts so to do; . . . whether it be money or whatever he may be blessed with."¹¹ It seems, therefore, that such instructions from the Apostles accorded with Joseph Smith's desires. Further evidence indicates that he approved of their invitation to the Saints. On June 18, 1842, he addressed the citizens of Nauvoo near the temple site and "prophesied concerning" the merchants of the city and their treatment of the poor. He then "commanded the Twelve to organize the Church more according to the Law of God"—a likely reference to Joseph's February 9, 1831, revelation that included the law of consecration (D&C 42).¹² On June 26, 1842, Brigham Young preached a Sunday sermon "on [the law of] consecration. or union of action in building up the city & providing labor & food for the poor."¹³ The very next day Joseph Smith lectured "at length on the importance of uniting the means of the brethren for the purpose of establishing manufactories of all kinds, furnishing labor for the poor &c."¹⁴ These twenty affidavits were apparently created in response to such calls to consecrate in Nauvoo.

After their creation in 1842, these documents remained in the private possession of descendants of Brigham Young and were turned over to the

10. Glen Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, A People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), 95–96.

11. Young and others, "Baptism for the Dead," 626.

12. Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet Joseph* (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 1980), 124–25; Jensen, Woodford, and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, 95–105.

13. Dean Jessee, ed., *The Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2 vol. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1989–92), 2:391–93.

14. Jessee, *Papers of Joseph Smith*, 2:394.

LDS Church Archives in 1998. The twenty affidavits are now housed in the Church History Library in Salt Lake City. Due to the existence of these documents, assumptions that Joseph Smith did not implement the law of consecration after the Saints relocated to Illinois are brought into question. At the same time, Brigham Young's implementation of United Orders throughout the western United States becomes clearer as we can now see one of his first interactions with the concept of organizing a Zion community among the Saints and probably his first time leading and organizing such an attempt.

The affidavits that follow are listed in alphabetical order along with known creation dates. Each includes a brief biographical note, when such information was available. In some cases, it has proved difficult to decipher exactly who each person was, and, as a result, little, if any, biographical information is listed. The editorial procedures for these affidavits follow the Joseph Smith Papers Project.¹⁵

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They express gratitude to Dr. Steven Harper for assistance with the research and writing of this article and to the Church History Library for generously allowing the publication of these affidavits.

15. Dean C. Jessee, Mark Ashurst-McGee, and Richard L. Jensen, eds., *Journals, Volume 1: 1832–1839*, vol. 1 of the Journals series of *The Joseph Smith Papers*, ed. Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2008), lxii–lxiv; Jensen, Woodford and Harper, *Manuscript Revelation Books*, xxxiv–xxxv.

Namoo June 28th 1846
attest of Stephen J. Abbott's property
1 table 2 Cows 10 sheep 2 shoats
3 axes 2 horses 2 horse harness 1 two horse
wagon 1 adze 1 hand saw 2 augers, Brace and
bits, cross cut saw square 1 hand saw
2 back saws several chisels 1 lot of land
2 lot land hand and lot
Debts due against me two hundred
and fifty dollars,

I do hereby declare that I am willing
to submit to the consideration law
and to the will of God in all things

Stephen Abbott

Stephen Joseph Abbott,¹⁶ June 28 1842

Nauvoo June 28th 1842

a list of Stephen Abbatts property

1 table 2 Cows 10 sheep 2 shoats

3 axes 2 horses 2 horse harnes 1 two horse

wagon 1 addes 1 hand ax 2 augers Brace and

hith croscut saw Square 1 hand saw

2 back saws several chisels 1 lot of land

½ lot land hansl and lot

Debts due against me two hundred

and fifty dollars

I do hereby declare that I am willing

to submit to the consecration law

and to the wil of God in all things

Stephen Abbott

16. Stephen Joseph Abbott (August 16, 1804–October 19, 1843) was baptized in March 1839 and later ordained an elder and a seventy. After his death, his family migrated west with the Saints and arrived in Utah in October 1849. His second son, Myron, once said of him, "He was a kind husband, and an indulgent father, and was a true Latter Day Saint, ever willing and ready to respond to every call that was made of him by the authority of the church, and was much respected by all who knew him." See Myron Abbott, "Diary of Myron Abbott: Bunkerville, Nevada, 1880," 1:2–4, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University; Myron Abbott, "Diary of Myron Abbott," 2:2, Utah Historical Records Survey, St. George, Utah.

June 20. A.D. 1842
 A list of Property
 to land three acres

Lot B1 and Blocker in the South end of Lot B1	\$ 350
in Minutals addition addition	40
to three cows and one Duffer sparrow	20
to one yoke of two year old Sows & Hogs	161
to roof and Wood and one me	60
to Beds and Bedsteads & Furniture & Clothing	\$ 657
and ^{one} L's ^{are} to take from the house ^{from the house}	574
to come and all	2579

I am willing to
 Do the will of the Lord
 Alberin Allen

Consecration affidavit of Alberin Allen. Courtesy Church History Library. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

Albern Allen,¹⁷ June 20, 1842

June 20. A D 1842
a list of Property
to land three acres

Lot 31 and Block Six the south end of Lot 31
in Kimbals ~~adition~~ adition ----- \$350
to three cows and one heiffer yerarlin [yearling] ----- 40
to one yoke of two year old S[t]eers & Hogs ----- 23
to crop and Whood and Due me ----- 161
to Beds and Beadden & Furniture & Cloath<i>ng ----- 60
\$634
and I <am> oweing ~~take~~ take locks from the Bone 60
[two illegible, erased words] ----- 574
to Come and ◇◇◇ 5
I am Willing to \$579
do the will of the Lord
Albern Allen

17. Albern Allen (May 22, 1802–June 2, 1867) was born in Cornwall, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and was baptized in New York in 1835. After the Saints were forced from the state of Missouri, he relocated to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1840. He was later ordained an elder and a seventy. After serving with the Mormon Battalion, he made his way to the Salt Lake Valley, where he arrived in the fall of 1847. However, his family did not arrive until a year later. He went on to serve in the Utah Legislature for two terms as a representative from Weber County. He died a faithful member of the Church and left a large family. See Frank Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1966), 713; Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901–36), 3:580–81.

July the 1 1842

List of property belonging to O. M. Allen

1 in prison on the island

5 head of hogs. 4 cows & 1 pig

1 in possession on lot lot belong to church

1 clock 2 axes, 1 hand saw and some plans with
some other little thing 2 head of hogs 3 beds
light by furnished one rifle gun

One debt due me in de laque mine \$2 25 dollars

Some little debts due me in nauvoo in the way of
and some due in the same way

in debt to missouri \$25 missouri in debt

to me one farme A wife and 4 children

poorly clad All at your disposal forth

with being up after king dom O. M. Allen

Orville Morgan Allen,¹⁸ July 1, 1842

July the 1 1842

a list of property Belonging to O M Allen

1 improve on the isleand

5 head of hogs. 4 cows s<t>rayd

1 improvement on lot lot belong to chirch

1 clock 2 axes 1 han saw and some plans with

some other little thing 2 bead s<t>eads 3 beds

light by furnished one rifle gun

One debt d<i>ue me in debuque mines \$228 doallars

Some little debts dew me in nauvoo in the way <traed> of

and some dew in the same way

in debt to missouria \$25 missouria in d[e]bt

to me one farme A wife and 4 children

poarly clad All at your disposal for th[e]

b[u]ilding up of th[e] kingdom

O. M. Allen

18. Orville Morgan Allen (June 9, 1805–1893) joined the Church in 1838 and was disinherited by his father for doing so. He later served as one of Joseph Smith's bodyguards and was a captain of one of the large companies of immigrants to Utah. After migrating to the West, he eventually settled in Arizona and became the father of fifteen children. See Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 714–15.

John S. Canfield,¹⁹ June 29, 1842Citty of Nauvoo June 29th 1842

Schedule of property
 half of one lot with a small log Cabbin
 House hold furniture one bed and
 Clothing for the same. Wareing apperil
 one pair of pantaloons one pair of shooes
 one straw hat.
 one table and dishes to set the sa<me> for
 four persons. two small tin pai<l>s one
 s[o]up pan tin flour box two small butter
 boxes one lantern one b<a>nd box one
 trunk & chest 6 Baskets 3 barrells
 one stone churn one stone crock one wash
 tub one soap tub 2 tin milk pans
 one cradle one small bake pan one small
 stew kettle one tin kettle one fire shovel
 one flat iron one fri pan ♦♦♦ one iron
 one Book of mormon one Bible and testamen<t>
 one Book of Covenants 3 hymns Books
 melenial [millennial] poems 3 Glass bottles 6 phials
 one tunell 5 towels 2 table cloths.
 one Calico one Gingham one mull one Silk
 dress for my wife Children 2 dreses
 each 8 pairs of hose 2 Bonnets
 one Crape shawl 2 aprons 2 Capes
 and 23 hnkerchiefs 2 Caps 1 pair of
 shoo<e>s. Myself Wife and two children
 I Consecrat[e] to the God of He[a]ven
 and for the Good of his Cause hoping
 to keep the faith and endure to the<> end
 is the p[r]ayer of your un worthy
 servent

John S Canfield

19. John S. Canfield (dates unknown) was a member of the Nauvoo Third Ward and married to Sally Canfield. They had at least two daughters together, Emma and Susanna. It is unknown whether the Canfields moved on to Utah. See Lyman De Platt, *Nauvoo: Early Mormon Records Series, Volume 1* (Highland, Utah: L. De Platt, 1980), 52.

[Reverse Side of Affidavit:]

Things forgotten in
the list 3 Chairs 2 axes 2 drawing
k<ni>ive 3 Plains 5 Chissels
\$845 cts due from Stephen Markam
\$225 cts due to G W Pierce
2 Squares 2 handsaws with all
I possess I freely give to the Lord and
into thy hands ~~for good.~~

to
President
Young
Nauvoo

David Clough,²⁰ Date Unknown

David Cloughs property	
improvement on lot. no. one in Block no twenty	
Eight (28); in Nauvoo	\$200, ⁰⁰ <Cent>
one forth of lot no (3) in Block no (6) in	
Wells addition; — and house -	300,00
two Cows -	24, 20
househole furniture -	20,00
	544 ⁰⁰
	10 00
Carpenter tools -	554, 00
	18
owe Eighteen Dallars -	\$536,00

20. There are variant spellings of his name. His surname appears as *Cluff* and *Claugh* in different records. David Clough Sr. (June 20, 1795–December 16, 1881) helped build the Kirtland Temple and was blessed for his work along with many other faithful men on March 7, 1835. He migrated to Illinois and was a member of the Nauvoo First Ward. He and his first wife, Elizabeth (Betsy), had twelve children together. The Clough family later migrated west with the Saints and settled in Arizona. See Minutes, Kirtland, Ohio, March 7–8, 1835, in Minute Book 1, 192–97, Church History Library; De Platt, *Early Mormon Records*, 13; Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 813.

Samuel W. Henderson,²¹ July 1, 1842

July 1 – 1842

Property of Samuel W Henderson

7 Acres of Land 4 miles east of the Temple

2 Cows and calves parte of a set waggon irons

1 Ax. 1 ♂ Spade 1 hoe 1 pare drawn chanes

1 Smawl log Caben 6 Chairs <1 table> 1 bed stid 1 bed and

beding 1 Close basket 2 smawl baskets

Clothing 2 shirts 2 pare pantiloons 1 Casinet

Cote and vest <1 pare boots 1 hat> boy 1 pare pantiloons 2 shirts

Females 2 my wife 2 Dresses 1 bonnet

1 Shawl Chi girls <H> 1 dress and shirt a piece

1 gun 1 barrel 1 bred tra 1 smawl wooden

bole 2 wooden buckets 2 Churns 4 plates

1 dish 1 bole 4 tins 4 nives 3 forkes 5 spoons

1 pot 1 oven and led [lid] 1 skellet and led [lid] 1 meal

bag 1 voliece 1 razour 1 box and bush

Dues \$28

Debts \$17

5 Children makeing 7 in family

21. Samuel W. Henderson may have signed the Scroll Petition as part of the Mormon Redress Petitions to the U.S. Congress. It is possible that either he or his son was a member of the Nauvoo Legion. However, very little evidence exists concerning his life, and it is plausible that this affidavit is the only extant record from his life as a member of the LDS faith. See Clark Johnson, ed., *The Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1992), 589; Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Donald Q. Cannon, *The Nauvoo Legion in Illinois: A History of the Mormon Militia, 1841–1846* (Norman, Oklahoma: Arthur H. Clark, 2010), 392.

Nauvoo June 28/42

Inventory of Joseph G. Hovey

Residing on Block thirty three belonging to the Church
have not paid but the laces the House is log rough
12 by 15 the lot fenced three sides

Viz.
One Cow
2 Harts

Household Furniture &

- 1 Bed and bedding Childs Crb.
- 1 Set of Chairs
- 1 table and one Chward.
- 2 trunks
- 1 Dining Set
- Cooking Utensils
- 1 Fire Set
- Two Volumes of Books
- Waring apparel 1 dress Coat & pair pants
- Cloth for one old Coat
- 2 Ladys Cloak & dresses 1 Large and small Shawl
- Four Cape de au au
- Children dresses

Family Consisting of Wife and two Children

Joseph G. Hovey

3

Joseph G. Hovey,²² June 28, 1842

Nauvoo June 28/42

Inventory of Joseph G. Hovey

Residing on Block thirty three belonging to the Church
have not paid but the taxes the House is log rough
12 by 15 the lot fenced three sides

Viz.

One Cow

2 Soats

Household furniture [*flourish*]

1 Bed and bedding Childs Crib

1 Set of Chairs

1 table and one cubbuard.

2 trunks

1 Dining Set

Cooking Utencils

1 Fire Set

Five Volumes of Books

Waring Apparel 1 dress Coat 2 pare pants

Cloth for one oth[er] Coat

1 Ladies clock [cloak] 4 dresses 1 Large and small Shawl

1 fur cape [*flourishes*]

Children dresses

Family Consisting of Wife and two Children

Joseph G. Hovey

22. Joseph Grafton Hovey (November 17, 1812–May 6, 1868), originally of Massachusetts, converted to Mormonism in 1839 and soon thereafter moved to Nauvoo. He worked as a stonecutter on the Nauvoo and Salt Lake Temples. He trekked to Utah in the vanguard company with Brigham Young and later became the first bishop of Millville, Utah. See Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 943; M. R. Hovey, Biography of J. G. Hovey, n.d., 112–14, Perry Special Collections.

Henry Jacobs,²³ June 30, 1842

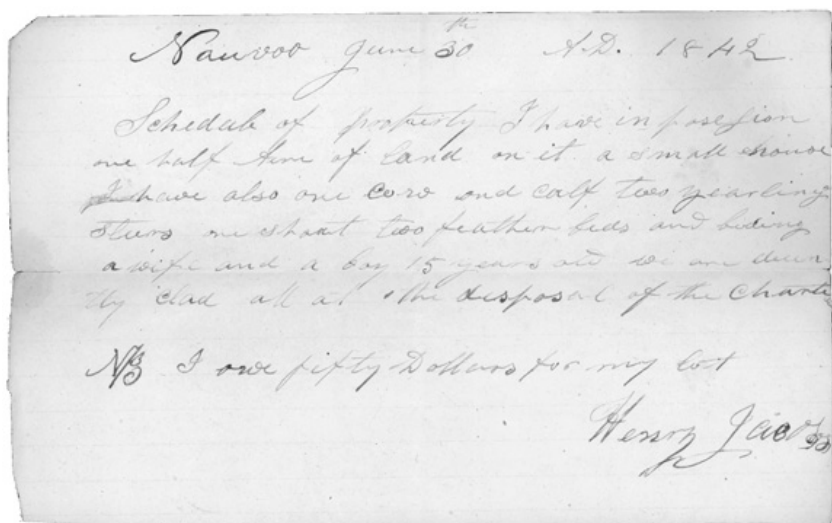
Nauvoo June 30th

A.D. 1842

Schedule of property I have in posesion
one half Acre of land on it a small house
I have also one cow and calf two yearling<s>
steers one shoat two feather beds and bedding
a wife and a boy 15 years old we are clean
ly clad all at the desposal of the Church

N/B I owe fifty Dollars for my lot

Henry Jacobs



Nauvoo June 30th A.D. 1842.

Schedule of property I have in posesion
one half Acre of land on it a small house
I have also one cow and calf two yearling
steers one shoat two feather beds and bedding
a wife and a boy 15 years old we are clean
ly clad all at the desposal of the Church

N/B I owe fifty Dollars for my lot

Henry Jacobs

Consecration affidavit of Henry Jacobs. Courtesy Church History Library. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

23. Henry Jacobs (July 14, 1788–October 15, 1844), originally of Vermont, converted to Mormonism in 1832 in Jefferson County, New York. He was likely the father of Henry Baily Jacobs, who married Zina Huntington, although Henry B. is not the fifteen-year-old son mentioned in this affidavit: in 1842 Henry Baily Jacobs would have been about twenty-five years old. Otherwise, very little information is known concerning Henry Sr.

Levi North,²⁴ June 27, 1842

Nauvoo Ills June the 27th 1842

A list of of all the property belonging to Levi North

One fourth of a lot & House at \$150,00

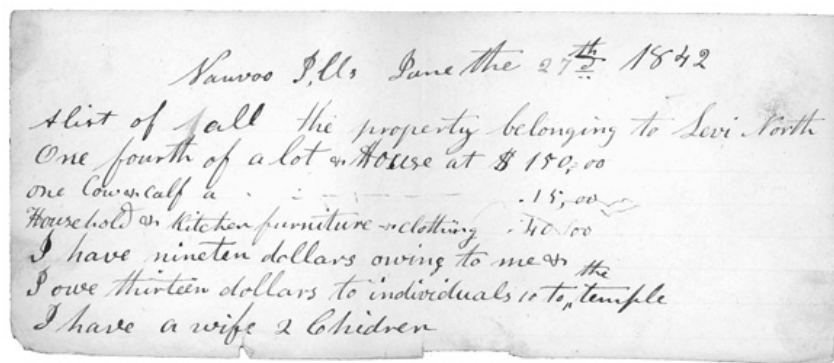
one Cow & calf a ----- .15,00

Household & Kitchen furniture & clothing .40,00

I have nineteen dollars owing to me &

I owe thirteen dollars to individuals 10 to <the> temple

I have a wife 2 Children



Nauvoo Ills June the 27th 1842
A list of all the property belonging to Levi North
One fourth of a lot & House at \$ 150,00
one Cow & calf a ----- .15,00
Household & Kitchen furniture & clothing .40,00
I have nineteen dollars owing to me & the
I owe thirteen dollars to individuals 10 to the temple
I have a wife 2 Children

Consecration affidavit of Levi North. Courtesy Church History Library. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

24. Levi North (July 17, 1817–February 24, 1894) was a farmer, originally of White County, Illinois. He and his family migrated to Utah in September 1852 with Robert Wimmer. He was a pioneer of Mill Creek, Utah, and served a mission to Nevada. See Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1072–73.

An invoice of A. Pratt's property-

A lot & improvements in Nauvoo bought of
Lyman Wight for \$250, \$150 ^{paid down} & 100 due, to be paid in
work on the Nauvoo House, one hundred & eighty dollars
paid to Brigham Young on a lot donated to the building the
Temple by Brother Matthews, A half acre lot with a 2 story ^{brick} front
& a good framed blacksmith shop &c in the town of Pleasant Grove
Putnam county, Indiana - 160 acres of good land in Clay County, Ind.
near the Cumberland road, Personal property in Nauvoo, 1 cow, 5 years old
1 heifer, 3 years old, 1 heifer - 2 years old, One extra light stand farming tools
worth about 50 dollars, An order on Joseph Smith calling for \$75.00
to be applied on a town lot in Nauvoo, Indiana - I paid Abner Babitt
\$75.00 for which he warranted to be good for the same, Due from
Jacob Johnson ^{debt} \$24.00 to be paid in work on the Temple. ~~There is~~

There is an incumbrance on the 160 acres of land, the circumstances
of which are well known to Bishop G. Miller, There is 50 cts. due to
E. Robinson Esq. for recording a power of attorney given to Bishop G.
Miller to act upon this same, - I have a wife & 4 children with
beds & bedding & wearing apparel sufficient for present use to gether
with a scanty supply of kitchen utensils, A particular invoice of these
will be given ~~if~~ ^{when} if required, -

This I submit freely & voluntarily, & think I am willing to
submit to every man of the Church of Jesus Christ in these last
days,

I am, Messrs, yours &c Addison Pratt

Addison Pratt,²⁵ Date Unkown

An invoice of A. Pratts property -

A lot & improvements in Nauvoo bought of
Lyman Wight for \$250., \$150 <paid down> & 100 due, to be paid in
work on the Nauvoo House, one hundred & eighty dollars
paid to Brigham Young on a lot donated to the building the
Temple by Brother Mathews. A half acre lot with a 2 story <block> hous<e>
& a good framed blacksmith shop &c in the town of Pleasant Garde<n>
Putnum county, Indiana - 160 acres of good land in Clay county, Indiana
near the Cumberland road, Personal property in Nauvoo, 1 cow, 5 years old
1 heffr 3 years old, 1 heiffer 2 years old, One extra light stand- farming tools
worth about 5 <or 8> dollars, An Order on Joseph Smith calling for \$70,85 <cts>
to be applied on a town lot in Nauvoo, This order I paid Almon Babit
\$75:00 for which he warrented to be good for the same, Due from
Jacob Johnson <seign> \$24,00 to he paid in work on the Temple, Due &

There is an incumberance on the 160 acres of land, the circumstances
of which are well known to Bishop G[eorge] Miller, There is 50 cts, due to
to E Robinson esqr for recording a power of attorney given to Bishop G—
Miller to act upon this same, ___ I have a wife & 4 children with
beds & bedding & wearing apparel sufficient for present use to gether
with a scanty supply of kitchen utensils, A particular invoice of these
will be given in-of these if required, ___

This I submit freely, & volunterily, & think I am willing to
to submit to evry order of the Church of Jesus Christ in these last
days.

I am Messrs, yours &c. Addison Pratt.

25. Addison Pratt (February 21, 1802–October 14, 1872) was first introduced to Mormonism in 1835 but did not join until June 18, 1838. His family and friends migrated to Missouri in November 1838 and then to Illinois in 1841. He was ordained an elder in 1842 and worked on the Nauvoo Temple. In May 1843, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles called Pratt on a mission to the Sandwich Islands (now Hawaii), but he served a large portion of his mission on the island of Tubuai in what is now part of French Polynesia, where he learned Tahitian. *The Journals of Addison Pratt*, ed. S. George Ellsworth (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 3, 105–19, 521–22.

John Rounolds [Reynolds?],²⁶ Date Unknown

John Rounolds

to one Side saddle
too[two] Cows and Calves.
one yong year old Cow
one rifle gunn
one note on Kalip Baldon 65
fifty seven dollars
one grass sythe
I am now wiling to give all
that have to the Lord and
for the Biling up the temple

John Rounold

I am in detd 18 dollars

26. It is possible that this may be John Reynolds; however, the spelling on the document does not fully support that theory. If that is so, John Reynolds was a common name of the time period, and there is far too little information on the document itself to pinpoint exactly who wrote out this affidavit. It is also possible this is the only extant document from this man's life.

Augustus Stafford,²⁷ June 29, 1842

Nauvoo Jun 29 1842

To Prest B Young

This Certifies that I Augustus
Stafford have ~~furnature~~ <goods> household
Furnature including all I possess
amounting to one hundred &
Twenty five Dollars which is at the Dispos
al of the twelve

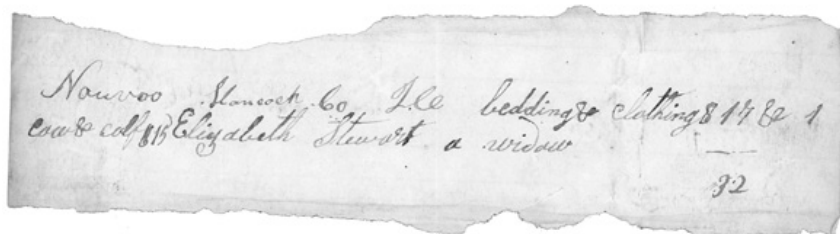
27. Augustus Stafford (June 24, 1805–date unknown) possibly served in the Nauvoo Legion as a captain or first lieutenant. However, little information is available to verify who he was exactly or any other biographical information. See Bennett, Black, and Cannon, *Nauvoo Legion in Illinois*, 376.

Elizabeth Stewart,²⁸ Date Unknown

Nauvoo Hancock Co Ill bedding & clothing \$17 32 1

Cow & calf \$15 Elizabeth Stewart a widow

32



Consecration affidavit of Elizabeth Stewart. Courtesy Church History Library.
© Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

28. Elizabeth Stewart (dates unknown) may possibly have been in the Nauvoo Third Ward. However, it is difficult to find conclusive information concerning her. She may also be a relative of Urban Van Stewart (possibly his mother) since they lived in the same ward in Nauvoo and both provided consecration affidavits to Brigham Young. See De Platt, *Early Mormon Records*, 65.

Urban Van Stewart,²⁹ June 27, 1842

A list of proprty belonging to v Urban V Stewart

A house and lot <1/3 of an Acre> worth \$250 00	\$250 00
1 cow & two pigs worth \$16 00	\$16 00
bedding & Clothing & house hold furniture	<u>\$40 00</u>
	\$306 00

I have A wife & 1 child this the 27^{of} June 1842

Urban V Stewart

[Reverse side of Affidavit:]

Brigham Young Brigham Young

Joseph Smith

A list of property belonging to v Urban v Stewart
A house & lot ^{by an acre} worth ~~\$250 00~~ \$250 00
1 cow & two pigs worth ~~\$16 00~~ \$16 00
bedding & clothing & house hold furniture \$40 00
\$306 00
I have a wife & 1 child this the 27^{of} June 1842
Urban v Stewart
Brigham Young
Joseph Smith

Consecration affidavit of Urban Van Stewart. Courtesy Church History Library.
© Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

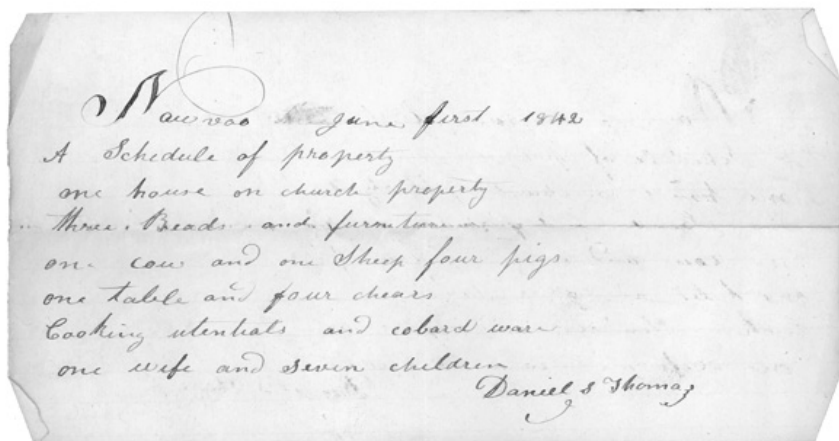
29. Urban Van/Von Stewart (November 9, 1817–December 25, 1899) was a farmer, originally of Overton, Tennessee. He married Lydia Gage Jacobs in 1837 and migrated to Utah in September 1847. He took four other wives in polygamy and was ordained a seventy and a high priest. See Esshom, *Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah*, 1188.

Daniel Stillwell Thomas,³⁰ June 1, 1842

Nauvoo the June first 1842

A Schedule of property
one house on church property
three Beds and furniture
one cow and one Sheep four pigs
one table and four chears
Cooking utentials and cobard ware
one wife and Seven children

Daniel S Thomas



Consecration affidavit of Daniel Stillwell Thomas. Courtesy Church History Library.
© Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

30. Daniel Stillwell Thomas (March 15, 1803–c. June 27, 1878) was originally of Summer County, Tennessee. He married Martha Pane Jones in 1826 and heard the gospel for the first time from Wilford Woodruff in 1835. His family moved to Missouri in 1837 and then to Illinois in February 1839. By the spring of 1840, he and his family were living in Nauvoo. In 1846, they began the long trek west to Utah and arrived in 1849. See Martha Pane Jones Thomas, "Daniel Stillwell Thomas Family History," 4–6, Perry Special Collections.

Nelson, Lucinda, and Martha Turner,³¹ Date Unknown

one feather bed & bedding—1 bed stead
4 chairs 1 chest—1 chichin table—1 pail—
1 tin cand—2 tin pains—1 oven & lid—1 frying
pan—1 teacittle—1 stew cittle—1 griddle
1 smoothing iron— 8 plates—4 knives—
4 forks—1 bole— \cup 3 tins—pepper box &
salt cup—2 flasks—1 old bible—1 hymn
book—2 axes—1 orger

Nelson	} Turner
Lucinda	
Martha	

[Reverse side of Affidavit:]

an 3 dollars
5 dollars

1 iron wedge
1 fraw
5 cords of wood

Turner

A photograph of a handwritten document, likely a consecration affidavit, written in cursive on lined paper. The text lists various household items and their quantities, followed by the names of the individuals who provided the affidavit. The list includes: one feather bed & bedding, 1 bed stead, 4 chairs, 1 chest, 1 chichin table, 1 pail, 1 tin cand, 2 tin pains, 1 oven & lid, 1 frying pan, 1 teacittle, 1 stew cittle, 1 griddle, 1 smoothing iron, 8 plates, 4 knives, 4 forks, 1 bole, 3 tins, pepper box & salt cup, 2 flasks, 1 old bible, 1 hymn book, 2 axes, and 1 orger. The names Nelson, Lucinda, and Martha are listed at the bottom, grouped together with a large closing bracket.

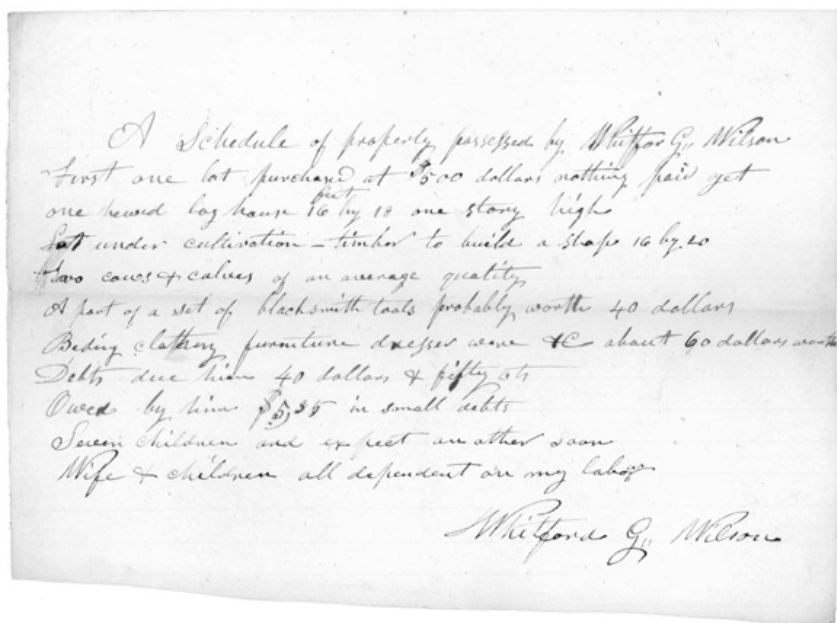
Consecration affidavit of Nelson, Lucinda, and Martha Turner. Courtesy Church History Library. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

31. Little is known concerning Nelson and Lucinda Turner's family. But it is likely that this is the same Nelson who provided an affidavit to be sent to Elias Higbee in the early months of 1840 to help argue the Saints' case before the Senate Judicial Committee in Washington, D.C. See Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 549.

Whitford Gill Wilson,³² Date Unknown

A Schedule of property possessed by Whitfor[d] G. Wilson
 First one lot purchased at \$500 dollars nothing paid yet
 one hewed log house 16 <feet> by 18 one story high
 Lot under cultivation_ timber to build a shop 16 by 20
 two cows & calves of an average quality
 A part of a set of blacksmith tools probably worth 40 dollars
 Bedding clothing furniture dresser ware &c about 60 dollars worth
 Debts due him 40 dollars & fifty cts
 Owed by him \$5,35 in small debts
 Seven children and expect an other soon
 Wife & children all dependent on my labo<ur>s.

Whitford G. Wilson



A Schedule of property possessed by Whitfor G. Wilson
 First one lot purchased at \$500 dollars nothing paid yet
 one hewed log house 16 by 18 one story high
 Lot under cultivation - timber to build a shop 16 by 20
 Two cows & calves of an average quality
 A part of a set of blacksmith tools probably worth 40 dollars
 Bedding clothing furniture dresser ware &c about 60 dollars worth
 Debts due him 40 dollars & fifty cts
 Owed by him \$5,35 in small debts
 Seven children and expect an other soon
 Wife & children all dependent on my labors

Whitford G. Wilson

Consecration affidavit of Whitford Gill Wilson. Courtesy Church History Library.
 © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

32. Whitford Gill Wilson (June 4, 1799–November 26, 1862) was likely a member of the Nauvoo First Ward. He may have also provided a redress petition for the wrongs committed against him “in consequence of an order of Governour [Lilburn W.] Boggs” on May 14, 1839. See De Platt, *Early Mormon Records*, 16; Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 382.

Thomas Woolsey,³³ June 27, 1842

nauvoo

Nauvoo Ills June the 27th 1842

A list of property held by Thomas Woolsey

1 House and lot $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acor	\$200,00
1 waggon & team	120,00
1 cow	.15,00
2 Hogs -	.5,00
House hold & kitchen furniture <[=clothing> & .	50,00
3 Months provishion	

I owe 2 \$24;50

I have 18 50 owing to me

I have a wife 3 children

Nauvoo Ills June the 27th 1842
A list of property held by Thomas Woolsey -
1 House and lot $\frac{1}{3}$ of an acor \$200, 00
1 waggon & team 120, 00
1 cow .15, 00
2 Hogs - [Clothing] .5, 00
House hold & kitchen furniture .50, 00
3 Months provishion -
I owe 2 \$ 24, 50
I have 18 50 owing to me
I have a wife 3 children

Consecration affidavit of Thomas Woolsey. Courtesy Church History Library. © Intellectual Reserve, Inc.

33. Thomas Woolsey (November 3, 1805–January 5, 1897) was originally from Kentucky and converted to Mormonism there in either 1834 or 1838. He was a member of the Mormon Battalion in Company E, but when the Battalion reached Fort Leavenworth, he was assigned to carry needed money to the Saints to help them prepare to cross the plains. He then was part of the Brigham Young Company that migrated to the Salt Lake Valley and arrived there in 1847. He traveled back to Winter Quarters with Brigham Young and returned to Utah in 1852. See Jensen, *LDS Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:723–24, 768.

Nauvoo City June 29 1842

A Shewd of Property Belonging to
Ahira Young one Lot Taken of the
Church Nothing Paid on it one Log House
on the Same one Cow & calf one Sow
& two Pigs one Bed & bedding one Wife
& four Children one Bedstead two Chests
two Chairs & Several other Articles of
house hold furniture Cloathing Scant

Due to Orman Butler Wife
one ~~Two~~ hundred & Seventy Dollars ~~Five~~
All at the Disposal of the Church
Ahira Young

Ahira Young,³⁴ June 28, 1842

Nauvoo City June 28 1842

A Shedule of Property Belonging to

Ahira Young one Lot Taken of the

Church Nothing Paid on it one Log House

on the Same one Cow & Calf one Sow

& two Pigs one Bed & Beding one Wife

& four Children one Bedsted two Chests

two Chairs & Several other Articals of

house hould furniture Cloathing Scant

Due to Osman Butler Wife

<one> Two hundred & Sevnty 5 Dollars ~~\$275.00~~

All at the Disposal of the Church

Ahira Young

34. Ahira Young (dates unknown) was possibly a member of the Nauvoo Second Ward. However, few documents other than tax forms and census records reveal much about this individual. See Susan Easton Black, comp., "Membership of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848," 50 vols. (Provo: Religious Studies Center at Brigham Young University, 1984–88), 48:23; De Platt, *Early Mormon Records*, 29.

Lewis Zeigler,³⁵ c. [June] 26, 1842

Articles

- 11- Shirts and 2 flannel do 1 Sham
- 6 pair of Pants
- 5 - vests -
- 3 Cloth Coats two Summer Coats & 2 over Coats
- 6 Pair of Woollen Stockings and 7 pair of Cotten stockings
- 2 Silk Pocket handkerchiefs & 1 silk neck handkerchief
- 2 Stocks
- 2 Pair of Boots and one Pair of Shoes
- 2 Pocket Bible<s> 1 book of Mormon 1 dictionary – life of Washington
- 1 fur hat 1 summer hat – 1 Fur Cap 1 Trunk 1 hat Box
- 1 Postmanteau 1 Pair of Woollen Mittens 1 do of buckskin gloves 1 Summer pair
- 4 Pair of Cotton drawers & stuff for 1 Pair
- 1 Umbrella

The above named Articles comprehend all that I am steward over excepting Comb Penknife &c – I for my part feel willing to lay what little is Committed to what is my trust at the Apostle feet for such I firmly believe them to be and am willing to submit to their distribution of said mentioned property – asking the blessing of my heavenly Father to strengthen their hands abundantly

Lewis Zeigler

Nauvoo 26th 1842

35. This affidavit is clearly that of Lewis Zeigler. Unfortunately, the name Lewis Zeigler does not appear on many, if any, Mormon documents. There was, however, a Levi Zeigler living in Nauvoo. Otherwise, there is hardly any documentation on a Lewis Zeigler. This may be another case where this affidavit is the only record of this man's life. See De Platt, *Early Mormon Records*, 68.

“With God’s Assistance I Will Someday Be an Artist”

John B. Fairbanks’s Account of the Paris Art Mission

Rachel Cope

In the late nineteenth century, Paris was the unchallenged capital of Western art; as a result, budding artists aspired to study there. Included in this group was John B. Fairbanks of Payson, Utah, who, through the sponsorship of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, fulfilled his goal by serving as an art missionary from 1890 to 1892. While studying with other LDS art missionaries at the Académie Julian in Paris, Fairbanks corresponded regularly with his wife, Lillie, and their then-seven children. Many of Fairbanks’s letters have been preserved in the Church History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah;¹ this article presents an important selection of them below.

Fairbanks never received a prize or honor for his artwork in Paris, but the account he left behind is valuable not only as a record of the art mission, but also because it is raw and real; his story is meaningful because it is so human. His letters describe his surroundings and detail his experiences as an artist in training, but, more poignantly, they depict his reactions to foreign places and events, express the tender love and concern (financial, spiritual, and emotional) he felt for his young family, note his longing to be reunited with his wife and children, discuss events then taking place in Utah (including the Manifesto issued by Wilford Woodruff in 1890), share the depths of his frustration as he failed to attain his goals in the

1. Photocopies of the letters are also available at the library in the Springville Museum of Art in Springville, Utah. The Springville Museum of Art photocopies were used as the main source of the letters cited in this article, thus the footnotes cite that source even though many of the letters can also be found on microfilm at the Church History Library.

efficient and timely manner he had originally anticipated, and exemplify his enduring determination and his consistent, steadfast faith.²

Prelude to the Art Mission

Fairbanks was born in Payson, Utah, on December 27, 1855, to John Boylston and Sarah Van Wagoner Fairbanks. Even as a child he had an affinity for art. This interest intensified as he got older, particularly when he became acquainted with artist John Hafen (1856–1910), who had opened an art studio in Payson. Fairbanks visited Hafen's studio regularly to observe him as he painted. Having noted his friend's artistic interests, Hafen furnished Fairbanks with art materials and encouraged him to paint as well.

Fairbanks married Lillie Annetta Huish on June 24, 1881. In October of that year, the young artist was called to serve in the Southern States Mission (1881–1883). Following an emotional farewell, he noted in his journal, "I left my wife and sisters on the platform crying."³ During this period of separation, Lillie and John corresponded frequently.⁴

Upon returning home from his first mission, Fairbanks was greeted by John Hafen at the train station,⁵ and their friendship resumed. Although both men had to work occasional odd jobs to support their families, they continued to pursue art careers; they also worked as photographers and looked for opportunities to enhance and to share their talents. Both longed to receive formal training and looked to Paris as the world capital of art.

European Art Study

Following the Civil War, increasing affluence as well as a growing appreciation for European art provided the impetus for American artists to study abroad.⁶ As a result, the number of art students in Europe escalated throughout the 1870s and into succeeding decades. By 1890, at least 1,500 American artists were attending French academies.⁷ Many of these

2. Rachel Cope, "John B. Fairbanks: The Man behind the Canvas" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2003).

3. John B. Fairbanks, Journal, October 10, 1881, J. B. Fairbanks Collection, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

4. John B. Fairbanks Collection, Church History Library, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

5. Fairbanks, Journal, September 26, 1883, Perry Special Collections.

6. Ulrich W. Hiesinger, *Impressionism in America: The Ten American Painters* (New York: Neues Publishing, 1991), 73.

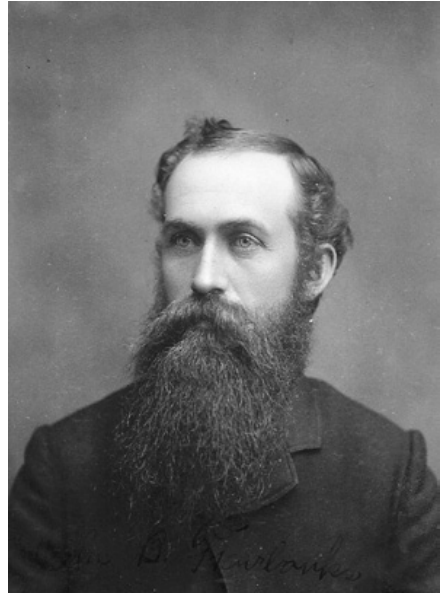
7. Linda Jones Gibbs, *Harvesting the Light: The Paris Art Mission and the Beginning of Utah Impressionism* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

individuals refined their techniques in Paris at private schools such as the Académie Julian or the government-sponsored Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Beginning in the 1830s, artists following the Barbizon School took their easels outdoors to paint nature and figures in a realistic but romanticized style. Then controversy began to rage within the artistic community in France with the advent of impressionism by artists such as Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Claude Monet (1840–1926), Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), and Camille Pissarro (1830–1903). Critics coined the term *impressionism* from an 1872 work by Claude Monet entitled *Impression: Sunrise*. Impressionists

used light, color, and shadow to portray simple subjects from everyday life. They captured the world in "more dynamic and colorful poses" using "small brush strokes or daubs," believing that the manner in which they portrayed light was more important than the painting's subject.⁸ Ultimately, impressionists wanted to reject conventional detail and eliminate subjective interpretation in exchange for the creation of a specific moment.⁹ By the final decade of the nineteenth century, American critics and the public at large had favorably recognized the work of impressionist painters.

Aware of the importance of European training, Latter-day Saint artists George Ottinger (1833–1917) and Dan Weggeland (1827–1918) encouraged



John B. Fairbanks, date unknown. Courtesy Florence Fairbanks Cope.

Saints, 1987), 2; David McCullough, *The Greater Journey: Americans in Paris* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2011), 411.

8. Patricia Jobe Pierce, *The Ten: Frank W. Benson, Joseph R. DeCamp, Thomas W. Dewing, Childe Hassam, Willard L. Metcalf, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons, Edmund C. Tarbell, John H. Twachtman, J. Alden Weir and William Merritt Chase (Who Replaced Twachtman, 1902)* (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1976), 7; H. Wayne Morgan, *New Muses: Art in American Culture, 1865–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 114.

9. Hiesinger, *Impressionism in America*, 10.

young Utah artists to study in Paris. In 1888, James Taylor Harwood¹⁰ (1860–1940), Harriet Richards (1870–1922), Cyrus E. Dallin¹¹ (1861–1944), and John Willard Clawson (1858–1936) enrolled in art academies in France. Fairbanks, as well as several others, hoped to follow. John struggled “to save enough money to study in Europe. Although he was able to save but a little, his desire grew. Finally he wrote to Pres. Joseph F. Smith asking what he thought of his plans. The reply was that the plans were worthy and Pres. Smith complimented him for entertaining such a worthy ambition.”¹²

The Paris Art Mission

While discussing together the possibility of studying in Paris, John Hafen and fellow artist Lorus Pratt (1855–1923) developed an idea: they wondered if the Church would be willing to subsidize their training if they agreed to paint murals in the Salt Lake Temple upon their return to Utah. Following careful contemplation, they approached George Q. Cannon, then First Counselor in the First Presidency, and introduced their idea. Cannon became intrigued by the artists’ suggestion and asked them to conduct further research and to propose a plan for the cost and length of study. Hafen and Pratt readily agreed.

After meeting with President Cannon, Hafen contacted his former art teacher, James Taylor Harwood, who described the conditions and expenses of receiving an art education in Paris. Shortly thereafter, Hafen wrote a letter to President Cannon in which he summarized his discussion with Harwood and detailed his own financial situation; he also included an approximate budget. He then shared the following: “For many years past I have been prompted to write to you on the subject of Art, even commencing to write letters, but my timidity would overcome me. I since realize the necessity of cultivating any talent God has bestowed upon His children from the very fact that he is the giver of all gifts and it remains for us

10. James Taylor Harwood was born in Lehi, Utah, into an artistic family. His work shows the beginning of Utah impressionism. See Doris R. Dant and Linda Jones Gibbs, “Harwood and Haag Paint Paris,” *BYU Studies* 33, no. 4 (1993): 754–56.

11. Cyrus Dallin, born in Springville, Utah, moved to Boston to study sculpting and then worked in Arlington, Massachusetts. He is known for some of America’s most iconic sculptures, including *Appeal to the Great Spirit* and *Paul Revere*. Dallin’s work brings beauty and a sense of history to public spaces in Boston and many other cities throughout the nation. He also sculpted the statue of the angel Moroni atop the Salt Lake City Temple and which serves as the pattern for similar statues atop most other LDS temples.

12. Florence Cope, “History of John B. Fairbanks, Condensation by Florence Cope of a History by Florence Gifford Fairbanks,” 5, Springville Museum of Art.

to put them to good and legitimate use." Suggesting further the need for well-trained artists within the Church, Hafen continued:

Sometimes I feel like reproving myself for not taking some active step of some kind to further my interest in art education. What are we going to do, brother Cannon, when one beautifull Temple in Salt Lake City is ready to receive inside decorations? Who is there amongst all our people capable to do . . . justice to art work that should be executed therein? I must confess that it is impossible for me to see any other of more consistent course to pursue in this matter than to give two or three young men who possess talent in this direction a chance to develop in the same way Bro Pratt suggested in our conversation with you.¹³

Then, unbeknown to Fairbanks at the time, Hafen recommended that Fairbanks be included in the Paris study mission:

I wish to introduce to your notice and consideration Bro. J. B. Fairbanks of Payson: who is also earnestly devoted to art. He is not as well known as a disciple of the brush yet, having only followed the calling since he returned from his mission a few years ago but he is talented earnest and industrious; and above all a devoted servant to the cause of God. Why I bring him to your notice, is, if I should be one of the honored ones selected to enjoy the privileges of an education and Bro Fairbanks would be barred out, I should look upon it as a calamity. The bonds of brotherly love are such, and our aims and desires are so closely connected that I would rather share one year with him and divide it between us, so that each could have a six month chance than to leave him home behind. . . . However, I don't wish to dictate in this matter. I know that God will inspire you brethren to do that which will be for the best of all.¹⁴

Shortly after completing this letter to President Cannon, Hafen approached Fairbanks and exclaimed excitedly, "I wanted to break it gently. . . . But it is too good, I must tell you now. My prospects for going to France have never been better." Fairbanks congratulated his friend whole-heartedly, but, while doing so, his "heart sank," for he had hoped to accompany him. Noting the disappointment underlying his friend's enthusiasm, Hafen proclaimed, "But you are going with me." Fairbanks later reported, "This news was almost too much for me."¹⁵

As Church Apostle Heber J. Grant along with First Presidency Counselors George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith discussed the possibility of

13. John Hafen to George Q. Cannon, March 25, 1890, John Hafen Collection, Perry Special Collections.

14. Hafen to Cannon, March 25, 1890.

15. Typescript copy of letter from John Fairbanks to Joseph F. Smith, no date, in Florence Fairbanks, "The Life of John B. Fairbanks," 65, Perry Special Collections, and in the Springville Museum of Art.

an art mission, they requested that the three men develop an approximate budget.¹⁶ In preparation for this task, the artists found a place of solitude on Ensign Peak, where they “knelt in humble supplication to the Lord that if our plan were right, it might be approved. We promised that we would do all in our power to further art in Utah if we had such an opportunity.”¹⁷ In a letter to George Q. Cannon, Hafen later admitted, “I tried to approach this question to my brethren in a way that was calculated not to inspire my hope in them, as per your instructions, but, my dear brother, these young men/your humble servant included/have united their faith and prayers on the subject and have received a testimony of what is coming.”¹⁸ Thus, they were not surprised when they learned the Church would support their trip to Paris.

Apostles Anthon H. Lund and Heber J. Grant, along with Seymour B. Young of the First Council of the Seventy, set apart Fairbanks, Hafen, and Pratt as official missionaries for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on June 3, 1890.¹⁹ The Church leaders counseled them to avoid places “where the spirit of God is not. . . . H. J. Grant, said Try to lodge in the best houses. No one can have the Holy Ghost as wel(l) without keeping the word of wisdom as those who keepe (*sic*) it. . . . Leave other peoples religion alone. . . . See every thing on earth that you can.”²⁰ The artists then had three weeks to prepare for an experience that would not only enhance the quality of their painting, but would also introduce them to impressionism and

16. Fairbanks, Pratt, and Hafen concluded that the combined cost would be \$1,800 for one year. Additionally, Hafen needed \$360 to support his family. The total cost was \$2,160.

17. Fairbanks to Smith, no date.

18. John Hafen to George Q. Cannon, April 25, 1890, Hafen Collection.

19. At this time, an official French mission did not exist. In 1844, Almon Babbitt had been charged with inaugurating Mormon missionary work in France, but he never served in France. By 1847, a plea for elders to volunteer as missionaries in France was cited in the *Millennial Star* in England. Shortly thereafter, leaders at a general conference in the British Mission called William Howell to serve as a missionary in France. Due to political turmoil and the outlawing of all Protestant sects, the mission closed in 1864. Thus, in addition to his responsibilities as a missionary, Lorus Pratt was assigned to preside over the French mission in 1890. The French mission was reopened, with headquarters in Paris, on October 15, 1912. Gary Ray Chard, “The History of the French Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (master’s thesis, Utah State University, 1965); *Journal History of the Church*, July 12, 1890 (chronology of typed entries and newspaper clippings, 1830–present), Church History Library.

20. John B. Fairbanks, *Diary of John B. Fairbanks*, June 1890, typescript, p. 2, John B. Fairbanks Collection, Church History Library. Heber J. Grant was an Apostle at this time. Editorial corrections appear in the typescript.

enable them to encourage a further appreciation for the aesthetic among Church members and Utah citizens.²¹

On Monday, June 23, 1890, Fairbanks arose at dawn to make final preparations for his journey. By 6:00 a.m. he had kissed tenderly his three youngest children while they slept, and bid his beloved companion of thirteen years farewell. In his journal he recorded that Lillie "was very much affected by the parting" but in practicality acknowledged that "part we must."²² The four oldest children then accompanied their father to the depot. Fairbanks recalled, "I bid them good bye got on the train leaving the darlings standing on the platform with sorrowful faces and tears standing in their eyes."²³ By noon, Fairbanks, Hafen, and Pratt had boarded an eastbound train. The tears in Hafen's eyes reflected the sober mood of the small group. Yet despite the sadness and trepidation they felt, the art missionaries recognized that their sacrifices would ultimately benefit the Church, their families, and the Utah community.²⁴

The art missionaries visited art galleries in New York, spent eleven days crossing the Atlantic, visited more galleries in Liverpool, and finally arrived in Paris on July 24, 1890.²⁵ The following day they met with Cyrus Dallin. Mesmerized by his surroundings, Fairbanks reported to his wife, "Paris is art on every side."²⁶

Académie Julian

During their second day in Paris, Fairbanks and his colleagues traveled to the Académie Julian to become acquainted with the professors and students. As they arrived at the school, they were surprised by its unkempt appearance. Hafen recalled:

Leaving those grand boulevards we entered Rue St. Denis, a narrow street. With quick steps we pass grocery shops, shoe, drug, dry goods, vegetable and every other kind of shops that modern Shylock²⁷ has ever thought

21. Fairbanks, Journal, June 3, 1890.

22. John B. Fairbanks, Diaries, 1877–1914, June 24, 1890, Church History Library.

23. Fairbanks, Diaries, 1877–1914, June 24, 1890.

24. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, July 27, 1890, Springville Museum of Art.

25. John B. Fairbanks, Diaries, 1877–1914, June 24 to July 24, 1890, Church History Library.

26. John Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, July 27, 1890, Springville Museum of Art.

27. Shylock is a character in Shakespeare's play *The Merchant of Venice*, written around 1597. Many historians and critics are intrigued by Shylock because of his Jewish faith and the role he plays in *The Merchant of Venice*, where he is depicted as

of; expecting every moment to behold the magnificent academy building my fancy had pictured. When, all at once, here we are! Yes, we were here in a narrow court or yard of a feather cleaning and pillow factory; a few packing boxes and bales of feathers lying about. In front of us, on a two-story, rickety old building was the sign, sure enough, Académie Julia, [sic] Peinture.²⁸

Although unimpressive in its appearance, the school cultivated skills of a superior quality in its students. Founded by Italian bookshop assistant Rodolphe Julian (1839–1907) in 1868, the institution thrived and expanded continually. With some English-speaking professors, the academy welcomed many Americans, such as Robert Henri, who attended beginning in 1888 and who would later train Minerva Teichert. By 1890, Julian had organized nine different *ateliers*, workshops, five for men and four for women.²⁹ Beginning students drew from plaster casts, but later moved to the life-room, where they sketched from nude models.³⁰ Students received evaluation from professors on Wednesdays and Saturdays; giving specific criticism was considered a better teaching method than lectures.³¹ Fairbanks was under master artists Jean-Joseph Benjamin-Constant, Jean-Paul Laurence, and Jules Lefebvre.³² The emphasis on figure drawing was typical of academic art schools of this time period; it was believed that drawing had to be mastered before artists attempted to paint. Therefore, students spent long hours in the classroom, often working on the same drawing for three to four weeks.³³ This endeavor served the Utah artists well, since they needed to develop basic drawing skills.³⁴ Yet despite the traditional emphasis on academic figure studies, many Julian students, such as Henri Matisse, who also attended in 1891, later embraced radical techniques.³⁵

a greedy and merciless moneylender. He is one of the more problematic of Shakespeare's characters for modern readers because of the way in which he is depicted as the villain of the piece.

28. John Hafen, "An Art Student in Paris," *The Contributor* 75 (1893–94): 486.

29. Gabriel P. Weisberg and Jane R. Becker, eds., *Overcoming All Obstacles: The Women of the Académie Julian* (New York: Dahesh Museum and Rutgers University Press, 1999), 16.

30. John Milner, *Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 13.

31. Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian and Its Founder, Rodolphe Julian," *Gazette de Beaux Arts* (1984): 208.

32. *Road to Zion: France, Part 2*, with hostess Aline Conti, available at <http://byutv.org/watch/c845775f-7b60-434f-a1fe-b1a7150fbb6d>.

33. Gibbs, *Harvesting the Light*, 21.

34. Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian," 213.

35. Wiesberg and Becker, *Overcoming All Obstacles*, 5.

Becoming an Art Student

When Fairbanks began his training at the Académie Julian, he became increasingly aware of his weaknesses as an artist. Nonetheless, he hoped that if he utilized his time, he could develop proficient skills within one year.³⁶ In order to achieve this goal, he developed an intense schedule. Fairbanks arose at 5:30 a.m., and, after getting ready for the day, devoted thirty minutes to the study of anatomy or French. Upon arriving at school, he would sketch for several hours. During the lunch break he continued his study of anatomy, followed by another four hours of sketching. He would then go home to complete some chores before attending night classes for three hours. Following these classes, he would return home and go to bed. Just one month after arriving in Paris, Fairbanks explained, "I can see the hand of the Lord in opening the way for me all the way through and I trust that now I am here he will not leave me to myself but that he will help me in my studies."³⁷

The art missionaries diligently kept themselves away from the temptations of Paris and sought to have the spirit of God with them, as would all LDS missionaries, but they understood that their mission was different from a proselytizing mission. On February 2, 1891, John wrote to Lillie:

You ask if we preach the gospel to the students, No, that is not our mission we do not bother them about religion because most of them are not of a religious turn of mind besides we want them to become acquainted with us as men first. We have however lent the Book of Mormon to one young man, I think a great deal of him and he seems to think just as much of us. There are a few very fine men in the school but they are not very numerous. If they were anxious to know of our doctrines we would tell them, but they don't seem to care and we don't want to cast our pearls before swine. Our mission is to get acquainted with art as much as we possibly can, and I am pleased to say now we are looked upon as being among the great draftsman of the school.³⁸

The Concours

The highest art honor available at the time was to be included in the Paris Salon, the annual government-sponsored art exhibit, but the selection

36. John Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, August 18, 1890, Springville Museum of Art.

37. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, August 24, 1890, Springville Museum of Art.

38. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, February 2, 1891, Springville Museum of Art.

committee was very demanding.³⁹ In an effort to prepare his students for the difficulties of the competition, Rodolphe Julian had them compete against each other in an in-house weekly *concours*, a contest, for the best work as chosen by the masters. At the end of the month, they judged each of these pictures; the best one received a cash prize.

In April 1891, Fairbanks faced the most difficult period of his mission, as students at the Académie were submitting their works to be considered for display in the concours or in the Salon, held in early summer.⁴⁰ Although he became determined for one of his pictures to be chosen, the judges rejected them. Despite his attempts to maintain a positive attitude, Fairbanks's letters sometimes reflect his discouragement. Yet he consistently followed such comments with declarations of determination and expressions of faith.

Extended Mission

The art missionaries originally planned to study at the Académie Julian for one year; they later received permission from George Q. Cannon to remain longer, although Hafen left after the first year due to financial difficulty at home. Having experienced feelings of failure in the spring, Fairbanks believed it was essential for him to pursue his studies for an additional year. Lillie's strength of character is reflected by her acceptance of this announcement without complaint: "John I want you to stay until you are satisfied[;] if it requires 2 years, all right."⁴¹

During the summer of 1891, Fairbanks spent his time in the small village of Chilleurs under the tutelage of Adolph Schultz.⁴² While there, he drew from dawn to dusk. By sketching and painting in the countryside,

39. Ross King, *The Judgment of Paris: The Revolutionary Decade That Gave the World Impressionism* (New York: Walker, 2006), 17.

40. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, April 18, 1891, Springville Museum of Art. "The professors were chosen not only for their ability to teach, but also for the influence they might be able to exert on their students' behalf. Julian himself was notorious for his efforts to assure that his students' work would be shown in the Salon." Catherine Fehrer, "Women at the Académie Julian in Paris," *The Burlington Magazine* 136 (November 1994): 754.

41. Lillie Fairbanks to John B. Fairbanks, May 20, 1891, Springville Museum of Art.

42. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, June 14, 1891, Springville Museum of Art: "My Dear Wife, Sunday is here again and I very much welcome this 'Beautiful day of rest,' and I feel that my two weeks here has been profitably spent, when at Auvers for two weeks I made about 4 sketches I think I have made in two weeks here about 8 finished sketches and about as many that are not finished. I have about made up my mind to stay here three or four months. My friend gives me many

he developed additional skills and his letters became more relaxed. By the end of the summer, he had created over two hundred sketches or paintings. He explained, "The idea that we have of art at home is ridiculous it is a study of a life time and nothing less. I find that I have come here to begin the study of art, and not to finish it. I do not expect to finish my study of art on this earth."⁴³ Additional study and perspective enabled him to redefine what it meant to be an artist.

Fairbanks spent his second summer in France working under the personal direction of landscape artist Albert Gabriel Rigolot (1862–1932).⁴⁴ During this time, he maintained his rigorous work schedule. Observing Fairbanks painting in the rain, Rigolot declared, "Fairbanks all the time work, all the time work."⁴⁵

After completing a second year of training, the missionaries received a letter from George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, encouraging them to begin thinking about artwork for the Salt Lake Temple, although they gave the artists the option of remaining in Paris longer if they felt their training was incomplete. Nonetheless, the letter ended with the following request: "We would like to get the benefit of the best artistic skill now in the Church in the decoration of this grand building."⁴⁶ Church leaders later sent "plans and dimentions [*sic*] for the temple decorations" so the artists could begin sketching.⁴⁷ Their thoughts turned in the direction of the temple murals, and by the end of 1892, two years following their arrival in Paris, each had arrived home. Fairbanks's last letter from Paris was written on July 27, 1892, and he traveled home in August.

Home in Utah

In January 1893, John Fairbanks, John Hafen, Lorus Pratt, Edwin Evans and Dan Weggeland began painting in the Salt Lake Temple.⁴⁸ Fairbanks later

suggestions that I profit by." John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, August 23, 1891, Springville Museum of Art.

43. John B. Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, September 3, 1891, Springville Museum of Art.

44. Rigolot enjoyed portraying riverscapes and landscapes and was admired for his naturalism.

45. Florence Fairbanks, "Life of John B. Fairbanks," 73.

46. Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith to J. W. Clawson, Lorus Pratt, John Fairbanks, Henry Evans, Herman Haag, April 18, 1892, Lorus Pratt Collection, Springville Museum of Art.

47. John Fairbanks to Lillie Fairbanks, May 23, 1892, Springville Museum of Art.

48. Since Hafen returned from the art mission a year earlier than the others, he likely started painting in the temple prior to Fairbanks's return. Fairbanks later

assisted with the murals in the Mesa Arizona Temple. In 1898, his wife Lillie fell down the stairs and died, leaving John with eleven children to care for. In 1900, he left his oldest son Leo and his daughter Nettie to care for the younger children while he traveled to South America. The Cluff Archeological Expedition had hired him to sketch and photograph the travels of the group, another experience he was told to consider a mission for the Church. During his two years in South America, he found time to make numerous sketches from which he later produced beautiful paintings. In 1917, Fairbanks



John B. Fairbanks and his son Avar, in Paris in 1914. Courtesy Florence Fairbanks Cope.

traveled to southern Utah to paint Bryce and Zion Canyons. While there, he met Florence Gifford. The two were married and had five children together.

Although Fairbanks's career as an artist never proved to be lucrative and many of his paintings have been forgotten, he had an impact on the development of art education in Utah. He helped organize the Society of Utah Artists and served as a charter member of the Utah Art Institute. Fairbanks and others also established the art department at Brigham Young Academy. He worked as the art supervisor in Ogden's public school system and taught art at the LDS College in Salt Lake. Throughout his life, Fairbanks continued to work as an artist and encouraged his children, especially his sons J. Leo and Avar, to pursue their artistic talents. He eventually took his youngest son from his first marriage, Avar, to study in New York City, and in 1914 they traveled to Paris, where John studied privately while his young son attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

painted replacement murals in the St. George Temple and assisted in the restoration of damaged sections in the Salt Lake Temple.

Fairbanks continued to paint and assisted J. Leo and Avarð in the creation of the Mormon display for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He passed away in 1940, at the age of eighty-five.

The Letters

The following letters were selected from the collection for their content. The first, dated October 12, 1890, contains Fairbanks's reaction to news of President Woodruff's Manifesto and describes the Académie Julian and the program of study. On October 26, 1890, Fairbanks expressed his dedication to his studies and summarized the many opportunities for the French to study art. On November 9, 1890, he further expounded on the end of polygamy and depicted some street entertainment in Paris. On November 16, 1890, he described his hope that his children will have firm goals in their lives, and his discomfort that someone donated money to his family. Then, skipping ahead several months, on May 24, 1891, he explained to Lillie why he decided to extend his studies in Paris, and told her that he had advanced from drawing to painting. One year later, May 11, 1892, a few weeks before returning to Utah, John described his work with Rigolot and told Lillie he was thinking about plans for the Salt Lake Temple murals but hoped to remain in France until he felt ready to leave.

~~Strikeouts~~ indicate words crossed out by Fairbanks. <Angle brackets> indicate words written above a line. Editorial corrections are enclosed in [square brackets]. Original spelling and punctuation have been retained. Photocopies of all of the following letters may be found at the Springville Museum of Art.

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John B. Fairbanks's Letters to Lillie Fairbanks

8 Rue Boissonade

Paris, France

Oct 12 1890

My Dear Wife & Children

Sunday is here again but no letter from home this week I am anxiously looking for one letter however, I am pleased to say I am well. My ankle is nearly well again.⁴⁹ I scarcely know what to write about but I can probably find enough if the boys will only keep still and let me think. We are all writing and talking. We are all quiett now so I will begin. We read an account in a paper last week of Prest Woodruff's proclamation relative to polygamy.⁵⁰ We were some what surprised but our faith is not at all shaken. I believe that as God designs to leave the nation without cause that is the only way it could be done. Polygamy was an excuse and the only one that they had for persecuting Gods people now that it is removed if they still continue there is no excuse at all I must say though that there is a kind of regrett that I had not entered into that principle before ~~still I do not~~ the privilege was denighed. Still I do not feel condemned. I think it will be for a little season and then more will be revealed on the subject, as was promised when the revelation was given. I think we have done all that we could under the circumstances. We have been listening for a while to Bro Evans tell about visiting the places in London where Jack the Ripper committed his depredations.⁵¹ He committed 10 murders in a very short time But recently there has been nothing heard of him.⁵² In one of the places a policeman visited the exact spot every 15 min on his rounds but this is uninteresting to you. So I will switch off onto something else. I will write some thing about our school it may be interesting to you and the children. It is situated on Rue Sant Denis

49. Fairbanks was born with a crippled left foot; while serving a mission in the southern states, he experienced great pain because of this ailment. On November 20, 1881, he recorded the following in his journal: "This morning ankle is much better than it was yesterday morning. We went into the woods to have prayer and to anoint my ankle for the purpose of having all deformities removed." Although he continued to walk with a limp throughout his life, much of the pain was alleviated. John Fairbanks, Journal, November 20, 1881, Church History Library.

50. The Manifesto, which formally ended plural marriage, was issued by Wilford Woodruff in September 1890.

51. Utah artist Edwin Evans (1860–1946) joined the art missionaries three months following their arrival.

52. A pseudonym given to an unidentified serial killer in the impoverished Whitechapel area of London, England. The majority of the murders attributed to Jack the Ripper took place in 1888; the last one occurred on February 13, 1891.

pronounced Sandanee we go through a gait way into a court that is a sort of square where a great many doors and windows open into from all sides and we see in front of us the sign Julian Academy in large letters on the wall we go up two flight of stairs and there enter the Academy. By the way I forgot to tell you that any one would not be struck with the beauty of the out side appearance of the building. A person never would stop and ask what place is that unless he was looking for a workshop of some sort. It consists of four large rooms, when we go there in the morning we see in one corner of the rooms a lot of easles and stools stacked up in the corners. A little later all of these easles and stool are on the floor, each man takes his position Monday morning which he keeps for a week. On the walls there are prize drawings and paintings the[y] are very fine. These are framed in very common frames or hung without frames. There are all manner of chariactures of those who have attended the school some of which are very funny some vulgar and some rediculous. At 8:15 the moddle [model] poses in the morning. There is nobody there to keep order the schollars are left entirely to themselves. There are a few Frenchmen who are always making a noise of some kind, singing, whistling, imitating cats, dogs, pigs or some thing else. There is hardly ten minutes of the day but what they are making some noise then when the time comes for the moddle to rest most of the schollars go smoke right in the room and there we have to stay in that smoke the rest of the day. During the rest some indulge in exercising with dumbbells some at looking at the prize drawings, some studying the skeleton some conversing while others are looking around the room at the different work being done, so as to gain some points if possible. I try to spend my rests profitably as I can. One after noon it was remarkably quiett and we all wondered what was the reason when to our surprise there was about one Frenchman in the room. Most of the men in our room are Americans. There are more Americans and Englishmen in ~~our room~~ the school than French men. The professor comes only twice a week, Wednesdays and Saturdays and then he only criticises the work we have done. Were it not for the instruction we get from the advanced scholars and what we can pick up by looking around we would not gain much by going to school. But as it is we can get what we want from those who have studied for years. We do not have classes but we each take our position and do the best we can and continue so doing. It is the influence of art and the good painters who attend the school that makes it what it is. I am well pleased with the progress I am making allthough it is slow. I now feel that I have got the worth of my money.

The Americans are usually harder workers than the French in fact always I may say I suppose one reason is the[y] come here and desire to make the best of their time while they are here but the French man is at home and can

spend a day or so at school and a day or two away. Oh yes I had forgotten to tell you that the walls of the school rooms are nicely decorated with the cleanings of the pallet. That is when a mans pallett board gets too full of old paint, they scrape them off and doff it on the wall—or plaster it on rather.⁵³ So you may judge partly how it looks, if you remember how the door in the old shop <upstairs> at your fathers looked you can probably get a better idea. In fact taking the Julian School as a whole it is not a desirable place to go to only for the purpose of learning and yet it is the best or one of the best schools of art in the world so considered I believe. It is getting time for me to get ready for school so I will close asking Gods blessing upon you all that you may have a good time during my absence is the desire of your loving and ever true husband.

J. B. Fairbanks.



8 Rue Boissonade
Paris, France
October 26, 1890

My Dear Wife

I am again without a letter to answer. I hope there is nothing the matter that has prevented you writing. We are having good health. The weather is getting a little cold here now, and the nights are getting longer. I understand that the weather does not get very cold here in winter but is wet. I dread winter mor on your account than on my own. I hope you will be very carefull of yourself and the children this winter. Leo is getting large enough so that he can do the outside work or most of it and of cours he will be glad to do it and save you that bother. Good boys are always[s] anxious to do all they can for their mothers and Leo is one of the good boys of course Nettie too of course is anxious to help you with house work and the children. I do not remember of anything of importance happening last week but may before I get through. My drawing last week our Professor said was very good especiall the head. Quite a number of the students complimented me on it that is they told me it was by far the best that they had seen me do. Of course this made me feel well. But I see I have ~~to do~~ a very, very great deal to learn yet. I feel to acknowledge the hand of the Lord in my success thus far and I pray for his assistance in future. I find it an advantage to rest a little occasionally. In order to do this I paint or try to a little which is a benefit

53. One piece of a post filled with paint scrapings is preserved and can be seen in the video *Road to Zion: France, Part 2*.

in that direction I want to get all the information I can in every direction while here therefore I wait but little if any time I try hard not to wait any but sometimes I presume I miss it. I feel dreadfully awkward in painting but by the time next fall arrives I hope to be a little more familiar with colors and be able to sling them with more ease and decision.

Friday one of our professors Benjamin Constant came to the school early and criticized our drawings his reason for coming early was that he was getting ready to go to America he was to leave on Saturday. So it will not be long until America will be visited by one of the great American French artists.⁵⁴ In the afternoon we visited the Beaux Arts (boz Arts). This is a government school of art in which any one can attend who can pass an examination in drawing architecture, history, etc free and every year or every four years I do not now know which any one of the students can compete for a prize and the one who gets the prize has the privilege of going to Italy for 4 years with all expenses paid by the government. There is one for architects one for painters and one for sculptors. ~~So you~~ In Paris there are a number of free <night> schools for French men or boys where drawing is taught so there is no wonder that the French are far ahead in art. If a young man has talent there is plenty of opportunity for him no matter how poor he may be. Besides these opportunities they can go and copy some of the very best paintings in the world in the art galleries. I want to do some of that after a while when I get farther along in my drawing.⁵⁵

I often see you all in my mind's eye and I wish I could see you all in reality. I often think of the pleasant times we have all had and contemplate upon the good times we will all have when I return I want to get all the information I can so I will have something to tell you all and I often think what a fine thing it would be to get a magic lantern with views to illustrate my travels but this is expensive but there are views that I can get and will before I return if possible. But what I am seeking for now is knowledge.

Monday 27 Mr. Checksler & Bro. Clawson both complimented me on the drawing I started this morning they said I was making rapid progress in the right direction.⁵⁶ I may be on the road but a long way from the end. But with God's assistance I will some day be an artist. Tell the children not to forget pa in their prayers. Kiss them all for me god Bless you all remember

54. Jean Joseph Benjamin-Constant (1845–1902), was "almost the first French painter of any repute to visit America in a professional capacity." "Benjamin-Constant Dead," *New York Times*, May 27, 1902.

55. Fairbanks did later paint copies of famous works in Paris.

56. John Clawson joined the art missionaries in fall 1890.

me to your friends. Bros Hafen and Gard send their kind regard to you all from your ever loving Husband and father JBF all write.



8 Rue Boissonade

Paris France

Nov. 9/[18]90

My Dear Wife

Your letter of the [9/?] containing Geo Q's & Pres Woodruff's discourses came to hand a few days since and was read with interest although the letter was short it was so much better than to get none. It does me lots of good to heare that all are well at home and it does me so much more good to hear how things are going and what the children and you are doing and what the little folks have to say. My ankle is O.K. again except a little week. I do not think I will study too hard. We have quite a variety then occasionally we go to some part of Paris where we have not been before which relieves our minds from our studies. All that I am afraid of is that I will not study hard enough to get all I want in the time that I will be permitted to stay here. There is so much to learn and so little time to learn it in that it some times looks discouraging, still I can see I am improving some in my drawing. In fact when I consider where I was when I started for school then ~~consider~~ compaer my position or the knowledge that I now have with that I then had. I feel that the Lord has blessed me.

You asked me what I thought about the manifesto. Well Lillie these are and have been my ideas from the first I heard of it God has designed the destruction of the wicked but he can not destroy them if they are not worthy of destruction, or in other words they must become thoroughly ripe for destruction before the judgments will be poured out upon them. They have passed laws against one of Gods laws or the practice <of certain principles> the Lord could have destroyed them before they did this if he had wanted to or he could have hindered them in their passing the bill but God does not work in that way he allows people to exercise their franchise or rather their agency as he did Adam in the garden of Eaden but they must suffer the consequences there off. For years our nation has said Polygamy is the only thing that we have against the Mormons and persecution has been carried on under that cloak they supposed that the Mormons would not give it up that is the devil has put these things into their heart ~~so to do~~. Now the Lord is going to prove to the whole world that polygamy is not the thing at all but because they are ~~Gods~~ his people thus they will be their own judges and bring condemnation upon their own heads. Our Elders for years have told the people that it is was not polygamy that the nation was kicking against

but the church of God and now it will be proven. I am sorry it has become necessary in fact I feel somewhat condemned—and this may be another reason for the suspension that is because the Lords people have not done what they might have done in that direction when they did have a chance. Still we have tried and tried hard yet I do not feel entirely justified but God is mercifull and when we have suffered sufficient for our neglect we will no doubt have ~~have~~ a chance and if we do not then we have done our share. Don't let the matter bother you Lillie all will be well, Both Bro Cannon and President Woodruff expressed my feelings in that regard.⁵⁷ I think their discourses were very good and to the point. If the Lord does not require it of us Lillie then we are justified and will get the same reward as if we had entered that principle. Well so much for that. Now for some thing else.

The other day we were walking around at noon and we saw a pipe worth 8000 franks or \$130. That is quite a sum of money to be worse than thrown away it was carved and ornamented in the finest style, we walked away father and heard some music, we stopped in side of a court (that is a place some thing like this)⁵⁸ the enterance is generally a gate way) to see what it was and there we saw a man with a fiddle and one with a cornett and

57. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, various congressional acts were passed against the practice of polygamy. This resulted in the disincorporation of the Church, fines, and imprisonments. In May 1890, the Supreme Court ruled in *The Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States* to uphold the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which had been passed in 1887 to enforce the 1862 Morrill Act, which disincorporated the Church and escheated its property. Chief Justice Melville Fuller said that Congress had the power to criminalize polygamy, but "it is not authorized under the cover of that power to seize and confiscate the property of persons, individuals, or corporations, without office found, because they may have been guilty of criminal practices." The ruling in *Late Corporation* directed federal escheat of substantially all the property of the legally disincorporated LDS Church, which was estimated at \$3 million. Following the decision, the U.S. Attorney for Utah Territory escheated \$381,812 in assets. A looming question formed in the minds of Church leaders: would the temple be escheated? On September 25, 1890, Wilford Woodruff recorded the following in his journal: "I have arived at a point in the History of my life as the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints where I am under the necessity of acting for the Temporal Salvation of the Church. The United State Governmet has taken a Stand & passed Laws to destroy the Latter day Saints upon the Subjet of poligamy or Patriarchal order of Marriage. And after Praying to the Lord & feeling inspired by his spirit I have issued the following Proclamation which is sustained by My councillors and the 12 Apostles." The Manifesto would follow. Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898, Typescript*, ed. Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols. (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1983-84), vol. 9, September 25, 1890.

58. Here Fairbanks drew an aerial view of a courtyard.

a little girl about the size of Ervon playing a base viole she played it nicely too. These people play in these courts and then the people throw coppers & then I also saw a man with three dogs and a monkey a drum and fife he would play a sort of a tune on the fife with one hand, and drum with the other and one of the dogs would stand up and act the soldier, then he would throw some small simbles & the monkey that was sitting on <one of> the dogs backs and the monkey would play the symbolalls he would then give him some kind of an instrument that the monkey would turn around he would play that. Ask the children how they would like to see such things I guess baby and Ortho would like to see them any way. I found to day a place where I can get stereo[s]copic views for 80 cents per day and another for 60 so I think I will get some we visited a street where there were hundreds of photos nearly every store had them. There are [photographs of] nude women in all most all positions in the windows as well as views of Paris.



8 Rue Boissonade
Paris, France
Nov 16 1890

My Dear Wife,

Sunday has come again and with it my time for writing. We are all in the enjoyment of health and trust you are all the same. The time is passing very rapidly a way 5 months will soon have passed away since I left my dear home and my loving wife and children to sojourn for a time among strangers. The time flies so rapidly that I sometimes fear that I will not be able to accomplish what I want in one year, but I will strive for it.⁵⁹ Last week I considider that I made two of as good or the best drawings I have made yet. I hope and trust that I may continue ~~so to do~~ <to improve> and with the help of the Lord I feel that I will. I know he has helped me in the past and that gives me considerable consolation and a satisfaction that if I do right and strive to keep his commandments he will help me in future. Although I can see and feel that I am improving and the fellows tell me I am making great progress yet I still see an awfull mountain before me. How I do appreciate this great privilege It is really wonderfull and miraculous when I think of it. How plainly Lillie do we see the answer of my continuous prayers for this opportunity. You remember how I used to pray for it every morning and evening do you not? Well I am here, now why should I doubt. My blessing said I should be able to excel as an artist.

59. Fairbanks would remain in Paris an additional year.

Is not God able to bless me so that I may excell as well as he opened the way for me to come here? I know he can and my constant prayer is that I ~~may be able to do so~~ <he will.> I would like to have you remind the children of these facts so that when they want to do some good thing or accomplish some great ~~thing~~ work that they must ask God constantly for his aid and assistance, the same as their pa and ma has done. But they must not stop there but make every effort that they can besides I like the way Leo has expressed himself very much and I only hope he will keep his object in view and constantly strive with that object in view.⁶⁰ I care not what a boy wants to be if it is a legitimate profession. I like to see him work with that object constantly before ~~them~~ him, then there is some hope of his becoming something. The person who has no aim in life is like a man who builds a house without a plan he lays a foundation without knowing what he wants and at the suggestion of a friend changes it and again changes it and after he begins to build he does not know where he wants his doors nor windows but he puts them in where they seem the handiest when his house is finished the windows and doors are out of place entirely his house is very unhandy and it is also an awkward shape. There is nothing about it to be desirable. So with life, a boy starts and at the suggestion of a friend he changes his occupation time is constantly passing, he sees an opening where he thinks he can better his situation and is constantly changing till life is half spent and nothing accomplished. Still his building has constantly been going on he has put in a few days at this a year or two at that and a month or so at some other thing all in the wrong places. When life is finished there is nothing that any one would admire no one would feel like following his course in life in order to become a useful man in society. His life has been a failure so to speak the same as the man's house I hope every one of my sons will have an aim in life and work to it, my daughters too.

We had a circus in school last week two young men came in dressed in circus attire. They were the limberest men I ever saw. One of them sit on his own head he looked something like this⁶¹ the other put his legs over his shoulders and turned around he looked something like this⁶² and many other performances they went through that were wonderful I paid about 2¢ to see it. Well I presume I must close for this time asking God's blessings

60. John B. Fairbanks to J. Leo Fairbanks, February 2, 1891, Springville Museum of Art: "I hope you will do your best and get some more of your work in besides getting the prize. Now if you want to do this I will tell you how pray to the Lord and ask him to help you and then go to work and and keep drawing whenever you can."

61. Here John drew an acrobat with his feet above his head.

62. Here John drew another acrobat.

upon you all kiss the children for me and tell me how the children like to hear from me. Give my kind regards to all who enquire about me and tell me who they are tell me how things are going how you get along what the children say and all you can think of loving ever your true husband, John.

Monday 17 I received your welcome letter containing a letter from Ervon Roy and Ortho. Those little letters pleased me very very much. I see Ervon tryed his best to write and it was very good too. Roys letter looked like he had been plowing and the furrows were first rate I could see some forms of letters in his too Ortho's looks like he was not going to be outdone by either of his brothers if he could help it. Their little scribbling pleased me very much and I hope they will write again.

I am pleased to hear how willing Leo is to go out and work to make something, for every little will help and he will never regret what he does for his Mama. Your letter too me was read with much pleasure although I was sorry to hear of you having the blews just about that time I fealt rather sorrowfull and I prayed to God with all my heart to bless you all and comfort you for I I fealt as though you needed it, don't forget that in God you will always find a comforter I felt very very strange when I read of you receiving a donation it made me feel queer all over. I don't like the idea at all but I presume I will have to let it go now.⁶³ Well I am glad that you are comfortably situated now, and feel comfortable. The \$7.00 per mo. may do more good than \$9.00 from someone who have children.

63. In a letter dated December 7, 1890, Lillie responded, "The answer to your favor of Nov 15. You speak of being sorry of me receiving a donation. O tell you I don't feel sorry about it, for if a father would see his child in want of it, and he had plenty and would not take her a little, I think he would be a heartless being, I could not get it. It was not your fault nor mine. I had the money and the man engaged to haul it but it could not be got. I was nearly out of wood, Pat said I could get a stick of wood or too at his house, and he would get the wood as soon as he could. My folks new my condition, your folks new my condition. Henry and Frank knew I wanted them to haul. But they were busy they never came to find out or see if I wanted, or they did not care, and when Pa was so kind I could not help but thank them. I told Roy I would pay them back, he said this is a gift from Father. I was not in want of the potatoes but he would not take them back, they thought I would like some. Baby was sick at the time and the weather was cold. I could live on the donations from Pa, on such conditions. If I could have arranged I would have had it different. Everybody was scared for fear we would not be able to get any all winter. But we can get all the coal we want now. Pat brought a load of the day seaders. I got the boys chopping every night. When they came from school, more than half the load is outside, and stacked down. That large box with papers and packing, we emptied it, then put the potatoes in it, it holds quite a few. The apples are in another corner, covered all stacked in another corner." Lillie Fairbanks to John B. Fairbanks, Springfield Art Museum.

I am glad that you can rent for you have company and all the room you want. Oh how do hope you will be carefull of yourself and the children. And that I may be successfull in my studies that I may become an artist in very deed.

I will answer your letter next Sunday it is now past half past eleven and I must go to bed. Kiss the children all for me. The boys all join in kind regards. May Gods blessings attend you all is my prayer.

Lovingly and truly, John



9 Rue Campagne Premiere

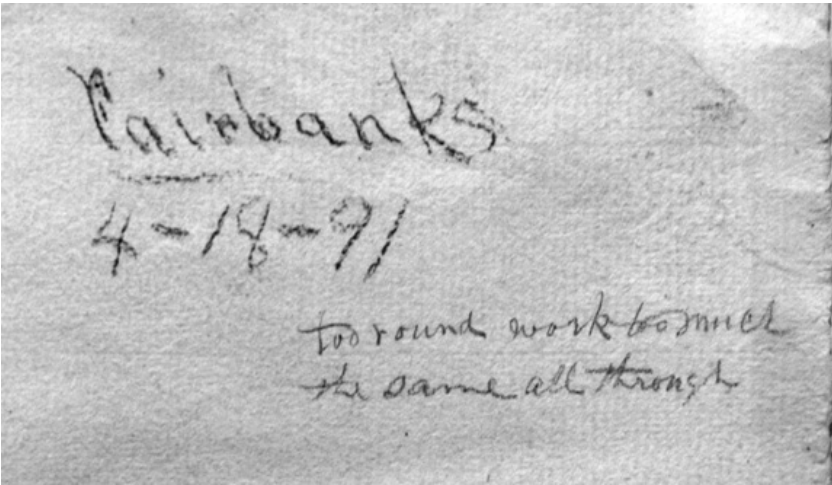
Paris, France

May 24, 1891

My Dear Wife

The time has again come for me to write to you but I have no letter to answer I hope that sickness is not the cause, but I may get one tomorrow, I will not mail this letter till tomorrow night. Well last night we were at the club. There was an exhibition of pictures there was also a celebration of the anniversary of the organization of the club. There was quite a programme. I will send it to you. Mrs. Frank Leslie the manager of the Popular Monthly recited a piece (America) the American Counsel made a speech, Professor Bougereau one of the French masters in art made a speech. The rest of the Programme you will observe was of such a nature as would <if well> rendered <make> the entertainment very interesting. I am pleased to say that they were <very> well rendered Yes very very well rendered. There were I should judge over 200 American present, after the programme was ended there was a dance but there was such a crowd and so little room that I think the dancers did not enjoy themselves much. But if the rest of the people are like me it is a pleasure to hear Americans talk even. We have very few acquaintances among the ladies here, but there are quite a large number of good friends among the men so we feel quite at home in gatherings of that kind. We have some very warm friends but as yet we have not tried to converse much about religion although we have conversed a little with some. One of our friends has just left he called to see us before he went and wished us all the success we might desire. He said we had been the maddles for the school this winter. He said many others had been induced to study harder through seeing our industry. He wanted us to call and see him some time in Boston.

My Dear Loving Wife your letter of the 10 and 11 came to hand today 25, I was very much pleased to hear that you are all well and on the improve. Your loving letter shows that there is no love like that of a dear wife they share joy and sorrow in fact, are a part of ones self. My letter was written I



John B. Fairbanks, *Academic Figure Study of a Boy*, April 1891, charcoal, 24¼" x 17", details, Springville Museum of Art collection 2004.116. Fairbanks created this sketch while he studied at the Académie Julian in Paris. Beginning students drew from plaster casts but later moved to the life-room, where they sketched from models. A professor's criticism is written in the corner of the paper and is enlarged in the lower image. Thanks to Jeffrey D. Andersen for sharing this image.

presume as I felt at the time, but I have no reason to be discouraged I have been blessed I have improved. Bros. Pratt and Hafen have each been working at art many years. Bro. Evans is a gifted young man and especially in drawing I think. Still as you say I think I am not far behind the rest. But I have been promised success by the servants of God, and I shall do my best to make it. I will cling to the promise, and the Lord being my helper, will realize the promise blessing.

I am glad you got the pictures I did not draw the horse but the one he chose was much the best I see his taste for art is very very good. I hope he will make a good drawing. I was pleased to learn that he is hunting events for the Juvenile, I am always pleased to hear of the childrens good works it shows to me that there is an ambition to do some thing that is deserving of praise and to be some thing besides a common ordinary person that any one can be without effort. Encourage them all you can in works of that kind and you will soon see that you have around you a lot of sons and a daughter who will ever thank you for the training <and encouragement.> you have given them. I am pleased to hear how you are getting along do not worry or feel that you are going to suffer for want of things you need for the way is or will be opened in fact I may say is now by which we can <all> live while I am here. O I must tell you when I was working so hard to get a drawing on the wall two weeks before the time came I felt that I would not be able to get one there. I asked the Lord if it was his will that such might be the case, if I had succeeded I presume I would have gone home this summer but as it is I feel that it is the will of the Lord that I should stay untill I am better qualified for the work that will be expected of us when we return home, and although I felt rather bad at the time <when> this feeling came over me ~~and~~ <it> was very consoling

It is quite a tryal to stay another year or half year and be deprived of the dearest truest friends and companies. Still it would be too bad to return with my work only begun. My Dear Wife I hope you are reconciled to my staying although I know it will be a great tryal for you as well as me.

I am very much pleased with the Enterprise it seems to give all of the home news which is very interesting to me it saves you the trouble of writing the news, and you can write as you would talk those are the kind of letters I like. I was also pleased to hear that your garden is getting along so well. There has been radishes here I think three months cherries green peas and new potatoes one month there are straw berries now. Apples are not yet gone so they have fruit all the year.

I have begun to paint I have painted now two weeks this will be three. I tell you it is discouraging. I cant begin to satisfy myself. The professor told me when I began that I did not know how to paint, but he said I would learn.

Well I presume I will if I keep at it steady enough and am diligent which I will strive to be.

It seems that George Hancock must have made money since I left home, I saw in the enterprise some time ago that he had subscribed 5000 dollars to the start a bank and now he is spending money to fix a pleasure resort, I am glad if such is the case. Well I must bring my letter to a close. May God bless you and give you health and strength and cheer and comfort you. Give my love to all enquiring friends, ever your loving and true husband, kiss the children all for me.

J. B. Fairbanks



45 Rue Mazarine

Paris

May 11 [1892]

My Dear Wife & children

I am now in the country with the man I wanted to study under, I am very much delighted. I find him to be an excellent teacher, he takes so much interest in a person.

The price seems rather high \$30 per day, but I fell sure that I will make more than that in work that I will do and if I do I get my instructions free in reality. The country here is beautiful. We have whatever we want, hills, valleys, woods, streams, small lakes, plain cottages, and meadows, giving all the variety that a person wants.

One of the great modern French Artists sketched here most of the time during his life time ten years ago. I am told that this used be quite a retreat for artists, there being from 15 to 20 here every summer. On our way we passed some very beautiful country and an old chatteau or castle in ruins Mr. Rigolot said it was historic it is partly in ruins I want to visit it some Sunday I will take Sunday for it for then I have nothing particularly on hand. Mr. Rigolot is recently married, and has his young bride here. They act very sensible compared with another couple here, but although married so recently they had a sort of quarrel last night, after they had got over it he said that was characteristic of the French and I think it is. The other couple will be quarreling one minute, and the very next they will be hugging and kissing and in such a sickening way the lady has a dog (as most French ladies have <upon> which she bestows the rest of her kisses and caresses. I don't know but I should have said she bestows the rest upon her husband for I am quite sure the dog gets the most. French women are naturally very affectionate (and correspondingly the other way) and as children they say are two expensive. They substitute dogs, babies would only be babies a

few years and then they would have to have another, but a dog stay a dog always and is a pet all the time. I can say I don't admire these tast[es] in this regard at all, I would rather have one baby than all the dogs that could be found With me there is no comparison no similarity, there is nothing that can take the place of the baby, and I am more than glad that I have a wife whos feelings are the same. We received a letter last week from John Hafen asking us to send in some sketches, for the temple deckorations one subject the Garden of Eaden the other the lone and dreary world, The one who sends in the best sketch will be given the contract to do the work with the privilege of inviting his brethren to help I've also received one a short time since from the first Presidency stating that they would like to have those of us who feel qualified to come home and work this fall and winter in the temple, ~~so you see they~~ but they do not want to interfear with our work out here, So I presume we will be allowed to stay till the time set in our minds is up. It seems quite evident at least that we will not be called home in a hurry. May God bless you all and preserve you in health and peace, is the prayer of your loving husband and father.

J. B. Fairbanks

Conductor

I am Moses with this baton, dividing seas and urging fountains from stone.
Legions march and charge and halt at my command
and I have bruised the night with battle blast.

It is a slight thing to claim as scepter, this ash wood loosely held,
yet at its merest tapping the hosts fall silent.
A straight branch, staff of power, to stave off insurrection, to beat into submission
the proud, the lofty, the stiff-necked.

Power, too, is in my grasp to soothe, to coax, to quell the flames.
Sweet salve of milk and honey, manna for our ears.
It is true I've lashed with hot rebuke, though I would weep.
One must hold to strict conformity these children to their parts,
no countenance for the least rebellion. Eternity hangs on the point of this baton.

I lead my people through a score of trials, through cloud and fire.
I trace in air the raging flight of locusts, the thrash and flail of sea-pitched limbs,
the meanderings of Israel's erring sons.

A single step and I have climbed the mount, a vision before me,
I perceive the stretch of time, anticipate its changes.
One eternal round, past, present, future, *da capo, al fine* and back again.

Hear me. You have each his part, but through me flows part and whole, immutable:
Children, let yourselves be mastered.
Our fugue is not the flight of feet across a wilderness,
nor our hymn the idle thrumming through two scores.

Canaan is a pleasing sound, a concord of will and desire.

—Lon R. Young

This poem won third place in the BYU Studies 2011 poetry contest.

Gordon Campbell. *Bible: The Story of the King James Version, 1611–2011*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

David Crystal. *Begat: The Story of the King James Bible and the English Language*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Brandie R. Siegfried

We are celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the first publication of the King James Version of the Bible, and Oxford University Press has published several books in support of that commemoration. I review two such here, both of which are intended for a general readership, well worth reading on a quiet Sunday afternoon. Each book provides a historical framework for understanding the continued influence of the KJV on modern culture, and each convincingly argues that the underlying reasons for this success go beyond simple tradition or aesthetic snobbery.

Gordon Campbell's *Bible: The Story of the King James Version* is developed in three general segments. The first sketches the history of the English Reformation beginning in the early sixteenth century, discusses the emergence of vernacular Bibles in Europe, briefly recounts the more particular genealogy of English Bibles during that same period, and succinctly narrates the political and doctrinal tensions that drove King James VI to commission a new English Bible. Readers familiar with David Norton's *The King James Bible: A Short History from Tyndale to Today* (2010) and Alister E. McGrath's *In the Beginning: The Story of the King James Bible and How It Changed a Nation, a Language, and a Culture* (2002, reviewed in *BYU Studies* 42, no. 2) will recognize that Campbell's treatment is a much-truncated version of the religious history, but one that is necessary given his desire to spend more time on the printing history in the subsequent segment.

The several chapters comprising the second segment focus on the evolution of the KJV through various editions and are an especially useful reminder to modern readers that the versions used in churches today are typically a far cry from earlier editions' peculiar, period-specific formats and flaws. Sixteenth-century Bibles before the KJV, for instance, were generously strewn with elaborate illustrations and marginal glosses, and all Bibles printed in these early years were rife with printer's errors. Such mistakes could be quite egregious. In one early printing of the KJV, Campbell

explains, a printer “omitted the ‘not’ from the seventh commandment in Exodus 20, and so made adultery compulsory.” Another notorious error, rendered “the beginning of Deuteronomy 5:24 as ‘the Lord our God hath shewed us his glory and his great asse’ (instead of ‘greatnesse’), which is surely mischief rather than error” (109). Campbell hastens to add that “in the seventeenth century ‘ass’ was a respectable word meaning ‘donkey,’ not a coarse word meaning ‘buttocks,’ but the meaning nonetheless verges on blasphemy” (109).

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century saw significant subtractions in the amount of visual ornamentation and marginalia in newly corrected editions of the KJV, even as printing errors continued to proliferate. Campbell walks us through these centuries (sixteenth through twentieth), noting problems with transmission, including both accidental changes and intentional interpolations. Along the way he explains how it came to be that the Apocrypha—which had been included in English Bibles for over two hundred years—was finally dropped.

The final and shortest section of the book is devoted to the influence of the KJV on U.S. culture and politics, including a brief discussion of why further revisions of the Bible were desired and developed throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Doctrinal preferences, an antiquated language, political allegiances, the emergence of the Dead Sea Scrolls, enhanced Hebrew and Aramaic lexicons, and distribution issues all influenced how and why various new avatars of the KJV emerged. However, according to Campbell, the “most audacious version of the KJV in America was the work of Joseph Smith, the founder of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints” (156). Although he is quick to point out that the LDS contribution has had little influence on biblical understanding generally, Campbell finds it significant that “it has served to maintain the centrality of the KJV in a strand of the Christian faith that has millions of adherents” (157).

As an introduction to the complexities of Bible translation and transmission, Campbell’s book is a fine resource. The book’s only real flaw rests in the odd redundancy of the appendices that repeat (in short form) material already fully developed in the main body of the text. However, all other supporting material—the list of further reading and the many illustrations—are useful aids indeed. As a last observation, I note that Campbell’s narrative is threaded throughout with ruminations on the alchemy of time, the power of which transformed the KJV from a botched attempt at mitigating strife among Christians in early seventeenth-century England to a cultural classic in the twentieth. The KJV is now considered one of the best feats of translation and adaptation to be accomplished in English, and

Campbell's insights regarding that triumph are exultantly displayed yet judiciously handled.

In contrast to Campbell's final chapters, which suggest the enduring but fading authority of the KJV in modern culture, David Crystal's book strongly asserts that its linguistic influence seems to be proliferating. *Begat: The Story of the King James Bible and the English Language* is another enjoyable introduction to the history of the KJV and generously rewards a casually curious reader. Although it can be read from cover to cover, the narrative format makes for a somewhat tedious "story." The delights of Crystal's feasting table are best enjoyed in nibbles and tiny tastes.

The format is simple. The book is divided equally between the Old and New Testaments, and tracks in each the words and expressions that entered the English language thanks to the KJV. Crystal's review does not systematically treat the KJV according to evolutionary, historical, or socio-linguistic methods of analysis, eschewing these stricter forms of dissection for the amplitude (and fun) of suggestive juxtapositions. By the end of his treatment of both halves of the Bible, Crystal concludes that the Old Testament of the KJV has contributed more outright *idiomatic expressions* to English, whereas the New Testament has provided more recognizable *quotations*. The distinction he makes between idiomatic expression and quotation is, however, a fairly superficial one: "Quotations are context-dependent: we use them when their sense best suits the linguistic setting," he writes. "They're infrequent, compared to idioms" (89–90). "The skin of my teeth" (Job 19:20) is an example of an idiom, he suggests, while "though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" (Psalm 23:4) is a quotation. Crystal admits that the distinction is difficult to maintain in all cases of biblical expression (some idiomatic expressions are highly context specific and some quotations are used in a wide variety of everyday situations) but asserts that by and large the distinction is useful when considering the KJV's influence on modern English.

In crisp, clear prose, Crystal also sketches the mistakes we sometimes make when attributing the origin of common English idioms and quotations to the KJV. Many idiomatic expressions were already in circulation well before any Bibles had been translated into English; the KJV simply preserved them for subsequent generations of readers. Other idioms had been developed as part of earlier English translations of the Bible (such as the Tyndale Bible, Geneva Bible, or the Coverdale Bible), and again, the KJV merely took them up and passed them on. Additionally, some idioms commonly assumed to be direct citations from the KJV are actually paraphrases of longer passages, and the wording so familiar to all is really nowhere to be found in the text of the Bible.

Genesis, Job, Psalms, and Ecclesiastes are especially rich Old Testament influences, Crystal explains, while the books of the New Testament seem to be more evenly consequential for English. The continued pertinence of both testaments is traced to pop music, literature, advertising, political polemics, analogies in science, social movements for change, and the translation of nonreligious literary masterpieces (Dryden's *Aeneid*, Pope's *Iliad*, and Smollett's *Gil Blas* are offered as early examples that use famous lines from the KJV to bundle foreign idioms into English). The result is a solid case for the continued importance of the KJV to modern cultural literacy. The appendices underscore that significance, providing a list of the expressions covered in the book (257 in total), as well as a column-formatted comparison of those expressions to the same lines in the Wycliffe, Tyndale, Geneva, Bishops, and Douai-Rheims Bibles. In short, *Begat: The Story of the King James Bible and the English Language* is a welcome reminder that the English Bible's continued linguistic influence is both deep and wide.

Both of these books are recommended for readers hoping to dip their toes pleurably in the shallows before wading more deeply into the ocean of scholarship on the KJV.

Brandie R. Siegfried (who can be reached via email at byustudies@byu.edu) is Associate Professor of English at Brigham Young University and teaches senior and graduate courses on various topics in English Renaissance Literature. Her recent publications have appeared in a variety of venues including *Shakespeare Yearbook*, *Early Modern Literary Studies*, and the *George Herbert Journal*. Her current book project, *The Tree of Life in English Renaissance Thought*, surveys the Bible's influence on subjects as diverse as genealogy and natural philosophy, theology, and the art of engraving.

Grant Hardy. *Understanding the Book of Mormon:
A Reader's Guide.*

New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Steven C. Walker

Understanding the Book of Mormon: A Reader's Guide needs no recommendation. It is recommended already by its authorship, commended to us by Grant Hardy's careful and helpful earlier work editing *The Book of Mormon: A Reader's Edition*. Hardy was educated at Yale and is now a professor at the University of North Carolina; his promising new volume is further certified by its impressive Oxford Press imprimatur, and by Hardy's tactic of inviting vettings from some of our foremost Book of Mormon scholars—"Phil Barlow, Kent Brown, Richard Bushman, Terryl Givens, Royal Skousen, and Jack Welch" (ix).

That may be recommendation enough for the best of books, but there is a further strength that commends it. It meets a clear need. A friend eyeing the title on my desk smiled: "*Understanding the Book of Mormon*? My wife reads through the Book of Mormon religiously every year—not because she loves it, she says, but because she can never understand it. *Understanding the Book of Mormon* is definitely the book for her."

Understanding the Book of Mormon may be the book for a lot of us. As often as we Latter-day Saints have read the Book of Mormon, we may yet read it better, read it with more understanding, if we were to read it with the benefit of the perceptive perspective that Hardy opens up for us with this volume. For all our Book of Mormon enthusiasms and even our critically careful analyses, we may have sometimes shortchanged ourselves in our readings in the same way Oliver Cowdery did in his translating: "Behold, you have not understood; you have supposed that I would give it unto you, when you took no thought save it was to ask me. But, behold, I say unto you, that you must study it out in your mind" (D&C 9:7–8). However well we have done in seeking testimonies of the book, we have done less well at understanding all we might of it.

In this practical guide, Grant Hardy shows readers how to read deeper into the Book of Mormon. Hardy not only maps but also models a way to

do that: focus on the literary aspects. Hardy seems to hold out hope that a literary approach will invite even unbelieving readers into the book. I am less hopeful on that front. Unbelieving readers (for whom much of the focus of the Book of Mormon revolves around their unbelief) aren't likely to willingly suspend that disbelief, not even for the rich textual rewards Hardy demonstrates so definitively. On the other hand, they might be open enough in light of this literary approach to concede the book is better written than previous readings revealed. Even unbelievers might not be so determined to read the Book of Mormon so reductively that they fail to recognize richer ways to read it.

I am more sanguine about the impact of Hardy's literary approach on believers. It is not only non-Mormons, he contends, who have sometimes willfully misread the Book of Mormon. Sometimes we too have read so exclusively on our terms that we have ignored some of the book's terms. We, as well as less sympathetic readers, may have missed some of what this rich scripture reveals because we have been so bent on seeing in it the reflection of our own ideological expectations. I am not so naïve as to expect us to forego our historical and theological readings in favor of reading the Book of Mormon as a straightforward narrative—we have so much invested in those traditional Mormon approaches, and we've realized so much from them. But I see no good reason why believers, determined as we are to read this profound book as profoundly as possible, would not wish to enrich our reading with Hardy's literary exegesis, particularly in light of how clearly he illuminates how much we have overlooked by looking only through our traditional lenses.

It's possible to gain insight into a book by reading against its grain. But Hardy is probably right that we can understand a book's intentions better by reading with respect for the way it is written. If we were to adopt Hardy's literary approach, we might still be prone to read the Book of Mormon as if it were one long sermon instead of narrative inset with infrequent sermon, an extensive story that includes, given its serious ecclesiastical concerns, remarkably few sermons. We might still read it as if it were an awkward anachronistic version of modern history instead of a superb ecclesiastical history focused not so much on our current concerns with historical chronicling as on moral insight. But even if we continued to insist upon it as mostly history or mostly theology, reading it for its literary dimensions as well could help us see more of what's available in it.

The problem with approaching the book so exclusively on our terms is that we may be missing out on some of its terms. "The danger of starting with nineteenth-century controversies [or with Joseph Smith's unmet adolescent needs, or with the religious debates of the Burned-over District, or

with Mesoamerican archeology, or, closer to home, with manifestations of the truth of the Church or evidences of Joseph Smith's prophetic status] and then mining the narrative for relevant verses is that such a procedure may distort and misrepresent what the book actually says; it ignores the underlying logic of the text" (184). Believers, as much as unbelievers, have found the Book of Mormon to be a remarkably responsive text, providing whatever any of us have wanted to find. All of us may have been less successful, believers as much as unbelievers, at finding out all that the book wants to say to us.

Hardy proposes a practical cure for the habit of reading more into the book than we get out of it: his key to understanding the Book of Mormon is reading this unique volume not only as historical artifact or theological treatise but as literary fact, focusing on the underlying logic of the text. Unbelievers might see more in the book if they read it as more than as a psychological manifestation of its author or as a cultural phenomenon. Believers might see more in it if they read it as more than merely proof text for their theology or simply as an icon of their faith. Hardy shows us how to read the Book of Mormon not just as evidence of something other than itself, but as narrative that might have something to say to us directly.

Hardy zeroes in on what would strike most first-time readers as the central fact of the book, the narrative itself. This is of course hardly virgin territory in Book of Mormon readings. Researchers have thought long before this time to do word studies and style analysis of the various Book of Mormon voices. We've enjoyed superb readings of the book from traditional premises in rich textual directions—John W. Welch's illuminating formal and legal analyses, Royal Skousen's careful textual studies, Richard L. Bushman's character appraisals, S. Kent Brown's thoughtful insights into tone, Richard Dilworth Rust's helpful attention to literary forms, Bruce Jorgensen's and George Tate's fine analyses of typology. Hardy's purely literary reading is a logical extension of the best of our textual analyses. "Hardy enters the text by way of the motivations, personalities, and perceptions of its narrators, and therein lies his justification for avoiding, at least temporarily, the historical questions and the epistemological commitments they entail."¹ Reading not only the *narrative* but also the *narrators* is a bold critical move. Hardy is proposing reading the Book of Mormon straight on as what it claims to be, without the scaffolding or distractions of extratextual issues.

I confess a personal bias that tends to fuel my enthusiasm toward his project of reading the Book of Mormon as literature. I have taught "Bible as Literature" at BYU for forty years; my friend Charles Swift teaches "Book of Mormon as Literature." Practical experience reading scripture as if it were actually literature has converted our professional lives into a quest in pursuit of the literary dimension of scripture. The literary approach Hardy

proposes works in our classrooms so well at inviting readers deeper into the text, enabling readers to relate narrative to personal experience, and empowering readers to liken scripture to themselves, that we may have become a little fanatical about the benefits of reading scripture as literature.

The main benefit is eminently practical: the Book of Mormon reads better as literature because that's what it is. It may be significant that God in giving scripture did not provide us a mathematical equation or a chemical formula or an economics flowchart, or even a self-help list of things to do today or a liturgy or the Sunday School manual some of us seem to think it is. He gave us mostly narrative, biography, poetry. He gave us literature. Reading what is mostly story as if it were mostly sermon, we are bound to miss much of it. That may be why readers discover so much when they approach scripture with anything like the kind of readerly alertness and personal engagement they routinely grant books like *Pride and Prejudice* or even *The DaVinci Code*.

Charles and I have found that reading scripture at least as inquisitively, as responsively, as thoughtfully as we would a good novel makes it more illuminating. The Book of Mormon read as literature proves to be surprisingly good literature. As much as literature enriches my English teacherly life, I find more—more enlightenment, more wisdom, more human insight—in 1 Nephi alone, read as literature, than in any novel I've ever read, even such a richly insightful novel as *To Kill a Mockingbird*.

So I admit Hardy's urging of a literary approach to the Book of Mormon preaches to members of the literary choir. But I suspect even the most traditional of readers—dedicated readers, reverent readers, readers disposed to worry that a literary reading could somehow reduce the Book of Mormon text, minimizing its spiritual impact or trivializing its theological implications—can hardly fail to find Hardy's literary approaches not just intellectually insightful but spiritually stimulating. Those are my claims, not Hardy's. Hardy's thesis is less ambitious but more fundamental: insofar as we neglect reading the Book of Mormon as the literature that it is, we may be missing some of what the book is about.

I like Hardy's unassuming authorial posture, his refusal to badger us. *Understanding the Book of Mormon*, for all its insistence that there are better ways to read the book, seldom pontificates or judges. Hardy consistently understates his case, allowing the evidence to speak for itself. He juxtaposes, for example, a detailed Richard Bushman paean praising the multifaceted fascinations of the characters of the Book of Mormon with Dan Vogel's "decidedly less impressed" assessment: "Most often we encounter flat, uncomplicated, two-dimensional heroes and villains." Though there's no question which side of that debate Hardy comes down on, he leaves

approval or disapproval of either view up to readers when he sums up the contrasting perspectives: “How someone responds to the personalities in the Book of Mormon will vary according to his or her tastes and inclinations, but it is also a function of how well he or she reads” (31–32).

I find that fair-mindedness compelling, the more so amid the rabid biases that can confuse Book of Mormon debates. Hardy’s position is all the more convincing for me as a believer because it has a chance of convincing a nonbeliever that there may be something worth reading in the Book of Mormon. Not that I am persuaded Hardy’s approach will persuade unbelievers in droves into the pages of the Book of Mormon. It is probably too objective, too uncommitted, too calmly motivated to impel uncommitted readers. But the emphasis on invitation rather than confrontation might invite some fence-sitting readers. Certainly the usual “read and pray about it” approach will not be nearly so inviting to those who may be reluctant to pray as Hardy’s stance of “read it and see.”

Whether that invitational posture may be truer to the book’s actual stance is another question. *Understanding the Book of Mormon* focuses where it promises—on understanding rather than polemics, shared insight rather than ideological debate, clarification rather than conversion. The Book of Mormon itself seems much more concerned with changing the worldview and even the lifestyle of its readers. The closest Hardy comes to proselyting us to his approach is his implicit suggestion that we consider, as Mormons or non-Mormons, whether we may be missing something.

We probably are. An inherent strength of the literary approach to reading scripture is the wide latitude it enjoys. Book of Mormon literary readings have ranged in the past half century from psychological investigations of character to typological studies to, most frequently and fertile, formal analysis of genres and literary patterns found in the Psalm of Nephi, in epistolary forms, and in textual analyses that climax in Welch’s monumental disclosures on chiasmus. Hardy pushes these earlier literary explorations to their logical conclusion. His tactic universalizes, looks at the underlying logic of the entire text, attempts to read the book more holistically and integrally than previous piecemeal literary approaches that examined particular details or textual dimensions.

That comprehensiveness does more than adapt his approach to the total Book of Mormon text. It tends to internalize his reading. His literary reading stance puts him in a position where, rather than measuring aspects of style or substance against external standards, Hardy can look more exclusively at the text itself, and look at it through the encompassing lens of story, of the narrative itself. He examines that pervasive narrative as it is shaped by the major Book of Mormon narrators, Nephi, Mormon, and

Moroni: “Each chapter focuses on a representative writing strategy adopted by the narrators; . . . how Nephi adapts biblical passages to reflect his own circumstances, how Mormon organizes his material to provide a rational, evidentiary basis for faith, and then how Moroni comes to reject that [evidentiary] model of belief” (28).

It’s a fruitful approach, “stunningly fruitful,” as Rosalynde Welch indicates with a smile in her *Patheos* post: “A reader as intelligent, attentive, and sensitive as Hardy could fruitfully read the back of a cereal box.”² Hardy’s kind of narratological detective work by its very nature takes us deeper into the text; considering why the narrators said what they said, the way they said it, makes us inherently more aware of their meaning. And this careful reading between the scriptural lines dramatically demonstrates how much more there is to find as we go deeper. Viewed through Hardy’s literary lenses, the Book of Mormon is a better-written book than has been noticed—not just by its non-Mormon detractors like Mark Twain, with his wicked pun on the Book of Ether as “chloroform in print.” Hardy suspects the Book of Mormon may be even better written than has been noticed by its Mormon defenders.

That’s why this adroit author invests most of his authorial energy in demonstrating how much better written the book is than has been assumed. Hardy is canny in his Sherlock Holmes literary mode, sleuthing fuller story and more complete character from the slightest details—sometimes even missing details. The process can be highly speculative, but it can uncover significant insights. Under the magnifying glass of *A Reader’s Guide*, Nephi’s narrative reveals itself to Hardy as a sacred text that affirms the human voices of its writers as emphatically as the prophetic books of the Old Testament.

Observed closely from Hardy’s perspective, for example, Nephi’s criticism of his older brothers might reveal itself as sometimes defensive. Nephi can appear to be reassuring himself about his own failings and the disappointing schism in the new colony, so that Laman and Lemuel, in this behind-the-scenes literary light, come to look more like scapegoats and less like villains. Hardy observes: “Whatever else they may have been, Laman and Lemuel appear to have been orthodox, observant Jews. Nephi—who has a vested interest in revealing their moral shortcomings—never accuses them of idolatry, false swearing, Sabbath breaking, drunkenness, adultery, or ritual uncleanness—the worst he can come up with is ‘rudeness’” (39). Even more tellingly, “despite their doubts, complaints, and anger, [Laman and Lemuel] nevertheless continue to stay with the family. In fact, they usually end up doing exactly what Lehi and Nephi have requested of them” (40).

That may push the point too far—if Nephi doesn’t directly indict, the text surely accuses Laman and Lemuel of something close to attempted homicide and treason to the family. But it is true that the obstreperous older brothers, from a literary perspective, can be seen to toe a surprisingly orthodox line as the villains of the narrative. Some readers have wondered why the Book of Mormon morality seems so cut and dried, so black-and-white in contrast with the subtle way the “implicit theology of the Hebrew Bible dictates a complex moral and psychological realism in biblical narrative because God’s purposes are always entrained in history, dependent on the acts of individual men and women for their continuing realization.”³ The Book of Mormon’s apparently simplistic morality seems to some readers more like myth than history. Hardy’s reading reminds us just how nuanced the book’s motives and moral implications really are. By reasserting the text’s literary realism, he underwrites not only its psychological truth but its historical accuracy.

Hardy peers with fertile narratological insight into the authorial soul not just of Nephi but of all three of the central Book of Mormon narrators. “On a first reading, [Mormon’s] work is quite didactic. He is an active narrator who makes judgments, inserts comments, and proclaims moral principles” (155). But deeper reading shows there may be more to Mormon than first meets our oversimplifying eye: “There are additional insights to be gained from comparing and contrasting [his] related narratives, and this process allows for much more open-ended and evocative readings” (179).

Hardy, by means of that kind of careful textual excavation, helps us uncover compelling insights, as with his perspective on Christ’s sermons in Third Nephi, which he sees as “more like interpreting prophecy” than “following structured arguments or straightforward narrative.” “A discourse such as this has to be read and reread with multiple perspectives in mind, working from the whole to the parts and vice versa. For all readers, this type of writing presents a challenge in identifying and interpreting major themes; for believers, such passages are virtual invitations to ask for and receive further revelation” (201).

And Hardy demonstrates some striking instances of how these revelatory insights can be won. Hardy’s literary tools enable him to unearth surprising possibilities, as when he points out that Moroni may have compensated for the name-titles the Jaredites used for deity (such as *Lord*) by inserting more explicitly Christian terms to make their book more compatible with the rest of the Book of Mormon: “If one were to go through the book of Ether with a red pencil and differentiate Moroni’s direct narrator’s comments from his paraphrase of the twenty-four plates, it would soon

become obvious that, with a single exception, specific references to Jesus Christ appear only in Moroni's editorial remarks" (235).

These literary insights manifest what might be a better book than we thought we knew—certainly a more nuanced book, definitely a better written book, and in some ways maybe even a truer book. Hardy's reading backlights and underwrites the high quality of the narrative. "When read verse by verse, the Book of Mormon can sink under the weight of its repetitive, awkward sentences, but when viewed from the perspective of the narrators—who are envisioned as deliberately shaping the texts they create—it exhibits a literary exuberance that frustrates quick judgments and reductive analyses" (267).

That narratological approach zeroes in so well on the core of Book of Mormon concerns that it may make a strength of my major hesitation about Hardy's study. The literary approach of *Understanding the Book of Mormon* depends upon close readings of narratives and narrators. Hardy's strength, on the other hand, is not so much in close reading as in perception of larger patterns, "what Robert Alter once described as 'a continuous *reading* of the text instead of a nervous hovering over its various small components'" (268). Compared with his exemplars for close reading, biblical scholars like Robert Alter and Meir Sternberg and Book of Mormon experts like John W. Welch and Royal Skousen, Hardy is less concretely complex, better at the big picture than at concatenating details. But the silver lining to whatever critical cloud that assessment may create is that readers are likely to feel about Hardy's literary perspective what I feel—even when it does not take us far enough into the Book of Mormon, it invites us to go deeper on our own.

Insofar as Hardy is attempting to bracket issues of historicity from concerns about literary merit, his literary reading will miss much of what the Book of Mormon is about. Insofar as he sees literary and historical aspects as complementary dimensions of a more complex volume than we have realized, his emphasis on the literature of this surprisingly literary text cannot help but to make us more aware of the profundity of a book that may amount to more than even its appreciators have appreciated. The bottom line of Hardy's approach to the Book of Mormon is that there are in it many great and important things yet to be revealed.

In a landscape where critics like Dan Vogel so persistently underestimate literary strength and where the enthusiasts sometimes reduce it to formula, Hardy's comprehensive restraint is more than a breath of fresh air in Book of Mormon studies; it encourages trust, not just in Hardy, but in the Book of Mormon. I was surprised at how seldom in 327 pages of close argument I thought "that's a stretch" and how often it appeared to me "that

point could be pushed deeper.” Hardy’s careful understatement makes me feel not merely that I am enjoying a better Book of Mormon reading, but that there are better readings yet to come.

That engaging understatement highlights the considerable accomplishment of this good book—open-endedness so inviting that Hardy’s techniques empower us to read ourselves ever more profoundly into the text. Hardy has not given us just another retelling of the same old Book of Mormon story. He may have given us a better way for us to liken it to ourselves. *A Reader’s Guide* helps us do precisely what its title promises: read the Book of Mormon with more understanding. However much you may dislike the Book of Mormon or however much you may like it, you’re likely to like it more after reading *Understanding the Book of Mormon*. We have benefitted greatly from Moroni’s showing us how to know the Book of Mormon is true. Grant Hardy is showing us how to find more truth in it.

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1. Rosalynde Welch, “A Landmark Achievement,” *Patheos* <http://www.patheos.com/Resources/Additional-Resources/Landmark-Achievement-Rosalynde-Welch-01-12-2011?print=1>.

2. Welch, “Landmark Achievement.”

3. Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), 12.

Linda Creasy Dean. *Almost Christian: What the Faith of Our Teenagers Is Telling the American Church*.

New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Cardell K. Jacobson

Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were pleased about the results of a landmark study of the religiosity of the nation's youth, called the National Study of Youth and Religion (NSYR). Conducted from 2003 to 2005 by Christian Smith and others, the study was first reported in *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers*, published by Oxford University Press in 2005. (To read the book review of *Soul Searching*, see *BYU Studies* 45, no. 2 [2006]: 167–172.)

The current book, *Almost Christian*, by Linda Creasy Dean, is a follow-up from the same study. Though Dean draws from the NSYR, her book is quite different from *Soul Searching*. As a youth minister, she takes on the task to “wrestle to the ground some of the findings relevant for Christian churches and pin down some hope for ministry with young people” (ix). As in the earlier book, Mormon youth stand out. Dean acknowledges that LDS youth score the highest on almost all measures of religiosity. But Dean's message is that if the Mormons can inculcate religion in their youth, so can other churches—mainline Protestants, Catholics, and the youth ministers who are the target audience of this book.

Dean, who interviewed some of the youth in the NSYR, borrows the title of *Almost Christian* from the mid-eighteenth-century writings of John Wesley and George Whitefield. Dean's argument is that many parishioners, both teenagers and their parents, follow an almost vacant form of Christianity; they never experience a full, passionate faith that motivates them to the good works of making the world more Christian. Instead, Dean describes the youth as having an arid approach to faith, a half-hearted spirituality, an “imposter faith that poses as Christianity that lacks the holy desire and missional clarity necessary for discipleship” (6). She quotes Whitefield's definition of being “almost Christian”: an individual who “is fond of the form, but never experiences the power of godliness in his heart.” For Dean, Christian faith means cleaving to the “God-man of Jesus Christ,”

joining the pilgrim journey with other lovers of Christ, following him into the world, and helping in “God’s plan to right a capsized world” (7). She envisions a consequential faith that envelopes the youth and provokes them to be strong advocates of Christ.

Her criticism, however, is not directed toward the youth of America’s churches, but rather to the parents who fail to display a vibrant, God-filled faith of their own. Parents matter most in shaping the religious lives of their children, and youth should be able to do “sacred eavesdropping” on the parents as the parents actively seek Christ. She notes that parents teach a variety of skills to their children—sports, dance, music, and so forth—but they merely expose them to religion. They do not teach them to defend their faith. The NSYR interviews found the youth to be articulate about a variety of topics, but when the conversation turned to religion, they stammered and groped for words.

Too often, Dean argues, church and religion are viewed by youth and parents as good things to be involved in as part of a well-rounded life, but only that. Most of these youth want to avoid personal friction with others who have dissimilar faiths or no faith at all. The result is what Dean and the authors of *Soul Searching* are warning about: a warmed-over teaching of the life-giving gospel that lacks a focus on Christ’s suffering love. It is a Christianity that requires little; it is a feel-better faith. Dean calls it a symbiote (a weak organism that siphons off the energy of the host), and Dean, Smith, and Denton in *Soul Searching* pinpoint the symbiote as “moralistic therapeutic deism,” a form of worship that believes in being good and moral toward others, but one where God no longer requires immanence or sovereignty in the daily lives of Christians.

Not surprisingly to the readers of this journal, the Mormon youth in the study were relatively good at describing their faith. They attached more importance to their faith and were the most highly devoted. The next highest groups were conservative Protestant and black Protestant youth, followed by mainline Protestants, Roman Catholics, Jewish youth and non-affiliated teenagers. The youth of mainline Protestant faiths were “among the least religiously articulate of all teens”—because no one has taught them how to talk about their faith. Dean states that Christian parents “can no longer treat Jesus like an embarrassing relative” (24).

Dean is well versed in mainline Protestant literature on religion and has a neutral presentation about LDS practices. However, she relies less on important sociological work on religion. Several social scientists have observed that strict churches, those that require deeper sacrifices of their members, grow and retain members better than others. A watered-down gospel requires little and gets little. Social scientists also observe that a

church must maintain a certain tension with society. If it requires no more than what society requires, it gains no special commitment from its members. On the other hand, if its practices or dogma are too unusual, it loses members to the mainstream. Thus, the religious groups that succeed (Latter-day Saints, Evangelicals, and Black Protestants) are those that require commitment but also skillfully manage this tension with the larger society. This skill at least partially explains why their youth have the highest commitment levels and are best able to articulate their faith traditions.

The religiously devoted in Dean's study (8 percent of the total sample) attend religious services weekly or more often, consider faith to be very or extremely important in their lives, are involved in a religious youth group, pray at least a few times a week, and read scripture at least once a week. Clearly, active Mormons score high on these items. LDS readers should not be surprised when Dean titles one chapter "Mormon Envy." The researchers measured devotion in a similar way to how Mormon bishops and youth leaders help youth stay on track—church talks, activity in youth programs such as Young Men and Young Women, attending church, going on missions, and temple marriage. While the Church's record on helping young people stay on this track is not always successful, the NSYR data show that Latter-day Saint youth fare much better than their peers in most religions.

Interestingly, Dean calls for more testimonies from adults and the churches; they need to remember how to say they believe. She also wants more activities that "de-center" youth from their self-absorption. That, she argues, is when youth will have liminal experiences. While Latter-day Saints may take pride that they do much of this already, they also realize that many who attend all their meetings may also sit on the "bleachers of a profound Christian life." Some, perhaps too many, LDS members also use religion as a "social lubricant" without fully bringing Christ and the Christ story into their lives. The Christ story, including his sacrifice for his people, must be central. As Dean argues, good members of churches must become Christ's envoys. They must "run from the tomb" to tell others that Christ has risen. LDS youth (and their parents) do this well. But as with other religious groups, Latter-day Saints also need to heed Dean's call to do better.

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George D. Smith. *Nauvoo Polygamy:
“... but we called it celestial marriage.”*
Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008 and 2011.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Alexander

Although focusing on the introduction of plural marriage by Joseph Smith, *Nauvoo Polygamy* is also an analysis of the background of pre-Mormon polygamy, a consideration of the expansion of the institution, and the testimony of those who entered it.¹ Significantly, it is the first attempt since Todd Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness*² to provide a critical list and analysis of the women whom Joseph married. It is not, however, an attempt to provide a statistical analysis of plural marriage, and its consideration of the operation of plural family life is much shorter than we find in the works of Kathryn Daynes and Jessie Embry.³ Rather, it essays more on the organizational aspects of the practice, the antecedent practices, and the opposition to the practice. It also focuses more on internal opposition rather than on outside political pressure, as found in Sarah Barringer Gordon's *The Mormon Question*.⁴

The book has nine chapters, an introduction, two appendices, and a bibliography. The paperback edition has an additional preface, and the author⁵ has corrected dates and a number of other items in the second appendix in which he tried to make a comprehensive list of Nauvoo polygamous families with tabular data on each of them. An additional table added to chapter 3 of the paperback edition lists the seeming relationship between Emma Hale Smith's pregnancies and Joseph Smith's courting of other women.

Chapter 1 considers the anticipation of the principle of plural marriage as an aspect of the restoration of all things. It points out that Joseph had met many of the women to whom he was later sealed during the sojourn of the Church in various places in the Midwest and Upper South before the Saints settled in Nauvoo. Although the chapter deals with controversial aspects

of Joseph's early career and of plural marriage, it lays out Joseph's understanding of the reception of plural marriage by faithful Latter-day Saints by quoting from George Bernard Shaw that plural marriage in Nauvoo had nothing to do "with personal licentiousness" (50). George Smith corroborates Shaw's assessment as correct. On the other hand, he acknowledges what we have known for a long time: some close to Joseph perceived abuses in plural marriage that "motivated a significant dissident faction to oppose him" (50). The author also attributes much of the opposition from outsiders in Western Illinois to the practice of polygamy. He may be right, but he has not convinced this reviewer that polygamy was as important in generating opposition from non-Mormons as political and economic conflicts were.

Chapters 2 and 3 document the sealings of Joseph to women other than Emma. These two chapters are at the heart of the book, but not, in my view, the most important portions. George Smith is ambiguous about whether Joseph married Fanny Alger, which other historians have argued. Rather, he lists the marriage to Louisa Beaman on April 5, 1841, as the first plural marriage and the marriage to Fanny Young Carr Murray on November 2, 1843, as the thirty-eighth and last.

The author may be wrong about some of these marriages. If so, however, his failing is not for lack of effort. His sources are voluminous. They include information collected in the nineteenth century by future Church President Joseph F. Smith, interviews by Assistant Church Historian Andrew Jensen, diaries and autobiographies of the women involved, public records such as the Independence Temple Lot trial, and the research of other historians such as D. Michael Quinn and Todd Compton.

I have reservations about the use of John C. Bennett's letters to the *Sangamo Journal*, later published as *The History of the Saints*, as evidence. Bennett concocted a fantasy seraglio with courses of wives apportioned from bottom to top as Cyprian Saints, Chambered Sisters of Charity, Cloistered Saints, and Consecrates of the Cloister.⁶ We have no evidence that such a system ever existed, and George Smith does not argue that Bennett's fantasy was accurate. Bennett argues that the Nauvoo Relief Society was a central agent of plural marriage, but we know from better sources that, although a number of the women in the Relief Society were plural wives, the principle did not flourish there because Emma Smith was its president, and she held at times ambivalent and frequently negative feelings about plural marriage.

Knowledge of Bennett's fabrications generate in my mind the question that if Bennett could concoct such nonsense, what other parts of his discussion of plural marriage did he also fabricate? However, we know

that some of what he claimed was true, for we have additional evidence for many of the plural marriages that Bennett lists. These sources include statements by the participants and their confidants, Andrew Jenson interviews, public documents, and diaries and information recorded by other Church leaders.

Chapters 4 and 5 document the expansion of plural marriage to members of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and Joseph's other close associates. These chapters are summarized in appendix B. In general, however, it is clear that, contrary to what many would have supposed, men, including Joseph himself, were reluctant to accept the revelation as part of the restoration of all things. Brigham Young said that when he attended a funeral, he envied the corpse, because he would almost rather die than accept the revelation. He finally did so because of his faith in the Prophet Joseph and because of a confirmation from the Spirit that it was of God. Along these lines, Chapter 6, in my view, is the most important in the book. This chapter contains the testimonies of those who accepted plural marriage, however reluctantly, and those who found it too much to bear. It also includes a discussion of the ways in which families worked out their relationships in plural marriage.

Chapters 7 and 8 explain the efforts to suppress information about plural marriage and its subsequent recovery by historians, family members, and others. The author is somewhat critical of this practice, but to many it is nevertheless understandable. Given the problems plural marriage caused the early Church and continues to cause the broader Mormon community today, it is not at all surprising that Church leadership should want to minimize the extent of knowledge about its practice. Leaders have also increased efforts in recent decades to differentiate The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from fundamentalists who continue the practice and have sometimes been an embarrassment to mainstream Latter-day Saints. Numerous people throughout the world continue to associate contemporary Mormonism with plural marriage because they either do not know the difference or perversely refuse to differentiate between fundamentalist Mormons and faithful members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Chapter 9 provides an overview of some antecedents of polygamy in Western culture. George Smith mentions but does not dwell on the Oneida community or the Shakers; these are well known to serious readers of Mormon history, especially because of the excellent work of Larry Foster. The author touches upon Henry VIII and his marriages as well. His most significant treatment is the discussion of polygamy during the Radical

Reformation that began in sixteenth-century Germany and Switzerland. I had known of the practice of polygamy in Germany, in part, because I served two missions there. In the last mission, my wife and I served in the outreach initiative at the LDS Institute in Berlin. Just before we returned home, we went with a group of students and youth leaders to Wittenberg, where we held a conference on the theme “Reformation and Restoration.” It was in Wittenberg that Martin Luther posted his 95 theses in 1517. Unless memory fails, nothing was said at our conference about the Radical Reformation. Likewise, many who read this book might not otherwise have been aware of the Münster Anabaptists (Wiedertäufer), the practice of polygamy there, and the violence that it provoked. It is important to understand that at crucial times in the world’s history, religious leaders have struggled with problems related to marital relationships. The Reformation of the early sixteenth century was such a time, as was the Second Great Awakening in early nineteenth-century America.

Every book has problems, including those books I have written. In the present case, it is certainly controversial if not outright false that the assassination of Parley P. Pratt was “the proximate cause of the Mountain Meadows Massacre” (333). The author apparently borrows this argument from Will Bagley’s *Blood of the Prophets*.⁷ More recent work by Ronald Walker, Richard Turley Jr., and Glen Leonard demonstrates that this perception is inaccurate. Mormon militiamen generally from Cedar City carried out the massacre because of local conflicts with the Baker-Fancher party.⁸

In addition, George Smith’s brief discussion of the relationship between polygamy and slavery in Utah is certainly overdrawn. The 1850 census found fifty African Americans in Utah, of whom twenty-six were slaves, rather than the one hundred slaves that the author alleges to have been there (297).⁹ Historians have long known that, if anything, the 1850 census overstated Utah’s population by counting people who were not actually in the territory at the time, most probably because Utahns hoped to achieve statehood. The 1860 census shows little increase, with fifty-nine African Americans. Moreover, in his famous interview with Horace Greeley, Brigham Young said that if Utah were to enter the union it would come in as a free state. In 1862, Congress outlawed slavery in the territories, so it did not exist in Utah after that time, though racism certainly did.

The author is a bit vague about what he means, but he seems to believe that the 1842 story of the First Vision was the first time Joseph Smith mentioned the Godhead (21). In the 1832 version, however, Joseph wrote of the Spirit of God, the Lord, and the Lord that calls him a son: “A pillar of fire light above the brightness of the sun at noon day come down from above

and rested upon me and I was filled with the spirit of god and the <Lord> opened the heavens upon me and I saw the Lord and he spake unto me saying Joseph <my son> thy sins are forgiven thee.”¹⁰

Problems notwithstanding, George Smith’s *Nauvoo Polygamy* is an excellent book. He undertakes the unenviable task of fleshing out the details of an institution that played a central role in Mormon society and culture during the nineteenth century. As with many Latter-day Saints in the Intermountain West, I had polygamists on both sides of my family. At least one great-great-grandfather served a term in the territorial penitentiary for unlawful cohabitation. I am certain that they practiced plural marriage because they believed, as those who tell their stories in Chapter 6 did, that it had come as a commandment from God. Personally, I thank God, however, that he inspired his prophet to end the practice before I was born. I wonder if I would have had the faith to enter under any circumstance.

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1. In reviewing this book, I had access to the uncorrected proofs of the upcoming paperback edition of *Nauvoo Polygamy*, and I consulted with Ron Priddis and Connie Disney at Signature Books to discuss and view differences between the original edition, the uncorrected proofs, and the paperback. In fact, I actually read more of the text from the uncorrected proofs than I did from the original edition because the introduction indicated that the author had made changes in the paperback edition.

2. Todd Compton, *In Sacred Loneliness: The Plural Wives of Joseph Smith* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1996).

3. Kathryn M. Daynes, *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840–1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Jessie L. Embry, *Mormon Polygamous Families: Life in the Principle* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987).

4. Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

5. Since both the author and the principal subject of the book have the same last name of Smith, I have chosen to refer to the author either as “the author,” or “George Smith,” and Joseph Smith as “Joseph,” a common convention in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

6. John C. Bennett, *History of the Saints: Or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842 [Google reproduction]), 220–25.

7. Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

8. Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, Jr., and Glen M. Leonard, *Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

9. Pamela S. Perlich, *Utah Minorities: The Story Told by 150 Years of Census Data* (Salt Lake City: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Utah, 2002), 10, 11.

10. Dean C. Jessee, "The Earliest Documented Accounts of Joseph Smith's First Vision," in *Opening the Heavens: Accounts of Divine Manifestations, 1820–1844*, ed. John W. Welch (Provo, Utah: BYU Press; Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2005), 5–6.

Raymond Kuehne. *Mormons as Citizens of
a Communist State: A Documentary History of
the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
in East Germany, 1945–1990.*

Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010.

Reviewed by Norma S. Davis

Raymond Kuehne, Fulbright Fellow at the University of Marburg and National Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the University of Virginia, came to writing this book through a fortunate set of circumstances. The son of German immigrant parents, Kuehne served in the North German Mission from 1958 to 1960 under presidents Burtis F. Robbins (1957–59) and Percy K. Fetzner (1958–63). The mission office was in West Berlin, but the mission president presided over Church affairs in East Germany as well. During his missionary service, Kuehne saw firsthand the situation for the East German Saints because the Berlin Wall was not erected until 1961. He writes:

Personal contact and communication between mission presidents who lived in West Berlin and the members in the GDR [German Democratic Republic or East Germany] was difficult but adequate. . . . Many East Berlin residents worked in West Berlin and crossed the border daily. Tourists also crossed the border at will, on foot or via the city's subway and elevated trains, as did the author when he was a missionary in West Berlin in 1959. (63)

From 2002 to 2004, Kuehne served a second mission with his wife in the Freiberg Germany Temple. There he met Henry Burkhardt, who had served as a counselor in the North German Mission presidency for some thirty-eight years and was the first president of the Freiberg Temple. When Kuehne heard Burkhardt speak to the temple workers concerning the history behind the building of the temple, he wanted to read more on the subject. He was told that, although this temple was the only one built in a Communist country, very little had been published on the subject. Burkhardt gave Kuehne a copy of a paper he had written shortly after the temple was dedicated. Using this paper as a basis for his research, Kuehne interviewed other members of the Church who were involved in the temple construction. This led him to stories about life in East Germany during and after World War II, as well as life behind the Iron Curtain

during Communist rule. Documents from the LDS Church Archives in Salt Lake City, from East German government records, and from memoirs supplied by members of the Church add strength and depth to *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State*.

The book was originally published in 2008 by the Leipzig University Press in German. The 2010 English translation of what are often complex materials is excellent, and the 359 pages of documentation, along with nearly one hundred pages of appendices and charts, may be more information than the casual reader needs. However, for those who have knowledge of and interest in the history of East Germany, as well as those interested in the worldwide growth of the Church, this book is invaluable.

Kuehne's method is to present events, supply documents, and then leave the readers to come to their own conclusions. For example, in the introduction he states that "readers may wish to consider a basic theological question: What does God expect from every person, regardless of where and when he lives on this earth, and can any government create conditions in which man is incapable of meeting those expectations?" (xiii). His own opinion seldom intrudes on such questions. The readers are left to decide for themselves.

The first two chapters cover the Latter-day Saint organization of the German mission, World War II, and the Soviet occupation. Chapters 3 through 14 cover such subjects as "Life Prior to the Berlin Wall 1949–1961," "Living with the Wall 1961–1989," "How Mormons Defined Citizenship," "Church Youth Programs," and "Improved Relations in the 1970s and 1980s." The last six chapters cover the results of the Saints' responses to difficult situations: the building of the Freiberg Temple, the historic meeting between President Thomas S. Monson and Communist Head of State Erich Honecker, the first missionaries to enter the German Democratic Republic (GDR) from outside, the first missionaries from the GDR to serve outside the country, and the end of Communist rule. The final chapter focuses on the man readers will grow to admire: President Henry Burkhardt.

An example of a few lines from a lengthy quotation in the first chapter will serve as one example of the strength of Kuehne's documentation. This report is written at the end of World War II in 1945 by Paul Langheinrich. Langheinrich served in the East German Mission presidency when communication with the United States was severed during the war. Through an American army officer in West Berlin, he sent this report to Salt Lake City, giving some idea of the response of the Relief Society organization to the situation in the Eastern Sector at that time:

We began our real Relief Society assistance in 1943 when the greatest destruction began and many members lost all of their possessions. Members from every part of the mission contributed linen, clothes, household articles, furniture and almost anything that the needy members required. So much was contributed in two months that we asked the members to temporarily discontinue sending contributions to the mission, but to retain them in the separate branches. Demand for relief was very high. For example, thirty-five families of Königsberg were made destitute in one night. (10)

Similar reports are given of the work of the Sunday School, Mutual Improvement Association, Primary, and of those involved in genealogy. The spirit of the mission presidency at that time is evident in Langheinrich's concluding statement:

The slogan of the mission presidency during the entire war was: The war is not our affair, we didn't start it and cannot end it, but we can live and proclaim the gospel. None of our faithful members should suffer when it lies within our power to prevent it. We can say that God has truly helped us. He has inspired and blessed us so that we can truly say: "Many miracles have taken place in the East German Mission." (11)

Some understanding of what it was like to live in a war-torn land destitute of food, shelter, and basic needs shines through in Kuehne's narration. In a separate chapter, he quotes from the same report: "Since the end of the war, the nutrition and feeding of the members in most sections of the East German Mission has been a catastrophe. The members in Saxony in the Erzgebirge lived for days on end only on potato peelings" (14).

The chapters are supported with eleven appendices which are particularly noteworthy for the richness of their content and the depth they add to the main body of the text. Consider appendix B: "Two Refugee Centers 1945-1947," a supplement to chapter 2: "Soviet Military Administration 1945-1949." We learn there that the East German Mission carried an additional burden when refugee members of the Church came pouring in from countries along their eastern border. The presidency set up homes in Wolfgrün and Cottbus to provide the refugees shelter and food. Local couples were called on missions to serve as supervisors. The following excerpts from Wolfgrün will serve to show the richness of the material in these appendices:

What was the condition of the members when they arrived? Almost all of them were completely exhausted, worn out, and sick, having a long flight and terrible experiences behind them. They came out of the provinces of East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia and had often traveled long distances by foot to reach a train. They were often robbed of all they had along the way. Whoever had a good coat or dress or boots

were stripped of such items. How thankful and happy they were to reach this home in Wolfgrün, where they could finally wash and bathe themselves, receive food and drink, and be relieved of many of their worries. Their thankfulness was often expressed in the monthly testimony meetings. (376)

The material further reveals that after the war members of the Church gained more assistance and less resistance from the Russian authorities than they received from local German leaders:

In January 1946, at a time of extreme cold, the mayor, accompanied by four policemen, came at the request of the provincial magistrate and demanded that I and all the occupants leave the house immediately otherwise he would forcibly evict us. I told the mayor that we would not leave willingly, that he would have to remove each individual by force. When the mayor saw that he would not be successful with threats, he and the policemen left. Later, I received a written order from the provincial government in Dresden. It said, "All occupants of the Mormon refugee camp in Wolfgrün will be taken immediately via Ölsnitz to the western zones. The mayor is authorized to provide train cars and provisions for three days." When the mayor asked when we would leave, I again told him that we would not leave the home, since we had permission to live here. . . . I said, "Herr Mayor, there is 'One' [SMAD or Soviet Military Administration in Germany] who stands above you and the provincial magistrate and when 'He' will, then we will receive ration cards." Two days later, on February 10, 1946, the mayor asked me to meet with him, at which time he said that the provincial magistrate had called and that we were to receive ration cards immediately. There were eighty-nine members in the home at that time. (378)

While hardships were great, there is evidence of another side of life in the refugee homes as presented in a report from the Cottbus refugee center:

Free time activities were within the domain of the [center's] branch. To seek fun outside the Church was not only frowned upon, but it was also not necessary. Dances were held frequently, in addition to theatrical performances, ballad, operetta, and folk song evenings and also sport activities. Special events included spring, fall, Christmas and New Year festivals, Pioneer celebrations, and bazaars. Erwin Gröschke and his orchestra often played at dances. With his help, the musical life of the branch blossomed. . . . The Mormon Pioneers served as the great example for this type of community life. People spoke often about them, and the effort to follow them and to incorporate their ideals gave meaning and significance to life at that time. (372)

It is tempting to add more from other chapters and appendices, particularly the surprising information that, in spite of their extreme needs, the German Saints managed to acquire and preserve precious genealogical records that the Nazi regime had hidden in secret caches throughout the country.

Under the direction of the mission presidency and through the efforts of eleven local missionaries, some fifty thousand books were taken to secure vaults in East and West Berlin and eventually microfilmed and placed in the Granite Mountain Records Vault in Salt Lake City. This short excerpt is an example of what the five pages of appendix C: “Recovery of Genealogical Records 1946” contains:

Everything pointed to Rothenburg Castle, and we found thousands of books when we arrived there. Unfortunately, much to our grief, we had to admit that some of those books had been used by local people as heating material. Furthermore, we determined another large portion of the books had been left exposed to snow and ice. After we took measures to prevent further destruction, we returned to Berlin to make preparations for the recovery of these books. (386)

One final example deals with the historic meeting between President Thomas S. Monson and Chairman Erich Honecker. Kuehne provides the background leading up to this meeting as early as chapters 3 and 4, then after giving the reader a great deal of other information, he addresses the subject in chapter 17. He begins by quoting Wolfgang Paul, first president of the newly formed Germany Dresden Mission, describing his surprise and joy in bringing the first eight missionaries into the GDR in March 1989. Next he quotes President Henry Burkhardt concerning the first ten East German missionaries to leave the GDR on foreign missions in May 1989. Then he asks the question: “Why did the border open so easily for those two groups?”

The answer, in part, is given in eighteen pages documenting the meeting and includes the resulting compromises agreed upon by both sides. Lest readers think that the story ends with “they lived happily ever after,” Kuehne presents the reaction to the meeting from both members of the Church and from the general public. Examples range from “I was unbelievably moved” to “It had the appearance of kneeling before a socialist government. It was not good for us personally” (322–23). Two final excerpts are enlightening in this regard:

President Burkhardt: I often received threatening phone calls and was asked how we, as a church, could fraternize with the Communists like that. I had to put up with that for a while. I received letters that were not written with the nicest tone, because people believed that I was one who had initiated or was desirous of this contact. But I had the inner satisfaction that President Monson wanted this connection.

President [Frank] Apfel [currently President of the Freiberg Temple]: Some members asked us after the Wende [reunification of Germany], “Why were you with Erich? You sold yourselves.” But I see it entirely differently. There were hardly any government leaders in any Western country

that did not have contact with Erich Honecker, who didn't visit him, shake his hand, or sit at banquets with him. And so we said to ourselves, "We must try to obtain as much as possible without denying our faith." (324)

Once again, rather than interpret or answer his own questions, Kuehne leaves that task to the reader, further underscoring the strength of the book. Such a practice should be paramount for anyone writing a documentary history, but it is seldom achieved. When it occurs, as it has with Kuehne, readers are likely to have more trust in the material.

Whether Kuehne meant it to happen or not, several "heroes" emerge in the pages of the book. Some will be expected by LDS readers: President Thomas S. Monson, President Henry Burkhardt, and the many faithful named and unnamed Saints who endured so much with fortitude, humor, and joy. Several faithful and brave mission presidents also stand out, and recognition is given to President Spencer W. Kimball in teaching the Saints to live the twelfth Article of Faith under such trying times.

In my opinion, another and perhaps unexpected hero emerges from the pages of the book: Günther Behncke, the communist head of the legal division of the Secretariat for Church Affairs from 1981 to 1990. Kuehne states that Behncke "contributed significantly to the success of the Church in that last decade of the German Democratic Republic" (46). He quotes Behncke at length from a 1991 interview in which he explains the perspective he used in dealing with Latter-Day Saints and other churches during this time. Throughout the book are abundant examples of how Behncke skillfully guided Honecker and others to the Honecker-Monson conference of 1988.

The book's greatest weakness is the absence of an index. Considering its documentary nature and the expectation that it will become a reliable reference for other researchers, this seems unusual. An index would also have been helpful to readers who are unfamiliar with the history of this time and may have difficulty connecting events from one chapter to another. A map of the area would also have been useful for the same reasons. I suggest that anyone who is unfamiliar with the country supply themselves with a good map of Germany and its neighbors to the east. Personally, I wish more had been documented about the sisters who served as missionaries during the Communist period, the first sister missionaries to leave the GDR, and the first sister missionaries to enter from the outside.

Having said this, there are many more positives to note in *Mormons as Citizens of a Communist State*. Few topics intrigue readers more than accounts of valor under difficult circumstances. Raymond Kuehne has

managed to incorporate a moving example of valor within this documentary history of Latter-day Saints living in East Germany. This book is an important addition to the growing body of documentation concerning the growth of the Church throughout the world.

Norma S. Davis (garoldandnorma@gmail.com) is Professor Emeritus of Humanities at Brigham Young University. She thanks her husband, Garold N. Davis, Professor Emeritus of Germanic Languages and Literature at BYU, who proofread and contributed valuable advice to this review. The Davises served in the Germany Dresden Mission (1989–1990) as office couple to President Wolfgang Paul. With President Paul's permission, they conducted interviews and collected unpublished stories, which *BYU Studies* published in 1996 under the title *Behind the Iron Curtain: Recollections of Latter-Day Saints in East Germany, 1945–1989*. They are personally acquainted with many of the people and events mentioned in chapters 18 and 19 of the book, and they affirm Günther Behncke's significant contributions to the Church's success in the GDR during 1981–90. In 2006–8 the Davises served a second mission, spending the last six months in Dresden in the Institute Outreach Program for young single adults.

The Journey of the James G. Willie Handcart Company, by Gary Duane Long (Glenwood Springs, Colo.: By the author, 2009)

Author Gary D. Long is uniquely equipped to produce this quality map study of the tragic experience of the Willie Handcart Company as it struggled through Wyoming in October and November 1856. During a long career with the Bureau of Land Management in Wyoming, he has made an extensive study of the famed Oregon and Mormon Trails. Additionally, he has exhaustively examined the Willie experience to include walking over the full length of the Company's route through Wyoming and probing all extant written material (books, articles, journals, church records, and individual reminiscences), with particular emphasis on the day-to-day entries found in the excellent James G. Willie Emigrating Company Journal.

The map study picks up the trail at Fort Laramie and leaves off at Fort Bridger. All forty-six full-page map sheets utilized in the study are color photocopies of United States Geological Survey topographic maps, over which Long has, as exactly as possible, annotated the route taken by the Willie Company. (The book's 8½-inch high, 14-inch wide format nicely accommodates the maps.)

Map scales vary from sheet to sheet to accommodate the page-by-page layout, but a simple scale of miles particular to each sheet is provided. Excellent scenic photographs, most of them in color, accompany the maps. Throughout the book, Long has inserted quotations from the Emigrating Journal and reminiscences by eyewitnesses, to which he has added extremely useful day-by-day synopses.

However, the book is more than that. Over time, inaccuracies have

cropped up in popular accounts of the Willie saga, owing in large part to faulty research, some of it perhaps prompted by apparent ambiguities in the extant record. Long has thoroughly investigated these inaccuracies, and, as indicated by the diplomatic way he has dealt with them, with pure intent. In his own words: "The intense level of public interest in this subject, and tragic loss of so many lives, demands that those of us who choose to tell this story get it right! There is a kind of poetry and elegance to an accurately told story" (v).

The most glaring inaccuracies of which he speaks deal with the Willie Company's experiences between October 19 and 25—the most tragic part of the entire trek. Long argues that the company, after its crossing of the "sixteen-mile drive" between the fifth and sixth crossings of the Sweetwater River (during which the storm struck), encamped at the Sixth Crossing for the nights of October 19, 20, and 21. They recommenced their journey west on the morning of October 22, camped on the north bank of the Sweetwater just below Rocky Ridge on the night of October 22, moved up and over Rocky Ridge on October 23, and camped just below the confluence of Willow Creek and the Sweetwater River from the night of October 23 to the morning of October 25.

There has been much disagreement about these locations. Disagreement regarding the encampment at the Sixth Crossing on the nights of October 19, 20, and 21 is surprising, since extant eyewitness evidence is so clear. Long's findings should forever close that debate. Disagreement regarding the encampment on the nights of October 23 and 24 is likely to continue, however. Near consensus after the fact has been reached in favor of Rock Creek, and the physical site has been well developed and

memorialized. Still, Long makes a convincing argument for the Willow Creek/Sweetwater location, this based on the preponderance of written evidence supported by careful personal reconnaissance of the ground.

Long's study suggests two valuable points regarding historical research and writing generally. First, it is always appropriate to carefully weigh the accounts of eyewitnesses against contrary arguments and conclusions made well after the fact. In the particular case of the Willie Handcart story, absent clear proof to the contrary, the eyewitness accounts on the record are the most convincing. And second, where place plays an important part, painstaking personal reconnaissance of the ground can clarify what written evidence is at hand.

It is in all these respects that I believe Gary Long, in this exceptional study, has made an important contribution. Along with Paul D. Lyman's *The Willie Handcart Company* (Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2006), we now have two recent and useful map studies of the Willie experience. (The Lyman study differs primarily in that it presents maps, quotations, and commentary of the entire route by sea and land from England to Utah. Content of the Wyoming portion of the trek is similar except for location of the encampment from the night of October 23 to the morning of October 25.) A similarly thorough study of the Martin Handcart Company, which followed Willie by a few days and had even more tragic results, would be welcome.

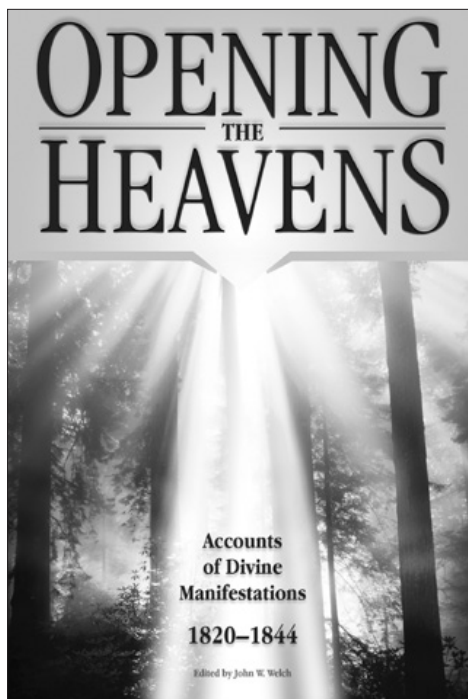
—Howard A. Christy

BYU Studies is happy to draw the following to your attention and regrets any inconvenience or misunderstanding:

David Paulsen and Martin Pulido, the authors of "A Mother There': A Survey of Historical Teachings about Mother in Heaven," volume 50, number 1, belatedly thank Benjamin Brown, then BYU undergraduate, for his very significant contributions to this paper, including his drafting of the paper's conclusion and methodology sidebar, and apologize for this oversight.

The review of Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*, in volume 50, number 2, on page 181, states: "Skousen suggests that we should not conclude that canonized versions of the Book of Mormon should be revised to reflect this text." He has asked BYU Studies to publish the following clarification: "Skousen does not claim that the authorized text of the Book of Mormon should be revised to reflect the Yale text, nor does he suggest that it should not be. He leaves this to the Brethren."

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