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Letters to the Editors

The pen and ink sketches of Lake Alexander, Utah, are by Ralph Reynolds, a Salt Lake City graphic designer.

Dear Sirs:

Boycotts at BYU have reached our ears here. Considering the official and unofficial discrimination at the "Y" in the past it is not unexpected. (Actually one boycott leader was from a black LDS family in Oakland).

Satan wants more than anything to get the good people out of the Church and the bigoted inside — this same type of thing happened several times in the Book of Mormon.

The brotherly members of the Church need to unite in prayer for help at this time. There is little, beyond that, that the average member can do. Because of various myths our relation of blacks and Priesthood is misunderstood by many members, who really think blacks are inferior mentally, spiritually, etc. The publications of members on this subject reflect glaring logical and theological holes. Most members are unable to empathize with blacks and want to tolerate only "Uncle Toms."

I would recommend reading Jacob 3:9 and "The Racial Revolution" by G. Homer Durham in the October, 1968, *Improvement Era* in reconsidering racial attitudes. The "moral evil" of discrimination, as President Brown called it, is not only civil but mental. Fortunately, things may be changing. A black choir in San Diego sings Mormon hymns. The new Queen at the Church College of Hawaii is an Indian-Negro.

Let our fruits be good. Let us be a light of brotherhood — and let us unite in prayer for greater understanding.

> Scott S. Smith Dusseldorf, West Germany

Dear Sirs:

Along with several other University of Utah students, I am trying to acquire factual information of cases where people of Negroid descent have been ordained to the priesthood in the "Mormon" Church. We are interested in any first-hand account of such cases in our times, or documented accounts of such events in the past, or any information that can be well documented. This is part of a study concerning the history of the "Mormon" Church's dealings with the Negro race. Persons with desired information (and any and all replies will be greatly valued) can contact me by writing:

> Thor O. Nilsen 1238 Colorado Street Salt Lake City, Utah 84116

Dear Sirs:

"Vardis Fisher and the Mormons" by Joseph M. Flora (Autumn 1969) prompted me to read Fisher's *Children of God*. I must confess that uncomplimentary rumors had



forestalled my reading it before. It is an impressive work, and my original conclusions

pertaining to those who practiced polygyny were reinforced — it took exceptional people to truly live the principle. Vardis Fisher obviously had great literary talent and, in my opinion, a soul more generous, free, and Christian than his critics are generally willing to concede to him.

I also enjoyed Kenneth B. Hunsaker's review on Mid-Century Mormon novels, especially his comments regarding Maureen Whipple's The Giant Joshua; this novel was a particularly inspiring experience for me. Hunsaker also reviewed Richard Scowcroft's Children of the Covenant, a work with which I was previously unfamiliar. I can understand why he said that it is catalogued in the Church Historian's library as an anti-Mormon novel, but I cannot understand why Hunsaker himself labeled it definitely anti-Mormon. His comments about the book were mainly positive. His one negative statement was that the novel lacked universality. A qualified statement that it was anti-Church establishment, not anti-Mormon, would have been more accurate. Scowcroft is opposed to the way Mormonism is being lived, and he asked the soul-searching questions in Chapter 16: "Where's the brotherhood, the sharing, the interdependence, the love, the cooperation?" 'The author realizes that our religion is "a way of life" here and hereafter and he is weary of the pretense, nepotism, gossip, and shallowness prevalent in his Ogden community. I live a few valleys south, but Scowcroft is my kind of Mormon, and I am grateful that he had the talent, patience, and motivation to write such a story. Saint Réal said, "A novel is a mirror passing down a road"; is it possible we as Mormons did not like what we saw in Scowcroft's mirror?

I consider myself a good Mormon, I am not offended, and I regret that Hunsaker felt it necessary to consign to obscurity what was for me a significant Mormon novel.

> Loneta M. Murphy Provo, Utah

Dear Sirs:

When *Dialogue* was first published I had high hopes, often sustained during those sweet days, that the journal would provide an avenue of discussion for those of us who have found serious flaws in the Church functioning and gospel doctrine. I had hoped it would provide an arena in which these problems could be resolved and a new consensus built which would strengthen our devotion to our religion and energize our participation.

What would I like to see discussed? Let me list a few very general areas you might consider (and if you do use them, please let me know so I can resubscribe):

1. The discussions on the Mormon's attitude toward modern experiences like over-



population, pollution, the "War," racism, etc. have been touched upon, and I think rather well, but this avenue has barely been opened up, certainly not exhausted.

2. It is well known in the social sciences that the institutionalization of a social movement has certain consequences for the group, including, in our country, the eventual domination of the movement by bureaucratic organization. Social scientists have also indicated that there are certain consequences of bureaucratization which can usually be expected, including the turning away of the organization from the goals which it was organized to attain. It is absolutely imperative that we examine our Church to see if in the process of institutionalization and bureaucratization from the 1830's to the present our Church has turned away from the goals for which it was organized. I would contend that it has.

3. If history is your delight, how about comparing the gospel doctrine to the revolutionary ideas of Joseph Smith's time, especially the ideas so vividly pronounced

throughout the French Revolution. It is interesting to me that Smith emphasized progress when the idea of "Progress" was a major guiding principle for many philosophers, revolutionaries, and scientists. It is interesting that he emphasized "eternal laws" at a time when "Natural Laws" were loudly proclaimed. . . With Sterling McMurrin and others *Dialogue* could publish a lively and "enlightening" discussion on this topic.

4. With all the eulogizing of David O. McKay, how about a serious discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of our patriarchal gerontocracy. Where is the scriptural evidence indicating that the Prophet, Seer and Revelator must always be selected according to age, seniority in the Church Bureaucracy, etc.?

5. And speaking of revelation, let us examine objectively the evidence that revelation has continued to the 1970's. I suspect there isn't much.

It is with considerable despair that I write this note. Perhaps it will not fall upon deaf ears or pious necks.

> Gordon E. Moss State University of New York at Buffalo

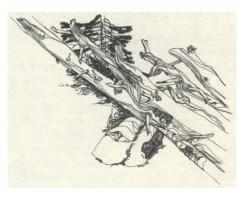
Dear Sirs:

I must be one of hundreds, probably thousands, of Mormons who hover about the edges of the Church but who are immersed in the culture, history and essential myths of Mormonism, to whom *Dialogue* offers a periodic reconstitution of soul. The journal is very important to me and to my wife. Something essential would go out of our lives if *Dialogue* were to fold.

We send along our widow's mite, our pledge to proselyte among our friends (the only kind of proselyting I am amenable to these days), and a pledge of any kind of support that you could use.

I think your literature issue a very good one. The many fine personal statements in this issue have been provocative, indicative of a need to reenergize our essential poetic myths. My pen has hardly been stationary this week. Two areas that are of vital interest to me are the relationships between Mormonism and theatre and between Mormonism and film. Theatre suffers even more than literature in the church. A writer can, as Wayne Carver suggests, simply go off and write. A theatre needs some sort of specific audience and financial institutional support. And the annual BYU awards for the most innocuous film of the year merely gives form to the sterility of our dramatic imagination. I suspect that there is a great mine of untapped imagistic wealth in Mormondom. Perhaps we are ultimately wealthier in our ability to see than to hear. Perhaps the great embodiments of Mormon myth will be cinematic. Are there cinema buffs makers of film — out there?

Gary Stewart Amherst, Mass.



Dear Sirs:

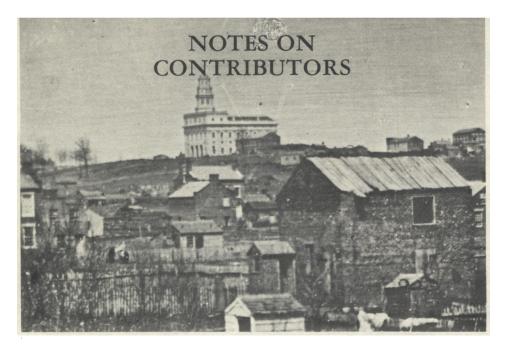
I would be deeply distressed should you be obliged to discontinue publication. The Journal has begun to fill a long standing need for a broad spectrum of Mormon thought. It has given me great comfort to feel that perhaps there is more room for difference of opinion within the Church than I have been led to believe.

I welcome some change in the nature of the Journal content. I believe it will have a much broader appeal if there is perhaps less space given to the historical and academic aspects of Mormonism and more on the Church in today's world. It would be very interesting, and I believe very healthy, if there could be some scientific and thoroughly responsible polls of the opinions of the "murmuring majority" of Church members.

My thanks to all those who contribute their time and ability to *Dialogue*.

> Florence McCune Los Angeles, California

THE MORMONS IN EARLY ILLINOIS EDITED BY STANLEY B. KIMBALL



John C. Abbott, Director of Lovejoy Library, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville.

Leonard J. Arrington, Department of Economics, Utah State University at Logan, author of GREAT BASIN KINGDOM (1958).

Richard L. Bushman, Department of History, Brigham Young University and Boston University, awarded the Bancroft Prize in 1968 for his FROM PURITAN TO YANKEE: CHARACTER AND SOCIAL ORDER IN CONNECTICUT, 1690-1765 (1967).

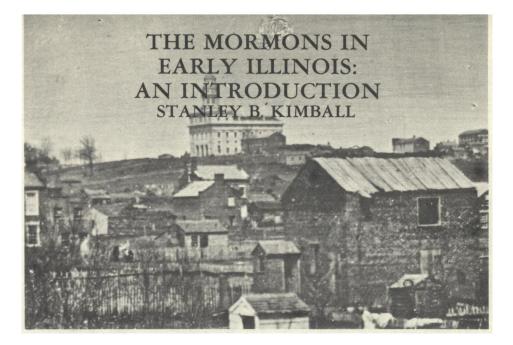
Robert Bruce Flanders, Department of History, Southwest Missouri State College, Springfield, author of NAUVOO: KINGDOM ON THE MISSISSIPPI (1966).

Jon Haupt, Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Richard P. Howard, Church Historian and Director of the Archives and Research Library, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Independence, Missouri.

Stanley B. Kimball, Faculty of Historical Studies, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Author of Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-48: An Annotated Catalogue of the Microfilm Collection at Southern Illinois University (1964), and originator of that collection.

T. Edgar Lyon, Research Historian, Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated and Associate Director of the L.D.S. Institute of Religion, University of Utah.



The Illinois period of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints commenced eight years after the founding of the Church in Fayette, New York on April 6, 1830, by Joseph Smith. From New York the Church spread westward into northern Ohio and western Missouri. During the early 1830's, the headquarters of the Church was in Kirtland, Ohio. Due to internal difficulties, apostasy, and persecution, members of the Church in this area eventually joined the other main center of the Church in Missouri.

Mormons had been in Missouri as early as 1831, where they centered around Independence in Jackson County. As in Ohio, they had difficulty with their neighbors and were driven from Jackson County in November, 1833, to settle across the Missouri River in Clay County. Under pressure they left Clay County in the summer of 1836 for the uninhabited north half of Clay County, which was soon organized into the "Mormon County" of Caldwell. There Church headquarters were established at a place called Far West.

The area around Far West built up quickly. To this new center of Church activities came the Ohio Mormons (in 1838), as well as many from Canada and the eastern United States who had joined the Church through missionary activity. This sudden influx created new conflicts, and mobs, motivated primarily by political, economic, and religious reasons, again plundered the Mormons, who prepared for defense; a near state of civil war existed. On October 27, 1838, the Governor of Missouri, Lilburn Boggs, signed the "Extermination Order" which read in part, ". . . the Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace. . . ." Church leaders were imprisoned and the rest of the Church membership had the choice of denying their faith and making peace with the mobs, or of fleeing the state. Thousands sought asylum in the state of Illinois and in Iowa Territory. Many spent the winter of 1838–39, and the spring of 1839, in and around Quincy, Illinois, whose citizens were sympathetic toward the destitute Mormons.

Finally on April 16, 1839, Joseph Smith and other leaders of the Church were allowed to escape from their prison in Liberty, Missouri, and joined the members of the Church at Quincy. Shortly after his arrival there, Joseph Smith purchased land at Commerce, Illinois. The first purchase was made

May 1, and on May 10, Joseph Smith and others took up residence in Commerce.

Throughout the summer of 1839, members of the Church came into the Commerce region. They cleared the land, drained the swamps, and built houses. In September streets and lots were laid out in a new area adjacent to Commerce. It was called Nauvoo, a name which Joseph Smith said was from Hebrew, meaning "beautiful place of rest." By the end of 1840, the city had a post office and had been granted a city charter by the state of Illinois.

The Charter made Nauvoo virtually a "city-state" with its own militia, the Nauvoo Legion, which became an army of about 3,000. Joseph Smith was determined to provide protection against a repetition of past persecutions.

Nauvoo grew fast as members and new converts from the East, Canada, and the British Isles flooded into the city. No accurate census was ever taken, but by the summer of 1841, Nauvoo had 8,000 to 9,000 inhabitants. Between 1844 and 1846, with more than 12,000 residents, Nauvoo was the largest city in Illinois.

For a variety of reasons — mainly religious and political differences, the enmity of apostates, and the envy of surrounding communities — persecution began again. Work on the Temple and other enterprises was slowed down by mob harassment. The situation worsened and was climaxed by the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in June, 1844, while they were in protective custody in the Carthage jail awaiting a hearing on charges of treason.

Following this act the Nauvoo Charter was repealed, and mob activity, only partially checked by the state militia, grew in intensity. During the fall of 1845, an agreement was made between the Church and a commission from the State of Illinois that the Mormons would leave the following spring. But the mistreatment of the Mormons continued and the first members of the Church under the leadership of Brigham Young left Nauvoo in February, 1846. By September of that year the last members of the Church had left Nauvoo and joined the exodus to the West, eventually re-settling in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. Their Temple stood as a symbol of their faith until November, 1848, when it was burned by those who feared it might attract Mormons to the area again.

In 1961 the Lovejoy Library of Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville began collecting materials pertaining to the early history of the Mormons in Illinois. The major purpose in this effort was to do what had never been done before — to bring together copies of as many primary sources regarding the early history of the Mormons in Illinois as possible to better enable qualified scholars and students to understand this important phase of Mormon, Illinois, and American history.

The collection consists of about 84,000 pages of material, much of which is on microfilm. My Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839-48: An Annotated Catalogue of the Microfilm Collection at Southern Illinois University was printed by Southern Illinois University in 1964 and a second edition, revised and enlarged, was printed in 1966. As the logical outgrowth of this collection, the growing interest in Nauvoo because of the work on Nauvoo Restoration, Incorporated, which was established in 1962, and the inadequacy of research on this important phase of U.S. history, the library decided to sponsor a conference on "The Mormons in Early Illinois." At this conference, held May 11, 1968, eight papers were presented — six of which make up this special section in *Dialogue*. I served as Conference Chairman and the three sessions were chaired by William K. Aldefer, Illinois State Historian; Richard S. Brownlee, Director, State Historical Society of Missouri; and John Francis McDermott, Research Professor, Humanities Division, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville. In addition, a special exhibit, "Old Buildings of Nauvoo: A Photographic Report," by Harold Allen, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, was displayed.

The object of the conference was to bring together the best available scholars in and out of Mormon circles to present papers on topics of their own choice. No "problem" or special theme was selected; the emphasis, rather, was placed on non-partisan papers based on new research in primary sources.

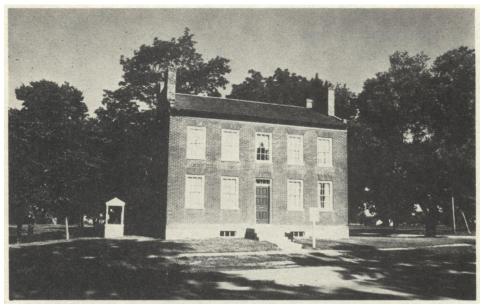
Collectively, however, the papers are much more than an interesting potpourri. A theme of sorts – "Were the Nauvoo Mormons really Americans?" – did emerge and was developed mainly through the analysis of Nauvoo politics, recent historiography, and mid-nineteenth-century fiction. The following are some of the questions which were raised by the conference. What was primitive Mormonism? Why was there such intense hatred of the Mormons? Why was most early literature on the Mormons produced by hack writers? What is the trend and quality of current literature on the Mormons? Why was the search for identity by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints so protracted?

The papers presented here were written by scholars of different religious persuasions and academic backgrounds and reflect different approaches — i.e., historical, cultural, economic, political, and bibliographic. Understandably (and fortunately) the authors do not always agree with one another in interpretation. Flanders, for example, considers the Mormons to have been true Americans — "Jacksonian entrepreneurs" — a position that Bushman does not hold. Most of the conclusions are given in a tentative tone and the authors invite further scholarly study and analysis of the many unused or inadequately used primary sources. The existence of the microfilm collection at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, should greatly abet future study of the Mormons in Illinois.

I would like to thank Robert MacVicar, former Vice-President of Academic Affairs at Southern Illinois University, for support in making the conference possible. I also thank John C. Abbott, Director of the Lovejoy Library at Southern Illinois University (and a contributor to this section) for his sustained interest and encouragement in relation to the collection and the conference. And I am grateful to the S.I.U. Office of Research and Projects for their assistance. Finally, the contributors and I are grateful to the editors of *Dialogue* for their willingness to publish the papers and illustrations in this special issue.

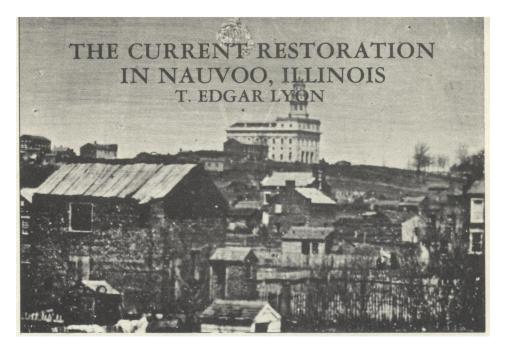


The restored residences of Heber C. Kimball (above) and Wilford Woodruff (below) as they appear today.



The Icarian communal hall built from face stone salvaged from the Nauvoo Temple.





THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

Approximately 250 miles southwest of Chicago and 150 miles north of St. Louis lies Nauvoo, Illinois. At this place the Mississippi River rather abruptly pushes itself into Iowa and then returns again to its generally southward course. Within the arc thus formed by the westward protrusion of the river are more than a thousand acres of land, the southwestern portion of which is quite level. On this "Flat" stood the city of Nauvoo as it was originally surveyed. Because of the curve of the Mississippi here, old Nauvoo's Main Street was once described by Robert Ripley in one of his "Believe it or Not" features as the only straight Main Street in the world having the same river at both ends. The modern city of Nauvoo is located to the east, upon bluffs which rise nearly seventy feet above the old city.

On this land, encircled by the river on three sides, the Sac and Fox Indians established a large agricultural village in the days preceding the settlement of Illinois by white men. To this locality the Indians gave the name Quashquema, in honor of one of their chiefs.

Following the designation of much of the land between the Illinois and the Mississippi Rivers as bounty lands for the veterans of the War of 1812, the Indians were moved westward into Iowa. (It was this expulsion of the Indians from their Illinois villages which led to the Black Hawk War in the 1830's.) White settlers then established homes and farms near Quashquema. Here, in 1829, Hancock County was organized and the first post office, called Venus, was established. The village of Venus served as the first seat of Hancock County, but the county administration was subsequently moved to Carthage, to make it more centrally located.

In 1834 speculators had the land near Venus surveyed in anticipation of a larger community and changed the name of the town and post office to Commerce. Commerce was situated just above the third of the Des Moines Rapids in the river, and, with a boat landing adjoining the main river channel, its proprietors hoped the town would become a thriving city. Thirty or forty people bought lots in Commerce. Some built stores, others built residences, and all waited, with the optimism which characterized America in those days, for great economic returns to enrich them.

Two years later a group of New England land speculators, who had formed a syndicate, surveyed for another town to adjoin Commerce on the north. This second city was to be named Commerce City, but before the proprietors had sold more than a few lots the severe Panic of 1837 blighted the prospects for growth of both communities. Some of the residents of Commerce abandoned their property and the future of the communities was unpromising.

It was at this time that two or three thousand Mormons, expelled from Missouri as a result of mob violence, fled to Illinois and made Quincy their temporary rallying point. Fifty miles upstream were the sites of Commerce and Commerce City. The owners of the land were anxious to dispose of their possessions. Their agents contacted the Mormons and invited Mormon leaders to visit the properties. The Mormons were destitute, but land owners in Commerce realized that the Mormon properties in Missouri could be repossessed by non-Mormons and offered to trade their Illinois lands for the Mormon holdings in Missouri. Through such transactions, several hundred acres of land in the vicinity of Commerce were acquired by Joseph Smith and his followers.

The proprietors of Commerce City made a different proposition which enabled the Mormons to purchase property. The Mormons, although lacking cash assets, had two factors in their favor. The first was the known integrity of the Latter-day Saints. They had developed a reputation for fulfilling their obligations, even in the face of adversity. The second was the fact that they had constructed the city of Far West, Missouri — the largest city in northwestern Missouri — during the first two years of the Panic of 1837 without the use of a bank or mortgage institution. They had been able to accomplish this because of an almost unbelievable homogeneity which enabled them achieve their ends.

The agents of the New England firm of investors realized by the spring of 1839 that the Panic had not yet reached its lowest ebb. (In fact, financial conditions continued to deteriorate for two additional years, and it was not until 1844 that economic conditions improved.) Apparently the agents were willing to deal with the Mormons on the premise that they could not lose in cooperating with this industrious people. They offered to sell their lands in Commerce City on a twenty-year payment plan, with no down payment and no yearly payments on the principal for five years. They calculated that if the Mormons took over their lands and remained on them five years, the Mormons would be compelled to erect dwellings and barns to shelter themselves and their livestock from the elements. In addition the thick prairie sod would have to be cultivated and fences and granaries built. If, after five years, the Mormons defaulted and the sellers were forced to repossess the land, the syndicate would acquire property which would have great market value in a post-depression period.

Joseph Smith and other Church leaders signed the land contracts, called in the county surveyor and had him plat a city containing more than six hundred acres. The Mormon Prophet named the projected city Nauvoo (stating that name was of Hebrew derivation and meant "beautiful place") and applied for a change in the name of the post office.

The new city, surveyed according to Joseph Smith's plan for a combinaation urban-agricultural community, consisted of 160 blocks, each of which was subdivided into four equal lots of approximately one acre each. The streets were laid out on a north-south and east-west grid, rather than having the main street follow the river bank as it did in many Mississippi Valley towns.

Joseph Smith wanted a city large enough to provide good schools and cultural opportunities, expert medical and professional services, and industries and businesses sufficient to meet the needs of the residents. On the other hand he did not desire Nauvoo to become so large that people lost the sense of individual importance. He believed that an ideal city should remain small enough to allow most of its inhabitants to have a speaking acquaintance with one another. Past experience had taught him that as a city grew in size, immorality, drunkenness, crime, political corruption and other evils tended to increase.

Joseph Smith had experimented with city planning at two sites in Missouri and hoped to find the most advantageous relationship between rural and urban life. His design called for a city of 10,000 to 15,000 residents. The community plan was in direct contrast to the typical western American settlement. The farms were to be located on the perimeter of the city so that after tilling, planting, and harvesting, farmers could return to the city at the close of each day. There they could, with their families, enjoy the cultural and religious refinements which a rural life could not provide. In Nauvoo women could organize themselves for more effective social and compassionate service than if they were isolated on farms.

It was Joseph Smith's belief that work was a blessing, not a curse from God, and provision should be made for every boy and girl, as well as every man and woman, to engage in worthwhile and productive work. The large city lots would provide ample opportunity for children to learn industry by tending animals and cultivating gardens.

Nauvoo continued to grow as converts immigrated from Canada, Great Britain, and other parts of the United States. By 1842 there were approximately 7,000 residents in Nauvoo, and in the summer of 1845 the Illinois Census reported a figure of 11,052. If the first Chicago City Directory of 1845 can be relied on, the population of Nauvoo was approximately one and onehalf times that of the burgeoning Lake Michigan city.

On June 27, 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were murdered in the county jail at Carthage, while awaiting a hearing on a charge of treason. Following these murders, the spirit of anti-Mormon feeling in Illinois subsided. For a little more than a year there was relative peace. During this time many of the finer brick and frame residences of Nauvoo were erected. Strenuous efforts were exerted to complete the Temple and the Nauvoo House, which was to be the largest hotel in the Upper Mississippi Valley.

THE DECLINE OF NAUVOO

During the summer of 1845, however, the old charges against the Mormons were revived. They were accused of cattle rustling, horse stealing and counterfeiting. It was said that Mormons secretly controlled the politics of Hancock County and the State of Illinois. Mass meetings were held at Green Plains and Carthage, and soon anti-Mormons began burning barns and haystacks of Mormons who resided outside of Nauvoo, as a warning to them to leave the county. Governor Thomas Ford of Illinois endeavored to stop these illegal actions but was unable to control the lawless elements. On September 30, 1845, by the order of Governor Ford, a commission arrived in Nauvoo for the purpose of arranging some compromise which would avoid further bloodshed and open civil war. Headed by Stephen A. Douglas, the commission conferred with Brigham Young and other prominent men. The following day an agreement was reached to the effect that the Mormons would voluntarily commence to move from Nauvoo and Hancock County in late April or early May of the following year, if left unmolested, so they might construct wagons, secure animals to pull them, and be allowed to dispose of their property. By the close of September, 1846, most of the Mormon inhabitants of Nauvoo and vicinity had left Illinois, approximately ninety percent of them having followed Brigham Young westward.

About three years later the vanguard of about 500 French economic communitarians known as Icarians¹ arrived at Nauvoo, having heard that good buildings and farms were for sale at reduced prices. They purchased some of the Mormon property from trustees who had been left behind by Brigham Young to dispose of the Mormon assets. The Icarians undertook to establish a communal society, but within seven years it disintegrated.² Some of its members made attempts to establish such societies in Iowa, Missouri, and California, but without enduring success.

"M. KROLOKOSKI – 'Mr. Taylor, do you propose no other plan to ameliorate the condition of mankind than that of baptism for the remission of sins?'

"ELDER TAYLOR - 'This is all I propose about the matter.'

"M. KROLOKOSKI – 'Well, I wish you every success; but I am afraid you will not succeed.'

¹The Lovejoy Library of Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, has recently acquired a unique collection of materials about Etienne Cabet (1788-1856) and his Icarian group. This collection consists of about 1,600 pages of letters and manuscripts, and thirtyfive rare books and pamphlets.

³This failure was discussed in an interesting encounter in Paris between one of the Mormons driven from Nauvoo and a leader of Icarians, as reported in B. H. Roberts, *The Life of John Taylor*, pp. 225-227:

[&]quot;Shortly after the discussion Elder Taylor left Boulogne for Paris, where he began studying the French language, and teaching the gospel. Among the interesting people whom he met there was M. Krolokoski, a disciple of M. Fourier, the distinguished French socialist. M. Krolokoski was a gentleman of some standing, being the editor of a paper published in Paris in support of Fourier's views. Another thing which makes the visit of this gentleman to Elder Taylor interesting is the fact that it was the society to which he belonged that sent M. Cabet to Nauvoo with the French Icarians, to establish a community on Fourier's principles. At his request Elder Taylor explained to him the leading principles of the gospel. At the conclusion of that explanation the following conversation occurred:

While these Frenchmen were carrying on their efforts to found an economic and social Utopia at Nauvoo, many German immigrants, attracted to Nauvoo by the lure of cheap property and housing, had made it their home. With the deterioration of the Icarian society, these immigrants and their children became dominant in the city.

The French and the German groups had each hoped to revive Nauvoo and return it to its former importance, but for more than a century, Nauvoo's history was one of general decline. It became a veritable "ghost town" in the midst of a wealthy farming community, until tourist traffic became sizeable. Slumbering by the Father of Waters, it possessed nostalgic attraction for many of its former inhabitants and their children. Beginning in the 1880's many people from different factions of the original Church visited Nauvoo. Non-Mormon residents of Iowa, Missouri, and Illinois were attracted to it because of its history.

THE RESTORATION OF NAUVOO

When Joseph Smith purchased the southern portion of the "Flat" in 1839, a single log house stood there. As early as 1805 a government Indian trader and farmer had lived in this vicinity and local tradition claims the building was his trading post. When Joseph Smith arrived in Nauvoo in May, 1839, he made this his residence. There were two rooms, one upstairs, one down, with a large cooking hearth on the lower floor. Joseph Smith added a large frame "keeping room" on the north, which became the kitchen

"'The society I represent, M. Krolokoski,' he continued, 'comes with the fear of God the worship of the Great Elohim; we offer the simple plan ordained of God, viz: repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and the laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost. Our people have not been seeking the influence of the world, nor the power of government, but they have obtained both. Whilst you, with your philosophy, independent of God, have been seeking to build up a system of communism and a government which is, according to your own accounts, the way to introduce the Millennial reign. Now, which is the best, our religion, or your philosophy?'

"M. KROLOKOSKI - 'Well, Mr. Taylor, I can say nothing.' "

[&]quot;ELDER TAYLOR - 'Monsieur Krolokoski, you sent Monsieur Cabet to Nauvoo some time ago. He was considered your leader - the most talented man you had. He went to Nauvoo shortly after we had deserted it. Houses and lands could be obtained at a mere nominal sum. Rich farms were deserted, and thousands of us had left our houses and furniture in them, and almost everything calculated to promote the happiness of man was there. Never could a person go to a place under more happy circumstances. Besides all the advantages of having everything made ready to his hand, M. Cabet had a select company of colonists. He and his company went to Nauvoo - what is the result? I read in all your reports from there - published in your own paper here, in Paris, a continued cry for help. The cry is money, money! We want money to help us carry out our designs. While your colony in Nauvoo with all the advantages of our deserted fields and homes — that they had only to move into - have been dragging out a miserable existence, the Latter-day Saints, though stripped of their all and banished from civilized society into the valleys of the Rocky Mountains, to seek that protection among savages - among the peau rouges as you call our Indians - which Christian civilization denied us - there our people have built houses, enclosed lands, cultivated gardens, built school-houses, and have organized a government and are prospering in all the blessings of civilized life. Not only this, but they have sent thousands and thousands of dollars over to Europe to assist the suffering poor to go to America, where they might find an asylum.'

and general living room of the family. This was the residence of Joseph Smith from May, 1839, until August, 1843.

Based on statements of visitors to Nauvoo and memoirs and diaries of its builders, at the time of the Mormon exodus the majority of inhabitants of Nauvoo were living in hewn-log houses. Some were one-story, others were like the old trading post. Oak, locust, walnut, and other native trees were abundant. Over a thousand log houses were built using chopping and hewing axes, a few nails, window glass, hinges, door locks, and a little sawed lumber for doors and window sashes.

Situated diagonally across the street from Joseph Smith's first home, or the "Homestead," was the second and final residence of Joseph Smith at Nauvoo. The Mansion House, as it was known, was constructed by the Church. It consisted of twenty-two rooms and was operated as a hotel. The Smith family occupied three or four of the front rooms. Following the murders at Carthage the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum were brought to this house. It is reported that more than 10,000 people passed through the building while the bodies lay in state.

The two residences of Joseph Smith have belonged to the Smith family or the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints since his death. Commencing in 1918, the Reorganized Church undertook to restore these buildings, which had seriously deteriorated. Only the front portion, less than half, of the Mansion House remains today.

On the northwest corner of the block on which his first Nauvoo residence stood, Joseph Smith opened a general merchandise store in January, 1841, in the basement and ground floor of a new structure there. Although he was too busy to operate the store himself, Joseph occasionally assisted his clerks when the store was crowded. The store also served as a bank, extending credit to those who desired to build houses. The second floor of the building served as the office for the Church, and, until the completion of the Masonic Hall, it also served as the Municipal Court and the office for the City Council and City Recorder. In addition, temple ordinances were performed above the store before the Temple was completed.

Following her death, the building was sold by Emma Smith's second husband. It was razed and the bricks cleaned of old mortar. These were used in the erection of a building which is now the Nauvoo Dining Room in the Nauvoo Hotel. Some of the bricks are visible in the unplastered walls of that structure.

The Reorganized Church, which owns approximately fifty acres of old Nauvoo, including several old residences, plans to reconstruct Joseph Smith's store. They also plan to rebuild the east wing of the Mansion House and the brick stable of the Mansion House.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints did not commence the acquisition of historic sites in Illinois until 1903 when the county jail at Carthage was purchased. In 1937 some parcels of land on the Nauvoo Temple block were acquired. In 1953 the remains of buildings that had housed the Church's printing plant were purchased and renovated. The original structures – two stores with a residence between them – had been built of brick by James Ivins, a Mormon convert from New Jersey. In 1845 the Church had purchased the buildings and converted them into the Church printing plant. There was a typesetting shop, a stereotype foundry, a pressroom, a bookbindery, and a book and stationery store. The Nauvoo Post Office also used the facilities. After the departure of the Mormons, one building was used as an office for the three Mormon trustees who remained in Nauvoo to sell the property of their departed co-religionists.

Shortly after arriving in Nauvoo Mormon settlers discovered local clay that was suitable for brickmaking. It contained sufficient iron oxide to color the brick a reddish brown when subjected to heat in the kilns. Although brick buildings were more expensive than log or frame houses, it has been estimated that two to three hundred brick structures stood in Nauvoo when the Mormons migrated from the city in 1846. A greater percentage of red brick homes were found at Nauvoo in its heyday than in any community in Illinois.

In 1954 Dr. James LeRoy Kimball purchased the Nauvoo residence of his great-grandfather, Heber C. Kimball, an early apostle. Heber C. Kimball erected the two-story portion of this house during the summer of 1845. The ornate front porch, the green shutters, and the concrete porch and steps are typical of the post-Mormon additions made to many of the houses by the French and German immigrants. Since it has been restored and fitted with period furniture, the Kimball House has become one of the city's chief attractions.

Dr. Kimball was aware that Nauvoo had an unusual story to tell. He envisoned a complete restoration of a part of the old Mormon city, with its institutions, industries, arts, crafts, and culture visually and audibly telling that story. This idea moved toward reality in July, 1962, when, under the direction of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints, Nauvoo Restoration was organized. This is a perpetual foundation, organized under the Illinois "General Not for Profit Corporation Act," with its office at Nauvoo, Illinois. Dr. Kimball was made president of the Board of Trustees. Members of the first Board of Trustees were Harold P. Fabian, long associated with the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and a member of the Citizens' Advisory Council to the National Park Service; A. Hamer Reiser, retired lawyer and business man (one of whose ancestors operated a shoe factory at Nauvoo); A. Edwin Kendrew, Senior Vice-President of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia; David M. Kennedy, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States; and J. Willard Marriott, Chairman of the Board of the Hot Shoppes and Marriott Motor Hotels, of Washington, D.C. These original appointments, and subsequent additions to the board, have been made on the basis of the appointees' vision of the possibilities of the project, their geographical locations, their interest in such projects, and their willingness to donate freely of their time to the cause. None are salaried officials.

According to the Articles of Incorporation, the purposes of Nauvoo Restoration are:

To acquire, restore, protect, and preserve, for the education and benefit of its members and the public, all or a part of the old city of Nauvoo in Illinois and the surrounding area, in order to provide an historically authentic physical environment for awakening a public interest in, and an understanding and appreciation of, the story of Nauvoo and the mass migration of its people to the valley of the Great Salt Lake....

At the time of incorporation it was hoped that financial aid might be obtained from foundations, business corporations, and private individuals. With the exception of a grant from the National Park Service for the research concerning land grants at Nauvoo, to date all expenditures for land acquisitions, administrative expenses, the archeological surveys, and the historical research have been paid by the Mormon Church.

RECENT LAND ACQUISITIONS

The first task that faced Nauvoo Restoration was to obtain large pieces of land in that portion of the city which is to be restored. Dr. Kimball dealt individually with the landowners and has acquired extensive holdings while retaining the good will of the community. Nauvoo Restoration now owns or controls more than a thousand acres of the land which Joseph Smith purchased for the city. This includes, in addition to the original platted city of Nauvoo, the entire Temple Block on the "Bluff" and a few parcels adjoining the old city near the Nauvoo State Park. On these lands approximately forty brick, stone, and frame buildings from the Mormon era are standing. Some acquisitions are of special interest:

The Nauvoo Temple Site

In 1841 the Mormons began their Temple, probably the most widely known landmark of Mormon Nauvoo. It was placed at the highest point on the bluff overlooking the "Flat." Built of white limestone taken from nearby quarries, it was 128 feet long and 88 feet wide. The Temple rose 60 feet to the square of the walls, and with the tower on its western side, the total height of the building was more than 157 feet. At the time of is dedication, May 1, 1846, the Temple was probably the largest completed structure west of Cincinnati and north of St. Louis. It could be seen from nearly every spot in Nauvoo as well as from Iowa.

The Temple had thirty buttresses and was decorated with large stones which had a Sun or a Moon or a Star in bas-relief. Sun stones were placed at the top of each buttress. Only three of these have survived — two at Nauvoo and one in Quincy, Illinois. Moon stones served as plinths (or base stones) for the buttresses. Only three of these stones are known to have survived in one piece — all three are in Nauvoo. The star stones, five feet in height, with one elongated ray projecting downward, were set in the frieze above the buttresses. A fragment now on display in Nauvoo is the largest surviving portion of the only known fragment of the star stones.

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The Temple was damaged by an incendiary in the autumn of 1848 and partially destroyed by a tornado in May, 1850. After the tornado, the Icarians, who had purchased the Temple from the Mormons, razed the building. Its stones were used throughout the vicinity for many buildings. Even the footings of uncut or roughly hewn stone were taken for other structures, so that very little of the foundation remains on the site. One of the few portions of the building which was found intact when Southern Illinois University excavated the Temple site in 1962 was the base of a wall which divided two of the baptismal dressing rooms in the basement. The Temple well, from which water was pumped into the large baptismal font, was also uncovered. Excavation on a much smaller scale continues at the Temple site during the summer months. This work has concentrated on an area of the Temple lot which was inaccessible in 1962.



The Brigham Young Home as restored today.

The Brigham Young Home

Archeologists, historians, and architects have studied the lot where Brigham Young's one-room house was built in 1843. Fence lines and out buildings have been located by careful examination of the sub-soil.

Excavators have found valuable things in some rather unusual places. In the bottom of what appears to be an old privy vault in the yard of Brigham Young's home were many items of crockery, pottery, and glassware, including two fiddle flasks and an American Trade bottle; rum, wine, and medicine bottles which were imported from England; assorted perfume and hair oil bottles; two lamp chimnies and the base of a whale-oil lamp; a banded cream pitcher from Tunstale, England; and featheredge dinner plates. Some of these items could be from the period of Young's occupancy; all of them are useful in the restoration of interiors.

The Wilford Woodruff Home

The Wilford Woodruff Home, which was built of brick, was finished in 1843. It is one of the best examples of Federalist architecture that has survived at Nauvoo. The Woodruff home has eight rooms, each with its fireplace and hearth. Most of the fireplaces were for heating, although several apparently were also used for cooking. The restoration of this house was completed in 1969. It is now open to the public.

The Orson Hyde Home

The Orson Hyde Home was built by the citizens of Nauvoo to honor Apostle Hyde for his many years of missionary service for the Church. (He is best remembered for his mission in 1839-41 to the Holy Land, which he dedicated for the gathering of the Jews.) This frame house is in Federalist style, which was popular in the Upper Mississippi Valley at that time. Originally, the houses in Nauvoo had no front or back porches, offsets, or window shutters. Those which exist now were added in the post-Mormon period.

The number of frame or sawed-lumber houses in Nauvoo indicates the interest citizens had in raising the standard of living above frontier norms. Records indicate that four or five hundred frame dwellings were built while the Mormons lived there.

The David Yearsley Home

The David Yearsley Home is the only surviving three-story residence in the city. The masonry of this brick building is perhaps the finest in Nauvoo. Yearsley was a Pennsylvania merchant who migrated to Nauvoo and opened a mercantile establishment. He sold the house and started to Utah with his family before the woodwork of the upper floor had received its first coat of paint. Today it remains unpainted.

The Jonathan Browning Home

The home of Jonathan Browning, a Kentucky-born gunsmith who settled at Nauvoo in 1843, still stands, as does a small brick blacksmith shop and a gunsmith shop which belonged to Browning. After leaving Nauvoo, Browning settled at Council Bluffs, Iowa, before going to Utah in 1852. During his lifetime he made more than two hundred guns, including some of the earliest repeating rifles and pistols. His son, John Moses Browning, who learned gunsmithing at his father's workbench in Ogden, became the inventor of the famous Browning automatic pistols, rifles and machine guns.

The James White Home

In the 1820's, Captain James White acquired a large tract of land on the Mississippi at the former site of Quashquema. On the river bank he erected a large two-story house of untooled flaked limestone which came from the nearby quarry. The floor joists, stairway and interior finishing wood were of local walnut. The building was important in the organization of Hancock County. The first canvassing of the votes in the first election was held in White's house, as well as were the early meetings of the County Commissioners' Court. The Mormons acquired this building in 1839 and used it for the Nauvoo Post Office.

The construction of the Keokuk Dam in 1913 raised the water level of the river nearly twenty feet, bringing it to the very doorstep of this historic building. The building was razed and the stone and lumber from it was used for new buildings in the city. All that remains of this once important structure are the foundation stones. Nauvoo Restoration contemplates the ultimate rebuilding of the James White Home.

The Masonic Hall

After Freemasonry was revived in Illinois in 1840, former Masons from the eastern part of America who had migrated to Nauvoo petitioned the Grand Lodge for a charter. A charter was granted, a lodge was organized, and the cornerstone for the Masonic Hall was laid in 1843. The building was eventually used to house three Masonic lodges. At the time of the Mormon exodus to the West, the Masonic fraternity at Nauvoo outnumbered the combined membership of all other lodges in Illinois.

The Masonic Hall in Nauvoo was probably the first one constructed in Illinois. It had three stories. The lodge rooms were on the top floor. (In 1884 the building was remodeled into a private residence, at which time the entire upper floor was removed.) The building also served as headquarters for the city government, including the police and the militia. School was held in the building during the daytime. The ground floor housed the Nauvoo Theatre, where dramatic productions were staged. Touring professional actors played the leading roles and the rest of the cast was made up of local people.

The front of the building originally had a stucco exterior which had been finished to imitate marble. It had been neglected for years when it was acquired by Nauvoo Restoration in April, 1967. Measures have been taken to protect the building until it can be completely restored.

The Icarian Building

The Icarians erected a communal hall and organization headquarters, using face stone salvaged from the Temple. Following the dissolution of the Icarian community, the building was used variously as a post office, drug store, office building, and apartment building. For thirty-five years the Icarian Building served as a Roman Catholic parochial school. In January, 1964, it became the temporary Information and Visitors Center for Nauvoo Restoration.

The Edwin D. Webb Blacksmith Shop

At Nauvoo, the five Webb brothers operated a wagon and blacksmith shop in which many of the wagons used in the westernward journey were built. Although the shop was made of stone, there were no visible remains of the building when an excavation was made on the site in 1967. During the excavation, the foundation, which was over sixty feet in length, was uncovered. More than twelve hundred pounds of scrap iron have been taken from the shop excavation. In the near future the shop will be rebuilt and used as a craft house.

RESEARCH AND INVESTIGATION

Since 1965, resident architects have been investigating the buildings that Nauvoo Restoration plans to restore. Most of these structures underwent remodeling after the Mormons moved from Nauvoo. By examining the construction and by studying old photographs, architects and research historians are able to ascertain the original state of many buildings. Drawings are then made for proposed reconstruction. Still photographs and movies, in black and white as well as color, are made of the rooms and special features of each building to preserve an accurate history of the restoration work.

Hancock County and Nauvoo city records, as well as records of assessors, tax collectors, and individual families have provided information for a map of old Nauvoo. Although this map is not yet complete, sites identified on the map account for more than 7,000 of the city's inhabitants. According to present estimates, families at that time averaged 5.2 persons each.

Research continues for information concerning the life style of people who lived in Nauvoo. Newly discovered journals, letters, and other primary sources provide additional information regarding home life as well as cultural, political, and commercial life in Nauvoo.

The archeological diggings at Nauvoo continue to attract interest to the restoration project as well as provide crucial knowledge. To see workers literally digging history out of the earth has great fascination for the touring public. And the location of foundation remnants of an abandoned well or cistern, of the vault of an old privy with its many artifacts, or of early fence lines and gates contributes important information for the physical restoration of the site or the interpretation of its cultural or economic history.

In my work as director of historical research, I am assisted by Mrs. Rowena J. Miller. Archaeological excavation is directed by Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Harrington, formerly of the National Park Service, and by Dr. Dale Berge of the Department of Anthropology, Brigham Young University. Steven T. Baird prepared the plans for the current phase of restoration. Mr. Baird and Mr. Rex L. Sohm prepare necessary architectural drawings. The actual physical reconstruction work is directed by J. Byron Ravsten, resident manager of the Nauvoo Restoration project. Robert E. Smithson, an ingenious builder, directs a crew of specialized craftsmen.

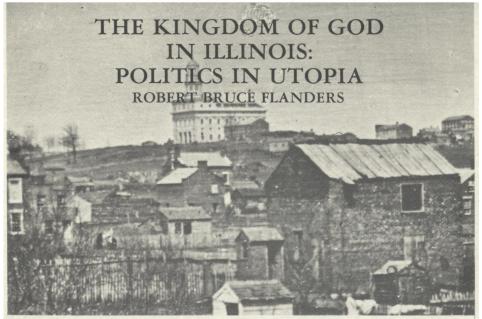
THE EXODUS IN PERSPECTIVE

Five days after signing the agreement to evacuate Nauvoo, a conference of the Church convened in the Nauvoo Temple. At this conference the people put themselves under covenant to assist each other on their journey west. They further agreed that not one person who desired to go with the body of the Church would be left behind, as long as anyone in the Church had means to assist them. The sick, the crippled, the aged, the widows, the orphans were all guaranteed assistance in leaving the city. To an amazing degree, this plan was carried out.

But in addition, not only were the *people* planning to leave, but it was the conviction of the people and the leaders that the *City of Nauvoo* was likewise to be moved. Besides their personal belongings, the Mormons took the written and published records of the Church – membership records, historical and financial records, and Temple and Nauvoo House records. The documents of the City Recorder, the minutes of the City Council and records of the Municipal Court were all taken west. The Nauvoo Charter, granted by the state in 1840 and later repealed, was also taken. Nothing pertaining to the corporate City of Nauvoo was left behind.

Not since the seventeenth century, when a few small towns in Massachusetts had moved themselves into Connecticut to secure greater religious freedom, had America been the scene for any enterprise comparable to the Mormon exodus. This was to be a migration of a religious body - the aged and destitute as well as the affluent - as a common shared migration. It would take the largest homogeneous body the greatest distance ever traversed by such a migrating body in the history of America into a hitherto uninhabited and untried land to reestablish the City of Nauvoo. It was a decade before all of those who started and desired to go on had reached their destination. But through cooperative effort it was accomplished. Nearly 2,000 people made the trip to Utah in 1847. The following year an additional number of nearly 3,000 joined them. With Salt Lake City only fourteen months of age, it had a population of nearly 5,000 souls. Within the city practically every craft and occupation carried on at Nauvoo could be found in operation. Salt Lake - transplanted Nauvoo - had become the only large supply depot between Westport or St. Joseph, Missouri and San Francisco. Gold-seeking "49ers" as early as the summer of 1849 (and many others in subsequent years), finding themselves short of supplies and with weary animals and weakening wagons, used Salt Lake as a source of supply; without it many would have been unable to continue and untold numbers would have suffered great hardships.

In view of the important part played by the Mormons in the westward expansion of American civilization, the National Park Service designated Nauvoo as a National Historic Site. It was the starting point of the largest and most unusual migration to the West; a migration which established the first city between the Missouri River Valley and the Pacific Coast and which had a profound effect on the settlement of the western frontier. The restoration of Nauvoo is dedicated to the perpetuation of this important story.



The purpose of this paper is to re-examine, in a political frame of reference, the persistent question as to why the Mormons were so ferociously constrained from their attempt to establish at Nauvoo a society that was for them the beginning of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

The "Mormon Question," as it was called in the nineteenth century, remains an important one in a nation concerned with the real nature and functional limits of an open society. Increased interest in Mormon history along with immigrant, Negro, and Indian history, and the history of nativist and other illiberal manifestations of American life - reflects not just an increase in what might be termed "social problem" history, but an increased desire to have a more profound understanding of the dynamics of restriction in American life. The same generation that drove the Mormons from Missouri to Illinois and from Illinois into the wilderness, also uprooted the remaining southeastern Indians and transported them to western reservations and counted as progressive and liberal the scheme to transport Negroes back to Africa. Was the United States, as exemplified by the Commonwealth of Illinois in the late Jacksonian period, really a "promised land" for the Mormons to establish God's Kingdom in the "last days"? Or was it rather a cursed land? Within Mormon society and probably within the hearts and minds of individual Mormons, this was a dilemma never fully resolved.

A comparison of Nauvoo with other contemporary communitarian societies which were also religiously heterodox, but which did not suffer persecution in the same manner, suggests that the Mormon community was, in important ways, essentially different. Nauvoo was larger and growing more rapidly. The contemporary community of Swedish Jansonites at Bishop Hill, Illinois, in the north-central part of the state, numbered only 780 people at the most. The Jansonites were mobbed once, but the existence of the community was never seriously threatened from the outside probably because it was itself no threat. Illinoisans did not fear the Jansonites like they feared the Mormons. Nauvoo had its thousands and talked stridently of tens of thousands to come. A comparison of the Mormons with other religious Utopian societies such as the Amana Church Society, the Harmonists, the Shakers, the Separatists of Zoar, and the Perfectionists of Oneida, suggests that the Mormon endeavors were of an entirely different order of magnitude.

There were other less tangible differences between Mormons and other communitarian groups. The slower communitarian societies were to attempt assimilation into the competitive web of American political and economic life - or to put it another way, the less committed they were to typically middle-class American goals and values - the more likely they were to be free from outside interference. The German Pietist communities provide a good example. They were exclusive and separate, if not always ascetic; they were walled off by barriers of language and by a pious, peasant, Christian communism; and they were non-political. They did not generally seek participation in the main stream of American life. The Mormons, conversely, were more typically American in significant ways. They were of westering New England stock, Puritan in religious background, and lower-middle class rather than peasant or proletarian in outlook. They were typical oldstock American farmers, artisans, and small entrepreneurs.¹ The Mormons were committed to group development to be sure, but they were also committed to upward socio-economic mobility for themselves as individuals. In their politics, in their attitude toward the national issues of the day, and in their understanding of American history, they were Jacksonian Democrats.² Nor was the Mormon group life and collectivist spirit as unusual in American history as might be supposed. Pioneering by groups was common; from Massachusetts and Virginia in the seventeenth century to Illinois in the nineteenth, many towns were settled by groups moving en masse. The Mormons were welcomed to Illinois in 1839 as yet another group of pioneering, colonizing fellow Americans for whose contribution the Prairie State hungered.

Many of the things which Joseph Smith wanted for Nauvoo were typical of the time and place: population growth, commercial and industrial development, economic security and a modicum of prosperity (including an increment of property values), and freedom under the law to live and worship as they pleased. If Mormon evangelical zeal be defined as the gentiles were wont to define it - as aggressive and successful promotion of Mormon enterprise - it was as American as apple pie. The Mormons shared a typical American ambitiousness. Nauvoo was growing more rapidly than any other city in the state and, so said the Saints, that was only the beginning. The Illinoisans, whose frontier boosterism and expansiveness masked apprehension about the depression, the state debt, and the future in general, were inclined to believe the Mormons and to be disquieted in doing so. The Nauvoo City Charter, a typical charter intrinsically, was manipulated in practice to produce a quasi-independent municipal government that seemed to rival the sovereignty of the state itself. It was said in the region that Nauvoo sheltered cutthroats and desperadoes from the Illinois government. "They murdered many of our best citizens," said a Carthage man bitterly, "and

¹Immigrant Mormons, arriving in substantial numbers after 1841, are excluded from these generalizations inasmuch as they did not form the fundamental character of Mormon society in Illinois.

²Marvin Meyers' The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief (Stanford, 1957) is a provocative study suggesting by implication many parallels with the Mormon persuasion.

there was nothing (eight ox team [or] a diaper) that they would not steal... our lives and property was at the mercy of the worst set of outlaws that ever congregated together ... and the law could not reach them....³ As Smith became unpopular in Illinois, the fact that the Nauvoo Municipal Court protected him from extradition to Missouri by issuing writs of *habeas corpus* was increasingly irksome. Perhaps the mildest gentile opinion of the use of the Charter to gain unwarranted privilege was an official one expressed in 1842 by Governor Thomas Carlin in a letter to Emma Smith: "I have examined both the Charters and the city ordinances upon the subject and must express my surprise at the extraordinary assumption of power by the board of aldermen as contained in said ordinance!"⁴

Of the most far-reaching consequence for Mormon life in Illinois was the fact that the Church became involved in a complex process of political action. Nothing could have been more typically American than such use of the power of their numbers, actual and potential. Nor could anything have been more hazardous. Bishop George Miller, on a mission in Kentucky in 1844, was adjured that it was acceptable for him to preach, but if he preached "political Mormonism," the Negroes would hang him to an apple tree.⁵ Mormon political ambition, founded as it was on a powerful religious base and in the hands of a powerful leader like Smith, sounded the tocsin in Illinois. Ambition in an ambitious country could be a threat as well as a virtue.

Politics may be broadly defined as the pursuit and exercise of power. Political action by individuals, groups, and corporations has ever been the essence of American self-government. However, the political power of religious leaders and corporations found in Colonial America in the Puritan Commonwealth of Massachusetts and in the established churches in all the colonies was eroded by eighteenth-century secularsim and further reduced by the American Revolution. The churches were disestablished, and separation of church and state became an enduring objective of American republicanism. Despite the revival of religion in the early nineteenth century, of which the Mormon Church was a beneficiary, separation of church and state continued to be axiomatic. The idea of the Kingdom of God on Earth per-

⁴The Emma Smith-Thomas Carlin correspondence is in Joseph Smith Jr., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Period I, ed. Brigham H. Roberts (6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1948-51), V. 132-34, 153-55. Hereafter cited as DHC.

³Letter of Dr. Thomas Barnes in the manuscript collection of the Illinois State Historical Library. According to correspondence with Mrs. Donald E. Martin, the great granddaughter of Barnes (1812-1901), this letter was written in 1897. Mrs. Martin has the original letter, copies of which are in the Huntington Library and in the Illinois State Historical Library. It should be noted that this letter was written more than fifty years after the events it describes. In 1845 Barnes was secretary of an anti-Mormon society in Carthage, Illinois.

⁶George Miller, Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander from his first acquaintance with Mormonism up to near the close of his life, 1855, Wingfield Watson, compiler and publisher (Burlington, Wisconsin, 1916), p. 21. A copy of this rare pamphlet is in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. A more widely available publication containing much of the same material is H. W. Mills, "De Tal Palo Tal Astilla," Publications [of] the Historical Society of Southern California, X:III (1915-17), 86-174.

sisted of course, especially where the Puritan influence was strong. But the implications in the Kingdom concept for the conjoining of civil and ecclesiastical rule were generally left at the apocalyptic or allegoric level in American Protestanism. Nor was the Catholic Church, which was growing in America, aggressive on the subject.

The Mormons, however, believed that the latter-day restoration of the gospel brought to an end such "spiritualizing" of the Kingdom of God. "Now, when we speak of the Kingdom of God," wrote Apostle Parley P. Pratt, "we wish it to be understood that we mean his organized government on the earth. . . . Four things are required in order to organize any kingdom in heaven or on the earth: namely, first, a king; secondly, commissioned officers duly qualified to execute his ordinances and laws; thirdly, a code of laws by which the subjects are governed; and fourthly, subjects who are governed. Where these exist in their proper and regular authority there is a kingdom. . . . In this respect the Kingdom of God is like other kingdoms. . .." Apostle John Taylor added, "The Lord is that king; his people are his subjects, his revealed will is the law of the kingdom; the Mormon priesthood is the administrator of those laws." The Mormon priesthood, said Brigham Young, is a "perfect system of government."⁶

Such a view of government within the Kingdom had its external counterpart, albeit somewhat less simplisticly conceived, in the idea of using political power to abet and protect the Kingdom. There would be government and politics in the Mormon Utopia, both managed by God's priests. To most Mormons, such an arrangement was truly Christian and truly American. In addition, Mormon political action was an expedient, seemingly necessary for survival. The implication that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints should be established as the national church was not only visionary, it was revolutionary as well. And it may be that the bitter anti-Mormon antagonism of Christian clergy and laity developed not because they did not believe in the literal establishment of God's Kingdom — but, rather, that in their hearts they did.⁷

Although the Mormon expulsion from Missouri set the stage for political involvement in Illinois, it also suggested a cautious entrance there. In the spring of 1839, when the Mormons first arrived in Illinois as refugees, Lyman Wight, an outspoken Mormon apostle, publicly attacked Democratic Governor Lillburn Boggs of Missouri, the Missouri Democratic Party, and Democrats in general. He even called the powerful and prestigious Senator Thomas Hart Benton a demagogue. Wight's remarks, reported in the *Quincy Whig*, caused a stir in Democratic circles right up to the governor's mansion in Springfield, which was occupied by a Democrat, Thomas Carlin.

⁶Parley P. Pratt, A Voice of Warning and Instruction to All People, Containing a Declaration of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of the latter Day Saints, Commonly Called Mormons (New York, 1837), p. 85; Times and Seasons (Nauvoo), December 1, 1842; DHC, V, 550.

^{&#}x27;See Klaus J. Hansen, Quest For Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (East Lansing, 1967), Chapter 2 and passim.

Joseph Smith's response to the situation revealed his political orientation at the outset of the Illinois experience. In two letters (dated May 11th and May 18th) to the Quincy Whig he expressed a strictly non-partisan position for the Church. It was Elder Wight's privilege, he said, to express his opinion in either political or religious matters, but "we profess no authority in the case whatever, [and] we have thought, and still think, that it is not doing our cause justice to make a political question of it in any manner whatever." The Missouri barbarities were not the responsibility of any party or religion, said Smith, but were committed by a mob "composed of all parties. . . ." By the same token, Smith continued, members of all parties and religious societies had befriended the exiled Saints in Illinois and, he said, "Favors of this kind ought to be engraven on the rock, to last forever." Smith wrote Lyman Wight privately: "We do not at all approve of the course which you have thought proper to take, in making the subject of our sufferings a political question. At the same time . . . we . . . feel . . . a confidence in your good intentions" (DHC, III, 366-67). Many circumstances in the succeeding years would prompt Smith to alter his apolitical statements.

Both Whigs and Democrats wooed the Mormon vote between 1839 and 1842, but the Saints went solidly Whig in the elections of 1840 and 1841. By 1842 the Democrats had succeeded in turning this preference around. Stephen A. Douglas was especially influential in this reversal. Douglas was a leader in the Democratic Party and a newly appointed Supreme Court Justice whose circuit, by choice, included Nauvoo. Of a visit Douglas made in May, 1841, Smith wrote the Nauvoo *Times and Seasons*:

I wish, through the medium of your paper, to make known that, on Sunday, last, I had the honor of receiving a visit from the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Justice of the Supreme Court, and Judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit... and Cyrus Walker, Esq., of Macomb, who expressed great pleasure in visiting our city, and were astonished at the improvements which were made.... Judge Douglas expressed his satisfaction of what he had seen and heard respecting our people....⁸

In 1842, as the state gubernatorial campaign got under way, Smith announced that the Mormon vote would go for the Democrats. He explained that in 1840 the Saints had voted for William Henry Harrison "because we loved him — he was a gallant officer and a tried statesman." He did not mention that at the time of the presidential campaign there was a lingering Mormon reaction against the Democratic government in Missouri. Nor did he mention his own bitterness toward President Martin Van Buren, who had refused to act on Mormon claims for damages against the State of Missouri. Now it was 1842; Harrison was dead, and, said Smith, "All of his friends are not ours." He added, "In the next canvass, we shall be influenced by no party consideration . . . , so the partizans in this county, who expect to divide the friends of humanity and equal rights, will find themselves mistaken we care not a fig for Whig or Democrat; they are both alike to us, but we

^{*}May 6, 1841.

shall go for our friends, our tried friends, and the cause of human liberty, which is the cause of God" (DHC, IV, 479-80). Smith's views had changed dramatically in three years. By now the Mormons were eager to obtain the aid of both state and federal governments, and the growing Mormon community was widely expected to be an important element in the future of Illinois politics. Smith anounced that the Mormons would vote as a bloc, that they had no party loyalties or interests, that they would, in effect, sell to the highest bidder, which at the moment was the Democratic Party.

The death of Adam Snyder, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, early in the 1842 campaign, did not change the Mormon commitment, despite the fact that Thomas Ford was the new candidate. Ford had said publicly that Joseph Smith was an imposter and a scoundrel, and pledged himself if elected to seek alteration or repeal of the Mormon charter. Although the Mormon vote was too small to play a significant role in Ford's subsequent election, he carried Hancock County (where Nauvoo was located) 1,174 to 711. Inasmuch as Hancock was previously a Whig county, the result showed the Mormon vote to have been solidly Democratic.

It is not surprising that apprehension in the state about "political Mormonism" gained momentum during 1842. Whig papers and politicians were understandably bitter. The Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer editorialized on January 21, 1842: "As we at various times expressed ourselves pretty decidedly against political tendencies of this sect . . . , we have no recollection anywhere of a movement similar to that of the Mormon prophet. We trust that all parties will see its dangerous tendency, and at once rebuke it." The following day the Quincy Whig described Smith's support of the Democrats as a "highhanded attempt to seize power and to tyrannize over the minds of men," and concluded that "this clannish principle of voting in a mass, at the dictation of one man, and this man who has acquired an influence over the minds of his people through the peculiar religious creed which he promulgates, is so repugnant to the principles of our Republican form of Government, that its consequences . . . will be disagreable to think of - bitter hatred and unrelenting hostility will spring up, where before peace and good will had an abiding place."

In 1842 the idea of the Mormons as a political power became established in the state, in the nation, and in the minds of Mormon themselves. The *Niles National Register* for August 6, reported that the Mormons had "six thousand votes under their immediate control, sufficient to give them the balance of power between the parties in the state. It is alleged they have found out how to make profitable use of this power. . . ." Although such an assessment of Mormon votes was a wild exaggeration, no accurate figure was available to counter it. The spectre of "political Mormonism" was enlarged in the fall of 1842 when, in his *History of the Saints*, John C. Bennett charged that the Saints had "a vast and deep-laid scheme . . . for conquering the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, and erecting upon the ruin of their present governments a despotic military and religious empire . . ." (DHC, V, 80n). Bennett's intent was to defame and his exaggeration was immense. But the undoubted seriousness of Mormon political intent lent an unwarranted credibility to his accusation.

Criticism in Illinois focused on the Mormon bloc vote and Joseph Smith's ability to manipulate it. As early as 1840 one observer had said, "These remarkable sectaries . . . hold in their hands a fearful balance of political power. . . . Should they ever become disposed to exert their influence for evil, which may Heaven prevent, they would surround our institutions with an element of danger, more to be dreaded than an armed and hundred-eyed police" (Quincy-Whig, October 17, 1840). Smith himself relied on the bloc vote and its power, both at election time and as a bargaining point between elections. During the 1843 congressional campaign Smith offered his vote, and by implication the Mormon bloc, to the Whig candidate Cyrus Walker in return for a desperately needed favor. Then by a subterfuge he diverted the Mormon vote to the Democrats. It was a provocative act which made the Whigs rabid and doubtless contributed to the outbreak of violence and depredations against the Mormons soon afterward.⁹ It was Smith's last gambit in state politics; within ten months he was dead.

The Mormon bloc vote, with the hopes and fears that surrounded it, was not the only reason for Mormon-gentile political conflict. For one thing, voting *en bloc* was not entirely novel, even for religious groups. The Irish in the Illinois canal counties voted *en bloc*, and they normally voted Democratic. Of course the Whigs did not like it, but the depth of antagonism against the Catholic Irish was in no way parallel with the hostility toward the Mormons, despite the fact that the Irish exercised the vote but did not have citizenship. Whigs tended to be less aroused at the Irish than at the Democratic Party, which brazenly and successfully defended the legality of the alien Irish vote.¹⁰ Bloc voting *per se* was unusual but not unique. It was not the *sine qua non* of the "Mormon Question."

Mormon unwillingness to identify permanently with either party was, in reality, more provocative than the bloc vote. When the Mormons came to Illinois it was assumed that they, like the Irish or other groups with a particular identity and self-interest, would become identified with and constituents of one party or the other. Each party hoped to win Mormon loyalties and votes. In a normal course of events, the Mormons, like the Irish, would have become welded into the federation of groups and interests that composed the Illinois Democratic Party.

Another less likely alternative would have been for the Church to remain apolitical, a course which Smith seemed to prefer at the outset. In such a case, there would have been no "Mormon vote." The Mormons guarded against such an eventuality, however. In urging the Saints to vote unitedly for the Democratic candidate in 1843, Apostle John Taylor told

^{*}For a detailed description of Mormon political developments in 1842 and 1843 see Robert Flanders, Nauvoo; Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, 1965), pp. 232–39.

¹⁹For a discussion of the alien vote controversy in Illinois, see Frank E. Stevens, "Life of Stephen A. Douglas," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, XVI (1923), 336-37; and Raymond C. Buley, The Old Northwest; Pioneer Period: 1815-1840 (Indianapolis, 1950), II, 232.

them, "It can serve no good purpose that half the citizens should disfranchise the other half, thus rendering Nauvoo powerless as far as politics is concerned."11 In the end the Mormons were not assimilable into the structure of party politics. They had no party loyalties, interests, or connections. They gave no party service, contributed no funds, and perhaps most importantly they could not be trusted by either party. Smith's quixotic politics were easily interpreted as evidence of insincerity and duplicity. In January, 1843, midway between the elections of 1842 and 1843 in which the Mormons played so controversial a role, Smith said, ". . . as my feelings revolt at the idea of having anything to do with politics, I have declined, in every instance, having anything to do on the subject. I think it would be well for politicians to regulate their own affairs. I wish to be let alone, that I may attend strictly to the spiritual welfare of the Church" (DHC, V, 259). In August of the same year, Smith declared, "I am above the kingdoms of the world, for I have no laws. I am not come to tell you to vote this way, that way or the other. In relation to national matters, I want it to go abroad unto the whole world that every man should stand on his own merits. The Lord has not given me a revelation concerning politics. I have not asked Him for one. I am a third party, and stand independent and alone" (DHC, V, 526). Such a characteristic mixture of apparent innocence and naiveté with shrewdness and design enraged the Prophet's enemies and added to his reputation for political intrigue.

In the political course they pursued, the Mormons appeared, to those who feared them, to be singularly successful. Nauvoo was safe to go its own way protected by its charter, and potentially by the Nauvoo Legion. The Democratic majority in the legislature might have despised the Saints, but as beneficiaries of their vote, it was slow to prescribe limits to Mormon power. And that power increased every day as new converts thronged to Nauvoo. The Mormon Kingdom flourished. It was in such a context that religious — as well as political — prejudice against the Mormons developed.

The fundamental gentile objection to the Mormon religion was not that it was unorthodox but that it was responsible for the alarming successes of the Saints in worldly affairs — it was the wellspring of corporate Mormonism and the Mormon political Kingdom. This analysis was fundamentally correct. At the very heart of the Latter-day Saint gospel was the testimony that the Kingdom would "roll forth" to fill the whole earth. As citizens of Carthage and Warsaw watched Nauvoo outstrip the modest proportions of their own towns and saw the city limits of Nauvoo expand into county real estate, they felt new uneasiness at the Mormon prophecy.

The separation of church and state, which was now firmly established, and the secularizing, materialistic values of nineteenth-century America seemed to prescribe some outer limits for the practice of religion. A religious leader was allowed pulpit opinions on affairs of the day, particularly if they coincided with those already held by the congregation. But when a religious leader such as Joseph Smith — who was regarded as charismatic in the gen-

¹¹Nauvoo Neighbor, August 2, 1843.

tile community and who was regarded as a prophet in the Mormon community — was simultaneously in the Temple, the counting house, the seat of government, the land office, and on the stump, it was too much. As de Tocqueville said, "Religions ought to confine themselves within their own precincts; for in seeking to extend their power beyond religious matters, they incur a risk of not being believed at all."¹²

The prevailing Mormon view of the proper role for religion was, of course, exactly the opposite — the "one true Church" was rightly at the heart of all affairs; there was and could be no legitimate separation. Here was the fundamental and irreconcilable conflict. After 1842 it was apparent that accommodation was impossible and the history of the Mormon Kingdom of God in Illinois became increasingly political — not only in the partisan sense, but in the radical sense of a total struggle for power and for survival. A Carthage man put it bluntly; it was, he said, to be "war to the knife and knife to the hilt."¹³ The conflict was waged on every front, first in the press, in the pulpit, and in political campaigns, and finally in bushwhackings, burnings, and lynchings.

In the state of Illinois, the Mormons could not have won a political struggle in which the "Mormon Question" thus defined was the real issue, as indeed it was by 1843. Outside Hancock County the Mormon vote was miniscule, and Mormon influence was small. By 1842 the Mormons probably had a sufficient number of votes to take over the Hancock County government. To do so, however, was not their objective. Nauvoo sought separation and independence from county government and law enforcement. When the County Sheriff, Jacob Backenstos, was elected by Mormon votes in 1845 and served Mormon interests (albeit entirely legitimate ones), it merely fanned the flames of a smoldering civil war.

But the futility of the Mormon political enterprise was not at all clear to the Mormons or to their gentile antagonists. The Church moved ever deeper into a political maelstrom on a local, state, national and even supranational level, led on by a combination of circumstance, naiveté, optimism, recklessness, fear, and faith. On one hand, their political response was a predictable one. They were in many ways typical Americans of the time and place, normally Jacksonian Democrats, old-stock citizens whose grandparents had fought in the War for Independence — a fact to which they frequently alluded. Like most citizens they had great faith in (if small grasp of) the processes of law and politics which was related to a prevailing optimism and exuberance in America. (Zeal for territorial expansion and belief in Manifest Destiny were, for example, prototypical of Mormon thinking.)

¹²Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (New York and London, 1900), 2:24. Tocqueville continued, "The human mind does not consent to adopt dogmatical opinions without reluctance, and feels their necessity in spiritual matters only.... The circle in which [religions] seek to bound the human intellect ought therefore to be carefully traced, and beyond its verge the mind should be left in entire freedom to its own guidance."

¹³Thomas Barnes, op cit.

Like many a beleaguered minority they were afraid; but they had the inclination, the hope, and perhaps sufficient power to fight.

On the other hand, the deepening political involvement of the Nauvoo years evidenced a dreamlike, apocalyptic quality that marked it as the politics of Utopia. It was felt that God would open a way. Millenarianism, rather than a sense of process and continuity in history, dominated the Mormon mind. In 1840, Smith wrote in his journal, "Since Congress has decided against us, the Lord has begun to vex this nation, and He will continue to do so except they repent. . . A hailstorm has visited South Carolina . . . which swept the crops, killing some cattle. Insects are devouring crops on the high lands, where the floods of the country have not reached, and great commercial distress prevails everywhere" (DHC, IV, 145). In 1843 when Stephen A. Douglas was a guest at his table, Smith said, "I prophesy in the name of the Lord God of Israel, unless the United States redress the wrongs committed upon the Saints . . . in a few years the government will be utterly overthrown and wasted, and there will not be so much as a potsherd left. . . ." He warned Douglas further, "If ever you turn your hand against me or the Latter-day Saints, you will feel the weight of the hand of Almighty upon you..." (DHC, V, 394). In the same year Smith prophesied that as soon as the Temple was completed, the Saints would be gathered into Illinois by the "thousands and tens of thousands." And he announced to an inner group of leaders, "From the sixth day of April next [the anniversary of the founding of the Church], I go in for preparing with all present for a mission through the United States, and when we arrive at Maine we will take ship for England and so on to all the countries where we shall have a mind to go. . . . If I live, I will yet take these brethren through the United States and through the world, and will make just as big a wake as God Almighty will let me. We must send kings and governments to Nauvoo, and we will do it" (DHC, V. 255-256). The extravagant self-confidence of Smith and other Mormon leaders, reinforced by the faith and expectations of their followers, knew no bounds. It was in such a temper of mind and heart that the Council of Fifty, that extraordinary group for strategic planning, proposed to detach Nauvoo from the State of Illinois and make it a powerfully garrisoned independent state under the guise of a federal territory; to launch vast, paramilitary mission-colonizing ventures beyond the western territories of the United States; to create a Mormon state in Texas; and to nominate Joseph Smith for President of the United States.¹⁴ While Smith lived, any and all of these schemes seemed possible, although there are suggestions that in the case of his candidacy, he and other leaders quietly sought to prepare themselves and the Mormon community for failure.

The use of the term "Utopian politics" denominates a fundamental incongruity in the Mormon situation. Politics is normally the essence of prag-

[&]quot;Klaus Hansen defines the Council of Fifty as ". . . a political organization [founded by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo] intended to prepare the world for a literal, political government in anticipation of Christ's millennium" (*Quest for Empire*, ii). For a fuller discussion of these matters, see Hansen (*Quest for Empire*, Chapters 4 and 5) and Flanders (*Nauvoo*, Chapter 10).

matism, while the Mormon millenarian concept of a new heaven and a new earth was speculative, visionary, idealistic, and doctrinaire. Herein lay the fundamental Mormon dilemma as far as the pursuit and exercise of power was concerned. The attempt to translate Smith's apocalyptic social vision conditioned as it was by Bible literalism and a passion for true doctrine into *political* action created a spectre of theocratic tyranny intolerable to Illinoisans (and a minority of Mormons as well). Just as many Saints had faith in their wildest dreams, so did many gentiles come to have faith, so to speak, in their wildest fears, and hastened to crush the Mormon community in Illinois, as it had been crushed in Missouri. The attempts of the state to preserve the life of Joseph Smith and then the city of Nauvoo were feeble, to be sure; but it is unlikely that a greater effort would have proved more effectual. Governor Ford later reflected:

"[A] cause of mobs is, that men engaged in unpopular projects expect more protection from the laws than the laws are able to furnish in the face of popular excitement. . . . If the government cannot suppress an unpopular band of horse thieves . . . , how is it to suppress a popular combination which has the people on its side? I am willing enough to acknowledge that all this is wrong, but how is it to be avoided? . . . This brings us to treat of the Mormons.¹⁵

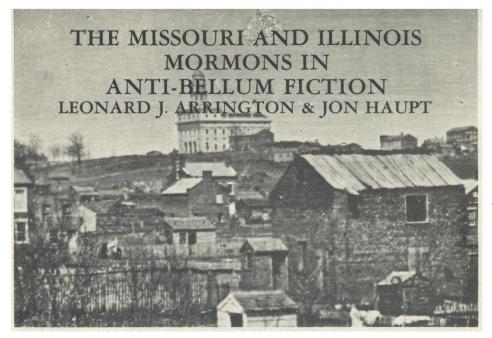
The literalism of the Mormon doctrine of the Kingdom of God on Earth was dangerous in America. Fundamentally the Mormons denied the legitimacy of a pluralistic society — the Kingdom was to fill the whole earth. Although Mormonism was a product of a pluralistic society where religious freedom was possible, it seemed to threaten such a society and so the society denied the Mormons the right to participate in it.

Because the Saints dared to live outside of American law, antagonistic citizens felt justified in doing likewise. "What would be thought," wrote an Illinois editor, "if Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, or Episcopalians had military organizations . . .?"¹⁶ The Mormons sought to alter the course of American religious history; in this they were true revolutionaries. The result was civil war in Missouri, Illinois, and finally Utah. The Mormons could not be protected by law or government in such conflict, and neither could they win. The most that nineteenth-century America was willing to grant the Mormons was well stated in the seventeenth century by the Dutch Directors of New Amsterdam when they enjoined Director-General Peter Stuyvesant to be tolerant of religious deviants: "The *consciences* of men, at least, ought ever to remain free and unshackled. Let everyone be unmolested, as long as he is modest; as long as his conduct in a political sense remains irreproachable; as long as he does not disturb others, or oppose the government."¹⁷

¹⁸Thomas Ford, History of Illinios from its Commencement as a State in 1818 to 1847... (Chicago and New York, 1854), pp. 250-251.

¹⁶Sangamo Journal (Springfield), June 3, 1842.

[&]quot;Quoted in Sidney Mead, The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America (New York, 1964), p. 21.



INTRODUCTION

Our understanding of the American past has been greatly enriched in recent years by studies which have made use of literary sources. Few works, for example, surpass the challenging insights and interpretations of Henry Nash Smith's Virgin Land (1950), William R. Taylor's Cavalier and Yankee (1961), Edmund Wilson's Patriotic Gore (1962), and Leo Marx's The Machine in the Garden (1964).¹ Such studies have proved to be so useful that some historians now concede that a review of the contemporary fiction is a fruitful, if not an indispensable, preliminary to the search for historical truth in any period.

While literary studies have given new impetus to many sectors of American history, few scholars have sought to improve their understanding of Latter-day Saint or Mormon history through a systematic analysis of fictional works which treat the Mormons.² The recent success of historians in establishing certain facts regarding the Mormon experience in Illinois³ suggests the appropriateness of commencing an overdue exhumation of the elements

¹Other valuable literary-historical studies include: R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1955); Charles Feidelson, Jr., Symbolism and American Literature (Chicago, 1953); Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion (Stanford, 1957); Fred Somkin, Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967); and John William Ward, Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age (New York, 1953). The writers are grateful to the Utah State University Research Council for support which made this study possible.

²Some exceptions to this generalization include: Cassie Hyde Hock, "The Mormons in Fiction" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1941); Kenneth B. Hunsaker, "The Twentieth Century Mormon Novel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1968); Neal Lambert, "Saints, Sinners and Scribes: A Look at the Mormons in Fiction," Utah Historical Quarterly, XXXVI (Winter, 1968), 63-76; and Leonard J. Arrington and Jon Haupt, "Intolerable Zion: The Image of Mormonism in Nineteenth Century American Literature," Western Humanities Review, XXII (Summer, 1968), 243-260.

⁸Robert Bruce Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana, Ill., 1965); Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (East Lansing, Mich., 1967); David E. Miller, "Westward Migration of the Mormons, with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo: A Report Submitted to the National Park Service" (University of Utah, 1963); and Kenneth E. Godfrey, "Sources of Mormon-Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839–1844" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967).

of fact and fancy in the literature relating to this phase of the Mormon story. It is almost a certitude that the images of the Latter-day Saints presented in ante-bellum novels, whether accurate or not, influenced national policies which were applied to the Mormons, and thus these images were important factors in the history of both the Mormons and the nation.

The limited communications of the nineteenth century, along with the relative isolation of Mormon settlements, decreed that the formulation of the Mormon image, which was to be accepted by many Americans and Europeans, was left to imaginative writers rather than to objective reporters. Because the narratives of these writers were often permeated with elements of make-believe, and because anti-Mormon propaganda frequently borrowed from fiction, it is important to look at imaginative literature in its most stereotyped form in order to isolate the contemporary image of the Mormons. Prose fiction – even when poorly written – reveals feelings and thought processes which are often left unrecorded in formal or conventional accounts.

To be sure, a journey over these century-old literary landscapes leaves the historian with a feeling that he is visiting a nightmare world of unreality. It seems clear that the Mormons were linked, in America and Europe, to larger images which were not of their own making. From the beginning, authors projected onto the hapless Saints the great mosaic of human hopes and terrors which occupied mid-nineteenth-century minds. Like a mirror, the Latter-day Saints of fiction reflected these preoccupations.

THREE ANTE-BELLUM NOVELS

Before the Civil War, at least seven novels were published which included scenes depicting the Mormons in Missouri and Illinois.⁴

The first use of Mormon characters in a romance is found in Monsieur Violet: His Travels and Adventures Among the Snake Indians and Wild Tribes of the Great Western Prairies — a rambling story published in 1843 by Captain Frederick Marryat (1792–1848).⁵ Marryat was a British naval captain with many decorations for distinguished and valiant service. He relinquished his commission in 1830 for a literary career. In the next eighteen years, Marryat turned out sixteen novels, the most famous of which was Mr. Midshipman Easy (1836). This exciting and realistic narrative of naval adventure brought him instant fame. In 1837–1838, Marryat visited the United States and later published a three-volume diary of his observations and experiences.⁶ A rabid Tory, Marryat went to some length to place the Ameri-

⁴Two European novels are not reviewed here: Amalie (Weise) Schoppe, Der Prophet: Historischer Roman aus der Neuzeit Nord-Amerikas (3 vols., Jena, 1846); and Paul Duplessis, Les Mormons (Paris, 1858, 1859; New York, 1859, 1860).

⁶Later published in London in 1849 under the title The Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet in California, Sonora, and Western Texas.

⁶A Diary in America, 3 vols. (London, 1839). Although he made several lengthy trips to St. Louis when the Mormons were in Far West, Missouri, Marryat does not mention meeting any Latter-day Saints. Indeed, Marryat does not mention the Mormons at all in his lengthy Diary, except in a "Table of Religious Denominations." One supposes that if Marryat had actually heard the anecdotes he relates in Monsieur Violet, he would have recorded them in his travel diary.

can democracy in a bad light. His fictional anecdotes about the Mormons in *Monsieur Violet* must be interpreted in this context.

Monsieur Violet is a story of the exploits of a young Frenchman among the Indians of the Great Plains and Southwest. The work is said to have been based on the actual experiences of a Monsieur Lasalles, who visited Marryat in England and recounted to him his adventures. The portion of the novel which deals with the Mormons is an episode in which Violet, as the representative of an Indian chief, seeks to interest Joseph Smith in uniting with the Indians to extend the Mormon empire.⁷ Although the episode comprises about fifteen percent of the total volume, it is not well integrated and appears to have been an afterthought. Comparison shows the Mormon section of Marryat's book to be almost identical to sections in John C. Bennett's History of the Saints (New York, 1842).⁸

The first English language romance in which the Mormons are central to the plot is a fifty-three page *novella* by Professor John Russell of Bluffdale, Illinois.⁹ The Mormoness: or, the Trials of Mary Maverick deals with the causes and consequences of the Haun's Mill Massacre. Internal evidence indicates that Russell probably observed much of what he describes.

The central characters are James and Mary Maverick, a respected and industrious couple from Greene County, Illinois. When James and Mary are converted to Mormonism and join the Saints in Caldwell County, Missouri, they are caught in the bitter persecution of 1836. James is killed on the doorstep of his home by a mob bent on exterminating the Mormons. When Mary pleads for the life of her son, the mob responds by shooting the child, spattering his blood over the mother's dress. Mary escapes, along with other Saints, to Illinois where she becomes a nurse to a nearby Shawnee Indian tribe. There she encounters a white man who has been critically wounded by the Indians. She recognizes him as the person who shot her child and, despite her revulsion, prays for strength to nurse the murderer back to health.

⁸Much of Bennett's volume is, in turn, largely a reprint of *Mormonism Portrayed*, a pamphlet published in 1841 by William Harris and actually written, according to Dale Morgan, by Thomas Sharp, editor of the *Warsaw Signal*. Sharp was one of the men tried for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Bennett also reprints a number of affidavits from Eber D. Howe's *Mormonism Unvailed* (Painesville, Ohio, 1834).

^{&#}x27;It may be that Marryat or Lasalles had knowledge of the occasional visits of Indians to Nauvoo. Under date of August 12, 1841, Joseph Smith wrote in his journal: "A considerable number of the Sac and. Fox Indians have been for several days encamped in the neighborhood of Montrose. The ferryman brought over a great number on the ferryboat and two flat boats for the purpose of visiting me. . . . [I] met Keokuk, Kis-ku-kosh, Appenoose, and about one hundred chiefs and braves of those tribes, with their families. . . . I advised them to cease killing each other and warring with other tribes; also to keep peace with the whites. . . ." Joseph Smith, Jr., History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints..., 6 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1902-1912), IV, 401-402.

⁹(Alton, Illinois, 1853). Born in Vermont in 1793, Russell received a classical education at Vermont's Middlebury College, and migrated to Greene County, Illinois, in 1828. There he became a writer and educator of considerable local distinction and edited the first Greene County newspaper, *The Backwoodsman*. He died at Bluffdale in 1863. See John Reynolds, "An Author at His Residence — Prof. John Russell, of Bluff Dale," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, IV (1911–1912), 172–177; also *Ibid.*, XIII (1920–1921), 221.

As he recovers, the man falls in love with Mary and asks her to marry him. Mary's brother tells him why she cannot accept his proposal. The murderer comes to a realization of the enormity of his sin and is filled with such anguish that he goes insane. At the same time, the good widow, strength and will exhausted, expires. Her last words are that we must be tolerant, we must be forgiving, and we must love our enemies — including the deluded Mormons, the superstitious Catholics, and the uncivilized Indians.

The Mormoness is among the few nineteenth-century novels which declare that Mormonism is a fraud, yet proceed to demonstrate that the use of physical force against the sect is neither effective nor Christian. A Christian must respond to such fanaticisms, the author believes, with love.

A third fictional work, The California Crusoe; or, The Lost Treasure Found: A Tale of Mormonism,¹⁰ deals with an English Convert to Mormonism. This tale was probably written by an Anglican clergyman, and while it declares itself to be a "true" narrative,¹¹ a glance will persuade today's reader that almost all of its 154 pages are fictitious.

Crusoe tells the story of Robert Richards, who embarks with two hundred Saints for Nauvoo. Enroute, Richards and his family observe a steamboat race on the Mississippi River. One of the boats explodes, killing several people.¹² Richards is irritated over this "typical" American recklessness, this "wanton spirit of emulation." He is further disgusted when he sees "slaves working in the plantations and the handsome residences in which the proprietors . . . [enjoy] all the elegancies of life" (35, 52). On his arrival at Nauvoo, Richards purchases a farm from Joseph Smith, the hard-drinking, "profitable prophet" (84). Finally concluding that Mormonism, as he long suspected, is a giant Yankee swindle, Richards demands his money back. Smith predictably squelches him by saying, "What a fuss you Englishmen always make about your money" (87). Financially trapped, Richards follows the Saints to Utah. He eventually manages to escape from Utah's "material god," accidentally strikes it rich in California, and ultimately settles down once more in the comfortable fold of the English Church - in a California town with "an honest English name" (139, 154).

The self-evident purpose of *Crusoe* is to warn English parishioners of the evils and dangers waiting for them if they convert to Mormonism and journey across the sea. The book frequently alludes as well to the evils of the economic aristocracy and the Catholic Church, but its author attacks Mormonism with a dozen anecdotes of deception and depravity.

¹⁰[Robert Richards, pseud.] (London and New York, 1854).

¹¹Many novels claimed a factual origin to gain respectability, since fiction as fiction was widely considered immoral and a waste of time. See Herbert Ross Brown, *The Senti*mental Novel in America, 1789–1860 (Durham, N.C., 1940), pp. 9-10.

¹³Obviously, a reference to the Saluda disaster. A secondary theme of Crusoe and similar volumes is the Mormon proneness to accidents and bad fortune. This theme was probably intended to counteract the Mormon claim that, as God's Chosen People, they were especially blessed.

THREE NOVELS BY WOMEN

In 1855–1856 a trio of novels was published which dealt with the "evils" of polygamy. All were written by American women. The spectacular success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 and the public announcement of plural marriage the same year probably encouraged women to expose this "twin evil of barbarism."¹⁸ The three works were the first of more than thirty anti-polygamy novels published in the last half of the nineteenth century. Each of the three has the Mormons practicing polygamy in Missouri and Nauvoo, well in advance of the murder of Joseph Smith.

The first of these novels to appear was *The Prophets; or, Mormonism Unveiled* which is thought to have been written by Orvilla S. Belisle.¹⁴ Miss Belisle seeks verisimilitude with six introductory chapters of "history," but, like her earlier anti-Catholic novel, her anti-Mormon novel is filled with tales of dark doings and immorality.

Margaret, the heroine, is a Massachusetts lass "whose ancestors had fled from the oppression of the old world in the 'Mayflower,' and [had] borne with [them] all the love of virtue which caused [them] to forsake a fatherland, for a wilderness haunted by beasts of prey, and a savage race. . ." (98). She marries Arthur Guilford, a Yankee lad whose impulsiveness and great ambition compel him to leave Margaret's beloved New England and take his bride to "Kirkland," Ohio. There he promptly converts to Mormonism. As a "true child of civilization," however, Margaret remains aloof and scorns Joseph Smith as an imposter. The Prophet annoys her with many vulgar "propositions," and Margaret always rebuffs him. Miss Belisle reveals her major theme - Mormonism as a threat to social order and the aristocratic classes when she has the snubbed Prophet grumble aloud that the "Guilfords are aristocrats, haughty and domineering, like all of their class. . . . These aristocrats have ruled the world long enough, trampling upon us, and it is our turn now to tread upon them; for by the sacredness of my mission there shall be a levelling down . . ." (115). Arthur loses his money when the Kirtland bank fails (the novel emphasizes the Mormons' supposed materialism).¹⁵ The poor New England couple have no choice but to join the Mormon "adventurers" as they move to Missouri.

¹⁵One historian feels that there have been two primary ways of describing the American character: "One depicts the American primarily as an individualist and an idealist, while the other makes him out as a conformist and a materialist." David M. Potter, "The Quest

¹³In a "counterblast of moral reprobation," many Southern writers, infuriated over Mrs. Stowe's novel, attacked the North for its crass, ruthless industrialism, and especially for its proclivity for "isms." Perhaps the most popular of these works was George Fitzhugh's *Cannibals All! Or, Slaves Without Masters* (Richmond, 1857). Fitzhugh made an interesting case for Mormonism as perhaps the worst "ism" in an "anarchistic" North: "In the name of polygamy, it has practically removed all restraints to the intercourse of sexes, and broken up the Family. It promises, too, a qualified community of property and a fraternal association of labor. It beats up monthly thousands of recruits from free society in Europe and America, but makes not one convert in the slaveholding South. Slavery is satisfied and conservative" (p. 313, our italics).

¹⁴(Philadelphia, 1855); also published under the title Mormonism Unveiled: or a History of Mormonism From its Rise to the Present Time (London, 1855).

The scene then shifts to England where a debauched Mormon missionary named Richards has been preaching unrest and riot among the working classes of Manchester. He causes a walkout, and one of the ruined merchants, Oliver Hatfield, preferring not to face "poverty and disgrace" at home, sets sail with his wife and daughters for the "Land of Promise" at Nauvoo. Richards and his cohorts are also on board, allowing Miss Belisle to demonstrate the outcome of mixing upper and lower classes – Richards seduces Maud, one of Hatfield's two daughters, and they are "tacitly betrothed" (158).

Arriving at Zion (presumably Missouri), Richards embraces his "first" wife, Maria. Finally aware and utterly enraged at this evidence of duplicity, Papa Hatfield canes the missionary-seducer and instantly dies of apoplexy for his trouble. Undismayed, Richards makes overtures to Maud's little sister Rose, and soon Rose is with child. Meanwhile, Maud is stabbed to death in her sleep by Richards' first wife. Miss Belisle writes, "There was a gurgling groan and stifled sob, the round white arms were frantically tossed in the air, as the murderess bounded away, and the warm life blood spout[ed] in jets" (213).

The Saints are soon expelled from Zion and flee to Clay County, Missouri, and then to Illinois. There "midnight orgies" commence again, and the "fair luxuriant region" of Nauvoo is turned into a "filthy pool" (257). Women are kidnapped from surrounding communities to staff Mormon "harems." Miss Belisle describes the plight of Lizzie Monroe, who had recently been kidnapped: "In an upper room of Young's harem, sat a young girl, in an attitude of despair. She was scarcely eighteen years of age, of full round form, and complexion that rivalled the peach when ripened by the southern sun, lips of cherry, and eyes liquid and blue as the heart of a spring violet. Now her long, shining hair was in disorder, her dark lashes dropped over the liquid orbs, and her rounded arms hung listlessly by her side, as the fair young head sunk in despair upon her bosom. Alas! how often she had tried her feeble strength against the bars of the window and bolts of the door" (277). An ugly man in his late fifties, presumably Brigham Young, entered the room, grabbed the girl's wrists and growled that he loved her. Lizzie "shrank away as if a serpent held her hands in its folds and was looking down on its victim." When Brigham scooped the "spring violet" into his husky arms, she "shrieked wildly" (281). The rest of the scene is charitably left to the reader's imagination.16

for the National Character," in John Higham, ed., The Reconstruction of American History (New York, 1962), pp. 198-199. It is interesting to trace Mormons as they are characterized in fiction. In nineteenth-century literature, Mormons appear most often as ungodly materialists; they appear less often as duped conformists or idealists; they — or their leaders — appear only occasionally as individualists. For additional notions about the Mormons and the American character, see Constance Rourke, American Humor: A Study of the National Character (New York, 1931).

¹⁶Steven Marcus, in *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (London, 1966), suggests that below the surface of Victorian middle-class respectability was a volcano of sexual repression. Because they dealt with the problem of rooting out evil, "anti-Mormon" novels offered a convenient and acceptable vehicle for purveying erotica.

Later, a friend finds Lizzie and rescues her before the "Brothers of Gideon" can catch them. Soon all self-respecting persons around Nauvoo "joined in the cry for the extermination of [this] band of parasites who lived and preyed, ghoul-like, on their fellows" (328). Joseph Smith is murdered by "Indians" but non-Mormons know there could never "be security for life or property within the state, until it was freed from the pestilential presence of those worse than Egyptian locusts" (335). Miss Belisle's Mormons, now associated "with guilt in every form" (241), are expelled from Illinois.

The author's message is clear. Keep the wily Jacobin Mormons out of England. Don't believe the promise of the "promised land." Leaving Old or New England can only mean financial ruin, broken families, humiliation, and death!

The second of the anti-polygamist novels was Female Life Among the Mormons: A Narrative of Many Years' Personal Experience, by the Wife of a Mormon Elder, Recently from Utah.¹⁷ The identity of the author, purportedly a Mrs. Maria Ward, is unknown, although some have speculated that it was Mrs. B. G. Ferris, author of The Mormons At Home (1856) and wife of the Secretary of Utah Territory, 1852-53. Female Life Among the Mormons quickly sold forty thousand copies, and many thousands of additional copies were printed in succeeding years under a variety of titles. Translated into French, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish, the novel was probably the most widely distributed book about the Mormons in the nineteenth century. The book contains little accurate information about the Mormons or their religion. It does contain countless scenes of torture and sadism, and even suggestions of lesbianism. The "moral lesson" is that Mormonism thrives on "weak" women who "abandon comfortable homes and situations, in order to follow some mad fanatic" (76). Violent death is guaranteed for any lady who considers such a move.

The third anti-polygamist novel published in the mid-1850's was Metta Victoria Fuller's Mormon Wives: A Narrative of Facts Stranger Than Fiction.¹⁸ Miss Fuller, who later married Orville Victor, editor of "Beadle's Dime Novels," wrote at least a dozen sensational women's novels. Miss Fuller's snobbish New England heroine considers the Mormons "ignorant," "prejudiced," and obviously "degraded" (124, 226). The sons and daughters of Puritanism, she writes, have demonstrated their abhorrence of slavery and intemperance — evils enough! — but find Mormon polygamy even "more loathesome and poisonous to social and political purity." In the end, Mormons are completely animalized.

PERCY ST. JOHN'S TEMPLE

Our final ante-bellum novel, with descriptions of Mormons in New York, Missouri and Nauvoo, is Percy Bolingbrook St. John's Jessie, the Mormon

¹⁷(New York, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1860; London, 1855). Republished as Maria Ward's Disclosures: Female Life Among the Mormons . . . (New York, 1858).

¹⁸(New York, 1856, 1858). Republished as *Lives of Female Mormons* (Philadelphia, 1859, 1860; New York, 1860).

Daughter.¹⁹ The son of James Augustus St. John, a celebrated author and traveller, Percy accompanied his father on some of his travels and began writing boy's adventure stories when he was quite young.

Appearing first as a anonymous serial in the London Herald and later as a three-volume novel (1861), Jessie is an ethnocentric, hate-filled work unlike anything else that St. John wrote. It cries out for the liquidation of the Mormons, all but praises the murderers of Joseph Smith, and is packed with prurient episodes. The Mormons are wicked, blasphemous, lustful, cunning, and evil. Their primary aim is to "steal away the girls and women of England to fill their harems" (Preface). Polygamy is "but another name for indiscriminate prostitution" (10). Mormonism is "a barbarous and bigoted false religion, . . . one of the grossest impostures and most transparent shams" which ever deluded human credulity (480). St. John's Mormons consume barrels of wine and conduct naked "love feasts" (15).

St. John's fantasy opens in a forest in upper New York State, at the residence-fort of Captain Simon Reardon and his sixteen-year-old daughter, Emma. Interested in the antiquities of the region, the Captain one day chances on some brass plates covered with hieroglyphics. Sometime later, a young bookworm named Solomon Spaulding passes through the region in search of information about the ancient history of the Indians. He visits the Captain, examines the brass plates, and in a burst of mental excitement composes an exotic romance which describes the advent of the Indians in America.

After several weeks at the fort, Solomon falls ill and Emma ventures out for medicine. On her way back, she is captured by Indians. Four teenagers, including Joseph and Hiram Smith, observe the capture, track the Indians, and creep up on them at night. They fire a volley into the camp, free the girl, and accompany her back to the fort. Young Joseph – the "serpent" in "this new Garden of Eden" (34) – is described as ignorant and rawboned, yet ambitious and devilishly cunning. He "lusted with all his soul for power, wealth, and women" (31-32). Joseph seduces Emma and St. John says, "Such was the first of many amorous exploits of the man who later became General-Prophet-Inventor-High Priest. He had not, however, yet discovered a wholesale system of seduction, nor had he invented his female cattle market" (36). At the earliest opportunity, Joseph elopes with Emma – and takes along the Spaulding manuscript.

Off in the wilderness, Emma teaches Joseph to read. The prophet-to-be commits the Spaulding manuscript to memory. One day, while reciting memorized passages in the woods, Joseph encounters "Simon" Rigdon, a printer, engraver, and minister of the gospel. It turns out that Rigdon has also seen a copy of Spaulding's work. Joseph convinces Rigdon that they should start a new religion and thereby possess wealth and power. Together they engrave plates of gold and bury them in the "Hill Cumoro." At the same time Joseph secretly cavorts with a local girl who dresses in white; she is the

¹⁰(3 vols., London, 1861). We are grateful to Guy Potter who read this novel in the British Museum and provided us with extensive notes.

"angel" who appears to Joseph. Joseph pacifies Emma, who discovers the affair, by getting his rifle and shooting the "angel" (72-73).

Countless scenes follow which illustrate the cunning and perversion of Mormon leaders — scenes of elders deserting their wives and seducing young female converts and scenes of heavy drunkenness and prostitution.

The third volume briefly turns to what purports to be history. St. John then reverts to pure fiction as he relates the story of a young English girl, Jessie, whom the elders attempt to rape. Later, when Jessie accompanies a group of Mormons to Missouri, she watches the men systematically steal chickens, pigs, cows, and wives and daughters of gentile farmers along the way. According to St. John, wife-stealing is the real source of the Mormons trouble. Taking the law into your own hands is usually not justified, he writes, "But as there are certain noxious vermin who are only to be rooted out by poison, . . . the apostles of prostitution and adultery [must] be treated in a different way from anything else. In [Britain] we would give them over to a jury of indignant English matrons . . ." (386).

Driven out of Missouri, the Mormons make their way to Nauvoo. St. John describes several cruel seductions and the marriage of an elder to his step-daughter. Nauvoo soon dissolves into gross iniquity. According to St. John, the great temple is a torture chamber, a "fearful museum of many instruments" (359). When the temple is completed, girls are herded inside, bound with chains, and whipped with thongs.

Nauvoo might have been a paradise, St. John concludes, but instead it is an intriguing example of the fate of a virgin wilderness when the ignorant rabble tramples over it. It is better to reside in England where life's details are managed by people of character.

MORMONISM AS A SYMBOL

The seven novels discussed here were written within fifteen years of the Mormon Nauvoo period. While none can qualify as great literature, they demonstrate a rather considerable interest in the Mormons and their "Kingdom on the Mississippi." Anti-Mormonism has often been attributed to nativist tendencies,²⁰ but to assign such intense interest and hostility to a single cause holds obvious dangers. Only a broader explanation can account for these phantasmagoric works and their widespread popularity.

To begin with, as has already been posited, the imaginative works discussed here reveal more about the writers and their own intellectual and cultural environment than they do about the Mormon experience. The concern for certain social issues such as slavery and the changing role of women, the fear of traditional temptations, and the fear of a dark yet alluring Amer-

²⁰David Brion Davis, "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Catholic, Anti-Masonic and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (September, 1960), 205-224. No doubt anti-Mormonism was in large part nativist, but Davis overlooks the international aspects of anti-Mormonism. Virtually all of Davis' anti-Mormon material is taken from sources dated *after* 1856. See also: Mark W. Cannon, "The Crusades Against the Masons, Catholics, and Mormons: Separate Waves of a Common Current," *Brigham Young University Studies*, III (Winter, 1961), 23-40.

ican wilderness — all are patently interwoven through these novels. Literature thumped and kneaded the Mormons into a master symbol of all that was wrong with America. Readers in Britain as well as in America apparently found a scapegoat upon which they might displace their social and moral uneasiness.

Certain criticisms were first written by ministers, businessmen, politicians, apostates, and others who had personal reasons for opposing the Mormons and the extension of their Kingdom. The scare techniques used by these individuals to discourage conversion and immigration included exaggeration of the supposed evils of Mormonism. However, the sheer hatred in anti-Mormon works betrays an intellectual and emotional revulsion that requires examination. We hypothesize four patterns of criticism in this literature.

THE TRANSPARENT FRAUD

Almost all published commentaries characterized the Mormon religion as a fraud and a sham — "a Yankee speculation." Joseph and his associates were hypocrites, and the whole system was humbug from inception. This portrayal was given impetus by the absence of a professional Mormon clergy and the consequent involvement of spiritual leaders in temporal affairs. In contemporary literature, the mule-driving elder was Sunday's picture of sobriety and propriety, but he was also Monday's swearing animal-beater. A businessman-bishop was brimming with piety in church, but was a fierce capitalistcompetitor during the week. The absence of clear dichotomies between religion and politics, between religion and business, and between religion and social morality forced a daily confrontation of religion with life. In their attempts to work out a new Christian solution to problems of the workaday world, Mormon leaders were easily interpreted as being insincere.

In 1840 a New York convert to Mormonism journeyed to Nauvoo to see the Prophet Joseph. The New Yorker apparently expected to see a solemn, long-faced, white-robed divine. Instead, he saw an affable young man who flitted easily from dictating revelations in a serious moment to wrestling with his apostles, joking with neighbors, and romping with his children in a playful moment.²¹ It seemed but a short step from playing with children to playing a joke on adults. Joseph did not fit the image of a prophet; the convert from New York apostatized.

THE "IGNORANT RABBLE"

Much of the literature relating to the Mormons was apparently intended for upper-class readers. Who among people of substance could believe that the Almighty would restore His Church through an uneducated backwoods

²¹"History of George A. Smith," May 25, 1833, "George A. Smith Name File," Church Historian's Library and Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah. See also, the "half jest, half earnest," comment about Joseph Smith in Henry Adams, ed., "Charles Francis Adams Visits the Mormons in 1844," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, LXVIII (October, 1844-May, 1847) (Boston, 1952), p. 286.

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farm boy? What intellectual could seriously consider these farmers and mechanics? The Saints were almost universally described as ignorant, loud, uncouth, and lazy. Their conversation was ungrammatical. Conversion was by emotional appeal and by sham miracles, such as curing rheumatism or a toothache.22 In short, Mormonism could appeal only to the lower-class rabble who loved blasphemous hocus-pocus and the unrestrained, debauched life of the Western frontier. Persons of gentility would never willingly associate with such people, and if Mormons sought to mingle with better classes they clearly violated good taste.23 Emphasizing the gap between their own civilization and the rude culture of the Saints, writers in both Old and New England seemed to shout, "Look! This is what will happen if you leave home and go West where the Mormons and other riff-raff live in sin!" Of the Mormons one-Englishman wrote, "Behold, oh Americans, the blot that has made you a by-word to the citizens of the old world."24 An American writer retorted, "... we wish English Mormons and paupers to stay where they are. We have here 'darkness' enough without an additional cloud flung over us from the old world."25

The fact that the Saints had persons of refinement in their midst was explained by the presence of Gestapo groups like the Brothers of Gideon, the Daughters of Zion or the Danites, which effectively prevented such cultured persons from escaping. Many of the episodes in these novels revolve around thrilling escapes to freedom, enlightenment, and stability.

When Mormonism was rejected out of hand by the free-thinking Franklinesque intellectuals of the 1830's and 1840's, criticism fell to the purists, the crusaders, and the partisan ministers whose dissection of Mormonism was emotional rather than intellectual. From sneers and snobbish contempt, the attacks on Mormonism evolved into mindless, fire-breathing onslaughts by frontier religions.

THE FRONTIER REVIVAL

Many nineteenth-century writers believed that the movement to the frontier occasioned a reversion to the primitive, which sometimes meant savagery. The Church originated in western New York State, which was regarded as the frontier by New Englanders, and continued to move westward — to Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, and finally Utah. Undoubtedly the Mormons were associated in the minds of Eastern writers with the excesses of the frontier. New Englanders, writing about Mormons they had

²²A smugness or reverse snobbishness on the part of the Saints might have contributed to the East's insistence that most Mormons were disgustingly lower class. In anti-Mormon novels a lady never becomes a Mormon. As one upper-class character remarked, "Think of the misery to a woman of any refinement!" Theodore Winthrop, *John Brent* (New York, 1861), p. 85.

²³"Mormonism and the Mormons," Methodist Quarterly Review, XXV (January, 1843), 114.

²⁴Belisle, The Prophets, p. 6.

²⁵Methodist Quarterly Review, XXV (January, 1843), 126-127.

never seen, described them in terms of revivalism, millenarianism and fanaticism.

Because they lived on the frontier, the Mormons were stereotyped as inveterate smokers, drunkards, and sexual perverts. Female authors gave Mormon men all the characteristics – callousness, sadism, and unbridled lust – which they thought typified the undomesticated male.

THE DEPRAVED BEAST

Perhaps the single most common theme in early anti-Mormon literature was Mormon depravity. Physically, the Saints were pictured as snakes or as ugly toad-like creatures; mentally, most were portrayed as ignorant; spiritually, they were described as the essence of evil.

Psychologists have studied behavioral patterns which involve persistent distortions of reality.²⁶ One of these patterns involves the tendency to hate people whom we feel we have wronged, and to regard those we hate as depraved. John Greenleaf Whittier anticipated behavioral science in explaining the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri in 1838. He wrote, "The reports circulated against them [the Latter-day Saints] by their unprincipled enemies in the west are in the main destitute of foundation. I place no dependence upon charges made against them by the ruffian mob of the Mississippi valley, and the reckless slave-drivers, who, at the point of the bayonet and bowie-knife, expelled them from Missouri, and signalized their Christian crusade against unbelievers by murdering old men, and violating their innocent wives and daughters. It is natural that the wrong-doers should hate those whom they have so foully injured."²⁷ By accusing the Mormons of robbery, murder, and lust, the Missouri and Illinois ruffians were able to exercise their own propensities in these directions toward the Mormons.²⁸

Assuming that many had guilty consciences for having wronged the Mormons, and also assuming the psychological need to project animality onto the Mormons, it can be seen how the stories of Mormon cruelty and depravity became a significant part of the Mormon myth. Almost everyone who headed west — trappers, guides, travellers, and settlers — passed through Missouri. Tales of the wicked Saints spread from the outfitting posts and river-port towns to nearly all settlements of the West. Moreover, the nation as a whole appears to have been sufficiently frustrated in preserving its moral code that there existed an emotional need to project immorality on the Mormons and certain other groups, to think of them as alien out-groups deserving of national aggression.²⁹

²⁶We have profited from reading John Dollard, Neal E. Miller, et al., Frustration and Aggression (New Haven, 1939).

[#]John G. Whittier, "A Mormon Conventicle," Littell's Living Age, XV (December 4, 1847), 461. Our italics.

²⁸Vardis Fisher's novel, Children of God: An American Epic (New York, 1939), at times reveals a tacit knowledge of these psychological possibilities.

²⁹Davis, "Themes of Counter-Subversion," pp. 214, 216, 219.

CONCLUSION

In May, 1839, George Peck, the editor of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, travelled up the Mississippi, and observed the Mormons "flying for life across the river" from Missouri into Illinois: "We saw [he wrote a few years later] a motley group on the bank of the river, who as we could judge, had no covering for their heads but covered wagons and some small tents. Little did we then suppose that this was an embryo city, which would develop itself so rapidly as that in three years from that time it would become the glory of the "Latter-day Saints," and the *terror* of the great west."³⁰

To a modern economist the building of Nauvoo was a remarkable demonstration of Americans in the process of achieving a "take-off into self-susstained growth."31 A few years after this achievement Henry David Thoreau looked at a panorama of the Mississippi. In his imagination he saw "the steamboats wooding up, counted the rising cities, gazed on the fresh ruins of Nauvoo. . . . I saw that this was a Rhine stream of a different kind; that ... the famous bridges were yet to be thrown over the river; and I felt that this was the heroic age itself . . . , for the hero is commonly the simplest and obscurest men"³² The emergence of Nauvoo, Phoenix-like, out of a swamp on the edge of the Mississippi, offered an unparalleled opportunity for America's literary minds to study American people at work. As a symbol of America's heroic age, the Nauvoo story might have included commentary on Mormon farmers and Mormon craftsmen who built sturdy homes and a magnificent temple. Literary artists might have recorded Mormon songs, prayers, and dances - and their ideals, their fears, their dreams of the future. Writers might have described the way in which immigrant-converts became "Americans," and written of the contributions which they made to the pluralistic culture of the Mississippi frontier.

These opportunities were passed by. The Mormons were viewed as aliens – an excrescence on an organic body politic. Ignored by literary masters, Nauvoo Mormons and their high tragedy fell into the hands of hack writers who denied them a grandeur they rightfully deserved.³³

The early Mormons saw their image – and ideal – of themselves as restorers of true Christianity replaced by an image of crude imposture and perversion. The Mormons were not "Saints" at all, but easily-recognized Yankee hypocrites who had donned the mask of religion for selfish ends – in order to exploit for themselves alone the beautiful land of plenty. The Saints' Kingdom, once fixed within or linked to larger images, could only

³⁰"Mormonism and the Mormons," Methodist Quarterly Review, XXV (January, 1843), 114n. Italics in original.

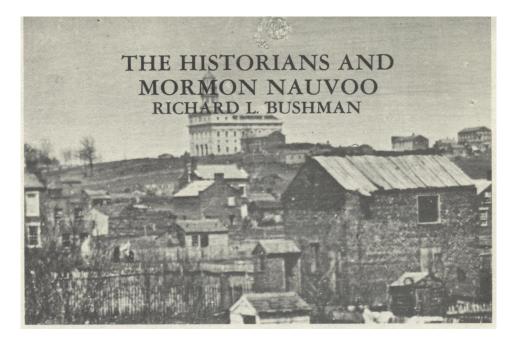
³¹W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), esp. pp. 36–58.

⁸²Matthieson, American Renaissance, pp. 632-633.

³⁵How the Mormons would have fit into "great literature" will always, of course, be in the realm of speculation. What, for instance, did D. H. Lawrence mean when he said, in discussing Nathaniel Hawthorne, "It is probable that the Mormons are the forerunners of the coming real America"? *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York, 1923, 1961), p. 94.

be a Victorian nightmare of broken families and broken hearts. Not possessing, or in some cases not using, the ability to rationally analyze Mormon realities, ante-bellum writers consigned Mormonism to a world of myth and fantasy. The Mormon phenomenon was supposedly incompatible with commonly accepted ideals, something to be rejected and exterminated. As a result some of the most creative ideas and accomplishments of Jacksonian America were eventually crushed.

With the historical understanding of today, the profession must acknowledge all the aspects of Mormon Nauvoo and accord it greater honor than ante-bellum writers bestowed when the City of Joseph was still shining in the wilderness.



Were a nineteenth-century Mormon to assess the current scholarly literature on the Mormons in Illinois, or on Mormon history in general for that matter, he would probably be perplexed. While compelled to admit that the studies are informative and interesting, he would be eaten up with curiosity to know where the authors stood. He would wish to know whether the authors were friends or enemies of the Mormons. He might very well conclude that a flock of Richard Burtons¹ – interested observers, strangely aloof from the important questions of the truth of the Church's claims and the prophetic powers of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and therefore not quite to the point - had descended on the archives of Mormonism. The intellectual commerce between men on both sides of the critical dividing lines would be equally puzzling. In the nineteenth century the historical testimony used by Mormon historians was dismissed by non-Mormons as blind infatuation for Joseph and his works. Mormons on the other hand would give no credence to the statements of men who hated the Prophet and the Church. Mutual distrust separated the warring camps so far that all they could hear were the curses each called down on the others' heads. How surprising therefore that a book by a Catholic with the hearty name of O'Dea should be read and praised by Mormons and non-Mormons alike, or that a Reorganite, of all things, a Josephite, could write a book on Nauvoo, the very place where the path divided, and Utah Mormons, devoted Brighamites, would find much to praise in it.² One need only list the major scholarly works of the last ten or fifteen years to recognize how the barriers have fallen and how historians of varying personal persuasions can now converse readily on a subject that once was a call to battle.³

¹The best edition of Burton's report on the Mormons is Richard F. Burton, *The City* of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (New York, 1963).

²Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons* (Chicago, 1957); Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana, Illinois, 1965).

³Besides O'Dea and Flanders, see for example: Leonard Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Cambridge, 1958); Norman F. Furniss, The Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859 (New Haven, Conn., 1960); Wallace Stegner, The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail (New York, 1964); Juanita Brooks, The Mountain Meadows Massacre (Stanford, Calif., 1950); Ray B. West, Kingdom of the

While for many reasons we can welcome the measure of ecumenism that has visited Mormon historiography in recent years, our nineteenth-century Mormon might find the new works disappointing. I suspect that he would wonder what the point was. For him Mormon history was to glorify God's work among men and tell the story of salvation. While he might denounce those who attacked the Kingdom, at least they spoke to the vital question: the truth and authority of Joseph's doctrine and priesthood. These were claims to stir the imagination. Something of universal cosmic significance was at stake. When historians began to write, the salvation of humanity was really the issue. How could our nineteenth-century Mormon help but feel that the modern works, while erudite and facile, are not only dispassionate but insipid and, really, somewhat irrelevant — in short, academic.

We can safely disregard the perplexity of this obviously narrow-minded provincial, so totally unfamiliar with twentieth-century scholarship, industry, and the desire for professional advancement which powers our writing. He would be insensitive to a new temper among Mormons and a new purpose, not so intense or dramatic as their forefathers', but just as serious and sincere. This new generation of Mormons reads and writes the Church's history partly for its intrinsic interest but also as an act of self-discovery. We are more distant from Joseph and the foundations of the Church, but the Kingdom is now well-established and large in wealth, numbers, and achievements. Personal experiences have given many Mormons assurances of the truth and goodness of our faith. Enemies have mellowed and no longer threaten to overturn the Church. Consequently, many Mormons feel less defensive, less obliged to deny every aspersion and to exalt every act of the Prophet. Rather than being a device to promote the Church, Mormon history becomes an investigation of our own roots, a quest for identity rather than a quest for authority. Joseph is receding into the historical past now, and the changes in our larger environment are blocking our view of him. History serves to restore him to our field of vision. Rather than wishing to defend the Prophet, modern Mormons wish to know him and to understand more clearly the origins of the Kingdom to which we have pledged ourselves. The time interval between us and the early Church makes us curious; security in the faith makes us willing to accept whatever is discovered. Although written in a different key nowadays, the history of Mormonism still has vital import for readers and authors.

This quest may lend a deeper human meaning to Mormon history for Mormons, but what about non-Mormons? Do they read about Mormons as they would of "the Hottentots, the hairy Ainu, and the wild men of Borneo?"⁴ Judging from the accounts that still make their way into historical survey texts,

Saints: The Story of Brigham Young and the Mormons (New York, 1957); William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migrations from Scandinavia (Minneapolis, 1957); Klaus Hansen, Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (East Lansing, Mich., 1967). Leonard Arrington puts this transformation in historical perspective in "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," Dialgoue, I (Spring, 1966), 15-32.

^{&#}x27;Arrington, "Scholarly Studies," p. 16.

they do. Mormonism strikes many as a bizarre oddity that holds the same fascination as the visions of Emanuel Swedenborg or the divine lore of the Icelandic sagas.⁵ But I would guess that for Americans, as for Mormons, a more serious question stands behind the current interest in the Latter-day Saint past, and that is, "What can be learned from Mormon history about the American identity?"

Mormons delight in Andrew White's account of Tolstoy's inquiry after "the American religion," meaning Mormonism. While the query was not as flattering as we suppose, it nonetheless points up how closely Mormonism is bound to America, how much it is an expression of our national culture. And yet in the nineteenth century the Church was never at home in the United States. American and Mormon values clashed so violently that pitched battles frequently occurred. That fact raises problems that an American may wonder about. Were the Mormons truly Americans? If so why was there constant conflict? Were the Mormons so strange, so foreign that they were properly expelled from the country? Or were they really brothers of the same blood, though of different garb, who should never have been cast out and now should be welcomed back? In answering these questions an American must decide about himself and his kind. What is an American? How broad are the boundaries of this land?

Both quests for identity, the Mormon and the American, lead to Nauvoo, for there the major issues are all in focus. There, for the first time, Mormonism achieved social and doctrinal maturity. As O'Dea has suggested, by the Nauvoo period Mormons had withdrawn far enough from conventional society to innovate freely.⁶ While still perceptibly inhibited, in Nauvoo Joseph could teach principles that he had previously kept to himself for fear of shocking even the faithful. At the same time, the Church was still in close proximity to gentile society and the tensions between the two were fully displayed. Frontier America and full-blown Mormonism confronted each other directly in Hancock County in the 1840's. The Mormons who wish to discover primitive Mormonism and the Americans who wish to discover the limitations of American freedom are most likely to find their answers there.

If you will grant me that the Mormon period in Illinois does occupy this critical position, what then do current works on the Mormons in Illinois have to tell us? As anyone experienced with the ways of historiography would guess, there is nothing in the works of the last twenty years that is entirely new. None of them introduces any broad new subjects that Brodie or Roberts did not at least mention. As is always the case in the writing of history, the emphasis makes the difference. Judging from my review of the specialized works on Illinois and the major surveys of Mormonism, any writing on the Nauvoo period is likely to touch on certain basic topics:⁷ the move from

⁵Jerald C. Brauer writes about Mormons with tongue in cheek in his *Protestantism in America: A Narrative History* (Philadelphia, 1953). Clifton E. Olmsted, *History of Religion in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960), is more severely factual.

⁶O'Dea, The Mormons, p. 53.

⁷One exception is E. Cecil McGavin whose *Nauvoo the Beautiful* (Salt Lake City, 1946), mainly lauds the character of the Prophet and deplores the persecution he suffered.

Missouri and the settlement at Commerce; missionary work in Britain and resultant immigration; the development of Nauvoo, including land purchases, the Nauvoo House and the Temple, the Charter, the Legion, and economic policies; the development of doctrine, including polygamy, baptism for the dead, and the temple ceremonies, which are usually treated in relation to Masonry; the conflict of the Church with the State of Missouri and with Illinois citizens as politics increased tensions; the plans for a westward move; the *Expositor* affair and the martyrdom; the transmission of authority and the resultant splintering; and finally the exodus. Those topics represent the major categories of available data from which the historian can choose materials for his account. While historical facts seem quite fixed to the inexperienced, as anyone who has written history knows, such a rich supply of data permits historians to write quite different stories while drawing on the same bank of information.

I would say that until the last decade or so, the themes that have most intrigued twentieth-century historians have been doctrine and social conflict. Joseph's teachings in this period are irresistible targets. How can a contemporary writer be expected to disregard the salacious tastes of our time and not play heavily on the introduction of polygamy and the rumors passed around in the backrooms of Nauvoo? Mrs. Brodie, who is now generally cited as the standard authority on Joseph's marriages and suspected marriages, devoted three full chapters to polygamy. Half of another chapter dwelt on the esoteric temple ceremonies.8 Perhaps because B. H. Roberts knew from firsthand experience that polygamy was not so romantic as Mrs. Brodie made it out to be, he gave far less space to it. Other doctrines did interest him, particularly those concerning the nature of God and the divine potential of man as explicated by Joseph in the "King Follett Discourse."9 But for Roberts the major theme of the period was conflict – with law officers from Missouri, with the citizens of Illinois, and, to a lesser extent, with dissident followers of the Prophet. Already by this point in his history, the preoccupation with lawsuits, government action, and persecution that was to overwhelm the later volumes was in evidence in Roberts' work. Two others have focused on the same theme. Kenneth Godfrey's doctoral dissertation at Brigham Young University describes the sources of conflict with gentile settlers in Hancock County, and Jan Shipp's doctoral thesis at the University of Colorado concentrates on Mormon political controversies.¹⁰ The only major survey of

¹⁰Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Causes of Mormon Non-Mormon Conflict in Hancock County, Illinois, 1839–1846" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1967); Jan Shipps,

⁶Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet (New York, 1957). Chapters xxi, xxii, and xxiv treat polygamy; chapter xix deals with the temple.

⁹B. H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I (6 vols.; Salt Lake City, 1930). Volume II deals with the Nauvoo period. Roberts probably also played down polygamy to help calm remaining nineteenth-century animosity against the Mormons. The "King Follett Discourse" was a funeral sermon which Joseph Smith preached for his deceased friend before a congregation which allegedly included twenty thousand people. This sermon soon became famous because of the inclusion of new and weighty matters of doctrine.

early Mormon history written in the last twenty years, Ray B. West's Kingdom of the Saints, follows the lines laid down by Brodie and Roberts and pays special heed to both doctrine and conflict: polygamy and the temple receive more attention than any other subject in the chapter entitled "Nauvoo," and another entire chapter is given over to conflict in Illinois. The picture that finally emerges from this group of works is of a beleaguered Joseph persistently elaborating his teachings in ways that only added to his troubles. Growing hostility generated by political rivalries and the propagation of strange doctrines combined to move the Prophet irresistibly toward martyrdom.

While the tragic drama that unfolded at Nauvoo is likely to continue to attract historians, some of the most recent and most distinguished works have stressed other themes and, by so doing, have given Nauvoo history, and Mormon history in general, a new flavor. The common element in the new books is an emphasis on the organization of Mormon society. Previous historians have said that the fundamental cause of Mormon-gentile conflict was that the Saints' closely-knit, centrally-controlled, corporate society differed too radically from ordinary American individualism and pluralism. Recent writers have investigated Mormon corporatism more carefully. The subtitle of Robert Flanders' Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi, tells readers clearly enough where his interests lie. He discusses Joseph Smith's social ideals and ideas and the details of their implementation; he describes the mixture of religious purpose and social need that went into the formation of Mormon society in Illinois. In a book of 341 pages of text, only ten are devoted to polygamy, while three chapters of the eleven are headed "A Kingdom of This World" and talk about government and the military, land business, industry, and finance. Another chapter discusses the Nauvoo House and the Temple, and still another "The Church Corporate as Body Politic." Obviously, the center of Professor Flanders' interest is not in conflict, in Roberts' sense, which receives about a chapter and a half, nor in doctrine, but in the ways Mormons set about to organize a city and in the resulting successes as well as tensions. As Professor Flanders says, "In Nauvoo the young latter-day prophet made his most prodigious effort to establish a utopian community," an effort that set the pattern for later community building in Utah and also one that convinced many Mormons - those who later refused to follow Brigham Young - that they preferred "a simpler, more orthodox manifestation of the faith" to the corporate Mormonism of Nauvoo.¹¹ In a sense, Flanders' work is an introduction to Leonard Arrington's Great Basin Kingdom. Both concentrate on the role of the Church in practical affairs. They are, you might say, business histories of the Mormons and display the same

[&]quot;The Mormons in Politics: The First Hundred Years" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, 1965). George R. Gayler, in "A Social, Economic, and Political Study of the Mormons in Western Illinois, 1839–1848: A Re-Evaluation" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Indiana, 1955), also concentrates mainly on conflict but sympathizes with the non-Mormon settlers.

¹¹Flanders' introduction to Nauvoo forecasts clearly the main intent of the work. The quotes above are on pp. v, vi.

fascination with economic and political organization and the way Church leaders combined ecclesiastical and social powers to get the job done.

Someone might object to Flanders' use of the word "Utopian" to describe community building in either Nauvoo or Utah. In both cases, it might be argued that sheer physical necessity compelled ecclesiastical involvement in practical affairs. Church leaders had no choice but to occupy themselves with land procurement and distribution, merely to keep their people alive. However, Flanders gives some evidence that Joseph's vision transcended the immediate necessities and that he linked his plans for Nauvoo to much grander schemes for the development of the Kingdom of God. Klaus Hansen and Hyrum Andrus, in shorter works devoted specifically to Joseph's concept of the Kingdom, outline the structure of Joseph's larger purposes.¹² They tell how Joseph, just a few months before his death in 1844, organized a political system distinct from the Church but under the direction of the Priesthood, apparently with the intention of preparing a government through which Christ could reign upon his return. The Prophet, for these historians, was a Utopian of the most expansive sort, not that he dreamed of a paradise that existed "nowhere," as, strictly speaking, the word Utopia implies, but that his immediate operations in Nauvoo were tied to a vision of an ideal world community which assured peace and liberty to men everywhere. Hansen and Andrus confirm Flanders' assertion that Mormonism was not a simple faith comparable to Presbyterianism or Methodism. It was a program for a total society under God, intentionally mingling religion with politics and devotion to God with economics. As Hansen and Andrus tell the story, the Prophet's political theory, as well as the poverty of his people, committed him to create for the Saints a complete society grounded in religious principles.

As one might expect, the works of Flanders, Hansen, and Andrus differ somewhat in emphasis. Flanders focuses on Joseph's actual involvement in Nauvoo affairs, while Hansen deals with the Prophet's conception of millenial government and the steps he took to implement his ideas. Andrus describes the plan for world government as one who explicitly subscribes to Joseph's vision. But all three writers show that at Nauvoo Mormonism was more than a religious faith in the conventional sense. It was a complete social order that confidently joined civil and religious authority.

The envelopment of economics and politics in religion had, of course, begun earlier in Ohio and Missouri, where the revelations had directed the Saints to consecrate their property to the Church and to run their farms as stewardships. Joseph had also organized a bank at Kirtland and sold land at Far West. But corporate Mormonism had brought such grief within the Church and such suffering at the hands of the gentiles that Joseph might very well have emerged from Liberty Jail resigned to the abandonment of communal Mormonism. The Saints scattered along the banks of the Mississippi might have been left to their own devices and permitted to move

¹²Hansen, Quest for Empire; Hyrum L. Andrus, Joseph Smith and World Government (Salt Lake City, 1958).

wherever they could find acceptance. The Prophet might then have ministered solely to their spiritual needs and let faith become simply a dimension of life rather than its absorbing all.¹³ Instead he gathered the Saints to Nauvoo and undertook to govern their lives more thoroughly than ever before. Indeed the punishment in Missouri only persuaded him to seek control over courts, militia and city government, the better to make safe a haven for the good society.¹⁴ Nauvoo demonstrated that Joseph was incorrigibly committed to forming a religious society rather than a mere church. As O'Dea has said, at Nauvoo the Mormons went far toward becoming a people, even a nation.¹⁵ That accomplishment seems to be the central point of recent Mormon scholarship.

Those Mormons who read Church history in pursuit of their own religious identity may indeed draw lessons from Nauvoo. In light of the current works, there can be no question but that the early leaders refused to restrict themselves to a narrowly conceived religion. They were not content to discourse on past times and distant places. They not only expressed political opinions, they immersed themselves in practical politics. Those who dislike the present-day involvement of the Utah Church in business and its leaders' propensity to read sermons to the government from the Tabernacle can find little comfort in a study of Nauvoo. They must conclude it has always been so. Joseph's faith followed the bent of his mind, and there was small regard for the conventional separation of church and state.¹⁶

At the same time, those Mormons who would read of Nauvoo and then pull out all the stops on political preaching, should read again. Joseph's story ended not in the New Jerusalem but at Carthage. Corporatism and intermingling of church and state have consistently offended Americans and brought their wrath upon the Saints. Learning from experience, the twentieth-century Church in Utah has adopted a far more cautious position. True enough, the Church is still involved in business, and each General Conference brings its share of political talks, but such forays are comparatively limited. The Church has no intention of trying to regulate a secular society which is really beyond its control, at the jeopardy of ecclesiastical and spiritual programs.¹⁷ The social idealism of Nauvoo, the hope for a truly righteous and peaceful society, has, for the time being, been left to individual Mormons to nurture. Nauvoo may frustrate Mormons in a quest for identity, for their history in Illinois reveals both the Prophet's high aspirations, and

¹³This possibility is raised in O'Dea, The Mormons, p. 50.

¹⁴Documents and commenatry to this effect are found in G. Homer Durham, ed., Joseph Smith Prophet-Statesman: Readings in American Political Thought (Salt Lake City, 1944).

¹⁵O'Dea, The Mormons, p. 75.

¹⁶J. D. Williams discusses the complexities of Church involvement in politics in "The Separation of Church and State in Mormon Theory and Practice," *Dialogue*, I (Summer, 1966), 30–54.

¹⁷Klaus Hansen suggests that the Utah Church is fast retreating from its nineteenthcentury concern for the total social order. See his review of Flanders, "The World and the Prophets," *Dialogue*, I (Summer, 1966), 103–107.

the bickering, tawdriness, and hate that followed implementation of those aspirations.

I am quite sure that many Mormons will read the recent works on Nauvoo with questions about their own faith in mind. To some extent, Mormons are still committed to their history as a revelation of God's will. By contrast, most Americans nowadays do not appear to be nearly so serious in their study of Mormonism, although in the nineteenth century many of them were. Mormonism then was a foil, like Indians, Catholics, or Masons, the picture of what a good American was not.¹⁸ The delination of a negative identity in the minority groups served to secure the positive identity of the majority. Mormons were lustful and lecherous, slaves to the tyrant Brigham Young, fanatics in belief, in short, un-American. Americans were therefore virtuous, free, and reasonable. In advocating the elimination of the worst of Mormonism, the anti-Mormon campaigners sought to cut out of themselves what they hated and feared.

One might miss this seriousness of purpose in the twentieth-century literature. Ray West noted, in an extraordinarily perceptive essay published in 1957, that in sympathetic accounts of Mormonism, the story is usually told "as a comic episode in American history." Writers have been drawn irresistibly to the funny side of buried plates, peepstones, and multiple wives. West notes, however, that comedy also has serious purposes and refers to Bergson's theory that comedy is a way to account for the unique individual; it creates types to define a species. By describing that which is strange and frightening in a simplistic way and by laughing at it, comedy brings the fearful under control.¹⁹ In America, comedy has been an instrument of social assimilation. The Katzenjammer Kids or Mick Finn of the funny papers served an important purpose for a nation trying to assimilate a vast number of immigrants all at once. Like caricatures of the sharp-dealing Jew or the Negro sambo, the comic strip German and Irish stereotypes helped to organize the immigrants in the American mind and make the onslaught of foreigners less appalling. Something like this goes on in the literature about Mormons. Even though the caricatures of Joseph Smith are offensive to Mormons, we should recognize in the rather low comedy an attempt to fix an image and even to make friends. However, West sees clearly that the laughs are not completely good-natured, particularly in the comedy of Linn and Brodie, where he detects hostility and resentment.²⁰ Like the sambo image of the Negro, spoofing about Mormons was really an effort to put them down. But writing a Mormon comedy is a step closer to acceptance than an exposé

¹⁸David Brion Davis explicates the imagery of subversive minority groups in "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: An Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (September, 1960), 205–224. The projection of negative feelings on Indians is discussed in Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Rev. ed.; Baltimore, 1965).

¹⁹West, Kingdom of the Saints, pp. xiii-xiv. The Linn referred to by West is William Alexander Linn, author of The Story of the Mormons from the Date of Their Origin to the Year 1901 (New York, 1902).

[&]quot;West, Kingdom of the Saints, pp. xv-xviii.

of Mormon debauchery. The humorous touch conceals a concern to find a place for Mormons as well as to put them in it.

The new attention in historical literature to the American qualities in Mormonism continues the assimilation process. There seems to be an elaborate search for congruences. William Mulder opened an essay on "The Mormons in American History" by saying that Mormonism was as "native to the United States as Indian corn and the buffalo nickel."21 Confidence in human ability and in man's capacity for unlimited progression are the Mormon characteristics most often cited as American in spirit; Mulder finds countless other similarities and parallels and probably even so does not exhaust the possibilities. Thomas O'Dea sees Mormon history recapitulating American history from the initial colonization and sense of being chosen to the break with the homeland.²² Robert Flanders has pictured Joseph Smith as a Jacksonian entrepreneur. "The image which emerges in the following pages," Flanders says at the beginning of his book, "is a man of affairs planner, promoter, architect, entrepreneur, executive, politician, filibusterer. . . . "23 That picture accords perfectly with the archetypal Jacksonian man as historians now envisage him, and makes Joseph Smith seem all the more at home in nineteenth-century America.

Most Mormons resist the imputation that they are nothing more than American and that Joseph merely drew from his environment without the advantage of revelation, but the intense patriotism of Church members and their exaltation of the Constitution attest to an urge to be assimilated. In his history of the Church, Roberts went to some length to refute the legend that the Saints had raised the American flag on Ensign Peak on the second day after their arrival in the valley of the Great Salt Lake.²⁴ In contradistinction to their nineteenth-century alienation, Mormons now wish to prove themselves perfectly loyal. Brigham Young University may well be the only college campus in the country where the flag is raised and lowered every day to the accompaniment of the "National Anthem," while everyone within earshot of the loudspeakers stands at attention.

Objective scholarship with its dispassionate stance may be the last stage in the process of assimilation. The recent works in their effort to treat all parties with perfect fairness and to offend no one reflect a strong desire for peace with former enemies. They seem to say that as gentlemen, friends, and scholars our common qualities transcend our differences. But if that is the significance of their tone, it strikes me personally as being somewhat inaccurate. Flanders' work, in particular, is a sober reminder of the differences between Mormons and Americans and the grim consequences for any group that departs from conventional American norms. No matter what data one

²¹Mulder, The Mormons in American History, Twenty-first Annual Frederick William Reynolds Lecture (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Extension Division, 1957).

²²O'Dea, The Mormons, p. 117. David Brion Davis approaches the same point from a slightly different direction in "The New England Origins of Mormonism," New England Quarterly, XXVI (June, 1953), 147-168.

²³Flanders, *Nauvoo*, p. vi.

²⁴Roberts, Comprehensive History, III, 271-274.

chooses to stress, the story of the Mormons in Illinois ends with death and expulsion. Nauvoo seems to me to demonstrate that Mormons were not wholly American in that their vision of a complete society run by a prophet simply could not be realized within the United States in the 1840's. For the Mormon experiment in social reconstruction to continue it was necessary to leave the United States and to isolate the Church in the desert.²⁵ Mormonism may have begun in an American setting and carried many things American into the Great Basin, but at last the faith of the Saints transcended the boundaries of American culture.

Mormons and gentiles in Illinois in 1846 would have agreed that the Latter-day Saints did not belong in the United States and the concurrence on that point raises questions about the nature of American pluralism. For all their ties to American culture, the Mormons finally were cut off, violently expelled. Political liberty and religious tolerance could not stretch to accommodate Mormonism. Granted that Mormons did much to offend their gentile neighbors, but was American freedom meant only for groups that were inoffensive? After examining the events at Nauvoo, a student of the American identity may be driven to ask if only those who conformed were secure in the United States in the nineteenth century. Louis Hartz has argued that Americans then and now have been notably intolerant of ideologies that do not follow their particular brand of liberalism. The uncontested supremacy of republicanism since the eighteenth century has led us to equate that ideology and its associated values with truth and reality and to interpret every departure from it as outlandish and devilish.20 Hartz believes that we are still fearful of ideas which are foreign or antagonistic to our own. Not that Elijah Lovejoy (an abolitionist shot by a mob in Illinois in 1837) or Joseph Smith would be lynched were they to reappear in the twentieth century, but we have our modern equivalents - alien ideologies of Black Power and radical social reform provoke violent responses in some parts of the land. Though polygamy is gone, there are Mormon doctrines that still threaten to bring on discriminatory legislation or violent harassment. The breadth of American pluralism is yet to be measured in our time, and we may discover that in subtle forms the history of Nauvoo can be repeated. The history of the Mormons in Illinois reminds us of regrettable tendencies in the American character that we must ever stand ready to counter.

While Mormons and Americans can learn from Nauvoo as it now stands in the books, the whole story has not yet been told. At their best Mormons appear as enterprising, ingenious, and strong, but the spiritual dimensions of their faith are left unrecorded. Fawn Brodie says bluntly that Joseph's spiritual legacy was barren, and the religion he created devoid of "spiritual content."²⁷ Flanders, who probably has another view of the Prophet, an-

²⁵Hansen discusses the question of whether or not the Saints meant to move out of the United States into Mexican territory in *Quest for Empire*, pp. 111-120.

²⁶Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought Since the Revolution (New York, 1955).

[&]quot;Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 403.

nounces beforehand that he will not treat him "as a great religious teacher, evangelist, and lawgiver."²⁸ The promoter, executive and entrepreneur is about all we see in the book. But is it possible to understand Nauvoo or Utah or either of the Mormon churches today without grasping the spiritual power Joseph exercised and still exercises? Every Mormon knows that the Church is held together by individual testimonies — that is, the connection the members have found with God through the Prophet's doctrine and the Church which he established. The power of Mormon leaders depends almost entirely on these individual spiritual convictions. If anything, Joseph's power over the inner lives of his followers was even more intense. They were not simply westering Americans infatuated with the Prophet's promises of Utopia. Through Joseph they found God, and it was the measure of divinity in him and his teachings that held them.²⁹ Nauvoo would never have risen or fallen without that spiritual life. Belief powered the entire enterprise.

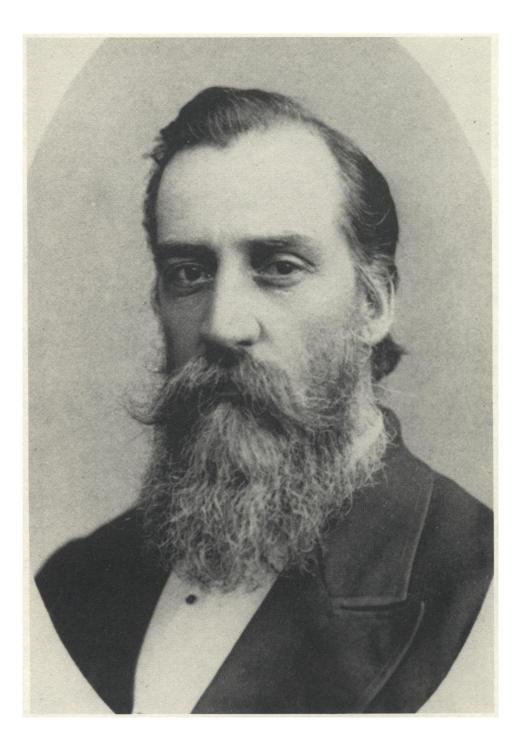
To recapture the life of the spirit is, of course, immensely difficult. As Richard Burton admitted in his revealing study of the Mormons, the inward faith of a people is the last thing an outsider can reach. Certainly no mere summary of the doctrines, however inflated by pretentious rhetoric, can recreate the spirit of Mormon convictions, and unfortunately there are few artistic works powerful enough to convey the quality of Mormon faith to nonbelievers. The depth of early Mormon spiritual life is most apparent in unrehearsed sermons, homespun poetry, and hurried journal entries where it may go unrecognized for what it is. Probably the testimonies of the Saints will yield, if at all, only to sensibilities as keen as William James'. We need a Mormon "Varieties of Religious Experience," with long quotes from Mormons themselves, to give us authentic Mormonism.³⁰ Whatever the difficulties, such a study would be well worth the effort. Besides illuminating every period of Mormon history, Nauvoo among them, it would put modern Mormons who share their forefather's convictions in touch with their ancestors, and make it possible to identify more perfectly with the past.³¹ And it would remind those Americans who would see Mormons only in their own activist, empire-building image that people of this Nation are capable of higher devotions and deeper spirituality than perhaps has been imagined. Mormons and Americans who search history to tell them of themselves would find in an account of Mormon faith a confirmation of those very qualities which our times most require of us.

²⁸Flanders, Nauvoo, p. vi.

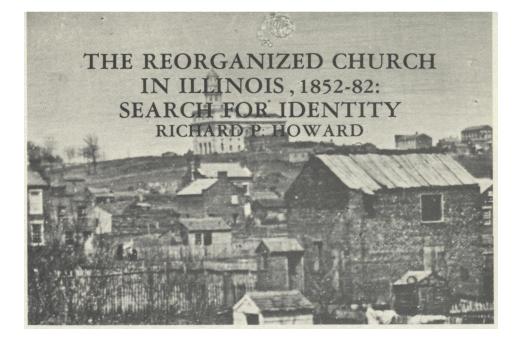
²⁰A poignant example of how former Mormons yearned for the spiritual experiences they had enjoyed with him is recorded in Inez Smith Davis, *The Story of the Church* (6th ed.; Independence, Mo., 1959), pp. 422-423.

³⁰William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen, eds., Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers (New York, 1958), captures other qualities of the Mormon experience better than the spiritual ones.

³¹Mormons return to Joseph Fielding Smith's Essentials in Church History: A History of the Church from the Birth of Joseph Smith to the Present Time . . . (18th ed.; Salt Lake City, 1963), despite its shortcomings, because it recovers some of the spirit that moved the early Church.



Joseph Smith III, 1832-1914 – President, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1860-1914.



The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (hereafter referred to as the RLDS Church) was headquartered in the State of Illinois until 1882. To a greater degree than that of any other descendant of the early Mormon movement, the history of the RLDS Church in that early period is the story of a people in search of their personal and corporate identity. The search for identity first occurred in terms of what might be called the "Mormon boundary" – that is, the RLDS Church tended to identify itself in terms of what it was *not*, by contrasting itself with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter referred to as the LDS Church). The RLDS Church also sought to define itself by constructing internal boundaries – boundaries of authority, of internal structure and of religious dogma and belief. Finally, identity was sought through the attempt to establish new and workable boundaries to the Kingdom of God on Earth.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RLDS CHURCH TO 1852

The large contingent of Saints who migrated to the Great Salt Lake Basin had, relatively speaking, little or no identity crisis. They had limitless land, isolation from the outside world for nearly a decade, and the creative and resourceful guidance of established leaders. These leaders were both able and disposed to exploit the potential of the Council of Fifty and to elicit the allegiance of the Saints for the trek westward and for the rigors of transforming the parched basin into fertile farmlands. Incalculable stores of energy and ingenuity were invested to rebuild in the Great Basin that which was so tragically aborted at Nauvoo. Eventually they carved out a Great Basin empire, in keeping with, and perhaps even surpassing, the fondest dreams of those who had planned Nauvoo.

Meanwhile, in Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Pennsylvania, New York, Kentucky, Canada and Ohio, there were hundreds of faithful Saints in tiny, semi-isolated branches of the Church. These Saints were not economically able or ideologically inclined to migrate to the West but they earnestly sought continued outlet and expression for their faith. Many of these people united with one factional leader, then another, and still another in the search for a viable representation of what they understood to be the gospel of Jesus

Christ. They worked quietly on their farms and at their trades, remembering with nostalgia their part in ushering forth the Kingdom of God on Earth. Many had lived in Nauvoo, others had lived in Kirtland or in Jackson County, Missouri. They longed to participate again in what Klaus Hansen has called the "Quest for Empire."¹ They wondered if any of the proliferating sects springing from the wreckage of Nauvoo could offer such a possibility. They wondered also whether a zealous promulgation of the gospel might bring continued hostility and rebuff. The immediate events which led to the establishment of the RLDS Church took place in southern Wisconsin. Jason W. Briggs, a native of Beloit in Rock County, was converted to Mormonism in 1841. He organized the Newark Branch in Beloit, and after the death of Joseph Smith, associated himself with James J. Strang.² However, Briggs parted with Strang in 1850 in order to affiliate with the faction led by the deceased prophet's brother, William B. Smith. Briggs' attraction to Smith had initially rested upon the principle of lineal succession in the presidency. According to William Smith this principle provided that he was to lead the Church by virtue of his previous ordination as patriarch, and because he, as well as all of his brothers, had been blessed under the hands of the first patriarch of the Church, Joseph Smith, Sr. As the only remaining brother, William Smith laid claim to the prophetic office. Many responded to that claim initially, but when William espoused the practice of polygamy after the conference at Covington, Kentucky, in the spring of 1850 there was a considerable decrease in his following. In the summer of 1851 when Smith and some of his followers came from Illinois to visit Briggs, Briggs became disillusioned with Smith's position on polygamy. By the early fall of 1851 he had severed ties with Smith and had influenced most of his congregation to do likewise.

On November 18, 1851, on the prairie near Beloit, Briggs experienced what he called a vision and a revelation. The document resulting from that experience was written by Briggs very soon after the event, and was read by a number of his congregation. Significant excerpts follow:

... And because you have asked me in faith concerning William Smith, this is the answer of the Lord thy God concerning him. ... William Smith [has] despised my law, and forfeited that which pertained to him as an Apostle and High Priest in my Church. And his spokesman, Joseph Wood, shall fall with him, for they are rejected of me. .., for they have wholly forsaken my law, and given themselves to all manner of uncleanness, and prostituted my law and the keys of power entrusted to them, to the lusts of the flesh, and have run greedily in the way of adultery.... And in mine own due time will I call the seed of Joseph Smith, and will bring one

¹Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty (East Lansing, 1967).

²Shortly after the death of Joseph Smith, Jr., Strang proclaimed himself to be the rightful successor to Smith and produced a letter, allegedly written by Smith, which designated him as the next prophet. Strang attracted many zealous and capable people to his cause. He located first at Voree, Wisconsin. In 1847 he migrated with some of his sect to Beaver Island, one of a group of twelve islands lying near the northern end of Lake Michigan.

forth, and he shall be mighty and strong, and he shall preside over the high priesthood of my Church; and then shall the quorums assemble, and the pure in heart shall gather, and Zion shall be reinhabited. . . And the Spirit said unto me, Write, write, write; write the revelation and send it unto the Saints at Palestine [Illinois], and at Voree, and at Waukesha, and to all places where this doctrine is taught as my law; — and whomsoever will humble themselves before me, and ask of me, shall receive of my Spirit a testimony that these words are of me. Even so, Amen.³

Here, in what has sometimes been referred to as the first document of the "New Organization," the origin of its early means of identity is apparent. There is a rejection of leaders who endorse polygamy, which had been represented as the Celestial Law of the Lord, and a rejection of all leaders other than the one to be called forth from the seed of Joseph Smith, Jr. The principle of the gathering and the resettling of God's people back in Zion, which would be a matter of great importance and tension among the members of the RLDS Church, is also evident.

Some of Briggs' congregation questioned his right to receive revelation for the Church, but they acted upon the promise stated in the last sentence, and put the document to the test. As they became convinced of is authenticity the document was copied and circulated throughout the area.

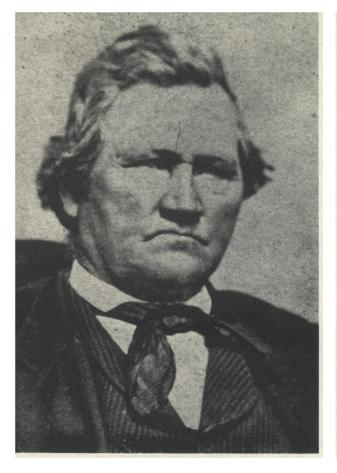
Early in 1852 a copy of Briggs's revelation reached Zenas H. Gurley in Lafayette County, Wisconsin.⁴ Gurley had been one of the presidents of the Quorum of Seventy in Nauvoo and in 1852 presided over the Yellow Stone Branch, which had associated itself with James Strang. Gurley's group was ripe for the reception of a communication like the one from Jason Briggs. Gurley had received what to him were unmistakable witnesses by the Holy Spirit that he and his followers ought to break with Strang. Recounting a visionary experience he had on a Sunday evening in the fall of 1851, Gurley wrote, "At this time Strang's Beaver Island operation appeared before me. It looked mean and contemptible beyond description. A voice — the Spirit of God — the Holy Ghost, then said to me, 'Can this [alluding to Strang's work] ever affect this great work?' I answered, 'No, Lord.' I felt ashamed to think that I had ever thought so. The voice then said, 'Rise up, cast off all that claim to be prophets, and go forth and preach the gospel, and say that God will raise up a prophet to complete his work.'"⁵

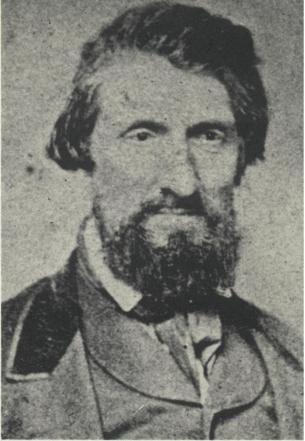
As Gurley shared these and other experiences with some of the members in the Yellow Stone Branch, they decided by consensus that the proper course to follow was to disassociate themselves from the leadership of Strang and from the influence of any of the other factional leaders claiming the prophetic mantle. Before receiving the Briggs communication, members of the Yellow Stone Branch had published the following statement in several

³Jason W. Briggs, "History of the Reorganization of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints," in *The Messenger*, II (November, 1875), p. 1.

⁴Zenas H. Gurley, "History of the New Organization of the Church," The True Latter Day Saints' Herald, I (January, 1860), 20-21. Hereafter cited as Saints' Herald.

⁶Heman C. Smith and Joseph Smith III, History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1900), Vol. III, 745.





Zenas H. Gurley, Sr., 1801-1871 — Member, Council of Twelve Apostles Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1853-1871.

Jason W. Briggs, 1821-1899 — President, Council of Twelve Apostles Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1853-1886.

newspapers in southern Wisconsin and in northern Illinois: "To whom it may concern: This is to certify that we the undersigned who are members of the Yellow Stone branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, do hereby protest against the practice of polygamy and other abominations that are practiced by James J. Strang and his so-called pretenders to the successorship or presidency of the church; among whom are the said James J. Strang, Brigham Young, William B. Smith, Colin Brewster, Alpheus Cutler, Lyman Wight, and others; and hold ourselves aloof from them, and do not wish to be held responsible for any of their evil teachings or practices."⁶

The writings of Gurley and of a number of his followers abound with references to the high degree of spiritual ecstasy which accompanied their public meetings and confirmed their determination to wait for the Lord to designate a new prophetic leader — who, they thought, would be a descendant of Joseph Smith, Jr.

By February, 1852, the Briggs revelation had been read by the Saints of Yellow Stone Branch, as well as the Waukesha, Palestine, Burlington and Voree branches where it was warmly acclaimed as authenticating their grow-

⁶Jason Briggs reports that a Brother David Powell visited the Yellow Stone Branch sometime after February 19, 1852. It was on this visit that the Briggs revelation of November 18, 1851, together with statements from several other branches repudiating James J. Strang's leadership were presented to Zenas Gurley and the members of the Yellow Stone Branch. See *The Messenger*, II (December, 1875), 6.

ing dissatisfaction with the various factional leaders. Consequently, a conference of delegates representing the newly-united branches was planned. Such a conference was held on June 12-13, 1852, at the Newark Branch, Beloit, Rock County, Wisconsin, to lay the foundation for a return to the first principles of the Restoration.

It seems apparent that the branches of the Church separating from both Strang and Smith in 1851-1852 had founded themselves in strong opposition to the various factions with which doctrinal and other differences had arisen. Certain boundaries had already begun to appear. The polygamy which was taught and practiced by James J. Strang and William B. Smith was particularly objectionable to the Wisconsin Saints. Also, the growing number of branches coming under the leadership of Briggs and Gurley after 1852 seemed unanimous in the view that lineal succession in presidency was of primary importance in any effort to continue the original structure of the church founded by Joseph Smith, Jr. Furthermore, they viewed lineal succession in presidency as limited to direct descendants of Joseph Smith.

THE MORMON BOUNDARY

At the initial conference of the new organization the following resolution was passed: "That this conference regard the pretentions of Brigham Young, James J. Strang, James Colin Brewster, William McLellin, William Smith and Joseph Wood's joint claim to the leadership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter day Saints as an assumption of Power in violation of the Law of God and consequently we disclaim all connection and fellowship with them."⁷ Such an action clearly established the RLDS Church at its inception in an antagonistic position with regard to every other descendant of the original church. As if to further underscore that stance, it was also "Resolved that the successor of Joseph Smith, Jr., as the Presiding High Priest in the Melchisedek Priesthood must of necessity be the seed of Joseph Smith, Jr. in fulfillment of the law and the promises of God."⁸

After 1852 there were several official attempts by the fledgling organization to persuade Joseph Smith III (who was born in 1832 and who was the only surviving son of Joseph Smith, Jr.) to accept his place as prophet. The record shows that at first he was repulsed by the idea, but that he responded to repeated importunings. On April 6, 1860, at a conference held in Amboy, Lee County, Illinois, Joseph Smith III was accepted unanmiously and ordained as "prophet, seer and revelator of the Church of Jesus Christ and the successor of his father."⁹

In his address of acceptance, President Smith carefully chronicled the events that led him to accept the prophetic role. With somewhat less restraint he expressed his feelings on the subject of Brigham Young and the

⁷Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Conference Minutes, "Book A" (June 13, 1852), 3.

^{*}Ibid.

^{*}Ibid., 60

Utah Church: "There is but one principle taught by the leaders of any faction of this people that I hold in utter abhorrence. That is a principle taught by Brigham Young and those believing in him. I have been told that my father taught such doctrines. I have never believed it and never can believe it. If such things were done then I believe they never were done by Divine authority. I believe my father was a good man, and a good man never could have promulgated such doctrines."¹⁰ While no mention of polygamy was made, it seems likely that polygamy was the principle alluded to.

Brigham Young made public the adoption of polygamy on August 5, 1852. The conference of the new organization in October, 1852, decided to publish 2,000 copies of the resolutions enacted at the previous conference. Copy for the resulting pamphlet was finished by January, 1853, but in reviewing it Zenas Gurley realized that nowhere in its twenty pages had polygamy been denounced. Accordingly, on the 6th of January the will of God was sought by Gurley and his congregation on the matter. As a result, Gurley was able to report the following in his historical narrative: "Polygamy is an abomination in the sight of the Lord God: it is not of me; I abhor it. I abhor it, as also the doctrines of the Nicolaitanes, and the men or set of men who practice it. I judge them not, I judge not those who practice it. Their works shall judge them at the last day. Be ye strong; ye shall contend against this doctrine; many will be led into it honestly for the devil will seek to establish it and roll it forth to deceive."11 Significantly, three pages concerning polygamy were added to the initial copy and Brigham Young and his followers were linked with it for the first time.¹²

It may be valid to assume that with the public endorsement of polygamy by leaders of the largest single colony of Saints, and with the immediate negative public reaction thereto, the budding church had an identity crisis of far greater proportions than had previously been the case in its clash with James Strang and William Smith. Thus it was quite natural for the new organization of Briggs and Gurley, in the face of wide and intensifying public contumely directed against the Salt Lake City Saints for their views on marriage, to spare no effort to inform the world that the Reorganization had little in common with the Mormons of Utah Territory. So it was that during the period under review here and far beyond that in the twentieth century, the RLDS Church sought to erect a wall between the two churches. In so doing it was hoped that not only potential converts to the faith, but also people in government, would never associate the RLDS Church with other Mormon faiths which promulgated doctrines in violation of the laws of the original church, of the statutes of the land, and of the mores of Christian society.

At the urging of President Smith, who wished to establish "the legal point of distinction between ourselves [RLDS] and the followers of Brigham

¹⁰Saints' Herald, I (May, 1860), 103, quoting the Amboy, Illinois Times.

¹¹Gurley, "History of the Reorganization," Saints' Herald, I (March, 1860), 53.

¹²Jason W. Briggs, Zenas H. Gurley and J. Harrington, A Word of Consolation to the Scattered Saints (Janesville, Wisconsin, 1853), 21-23.

Young,"¹⁸ the delegates to the conference of April, 1870, approved a document entitled "Memorial to Congress." Its opening lines alluded to the evils in Utah Territory and followed with an attempt to set forth the position of the original church in matters of marriage and church-state relations. Article 15 of the memorial expressed regret that the RLDS Church was being forced to identify its faith "in contradistinction to that of other churches claiming the same name ...," but that such a course was necessary due to the universal "tendency to confound the Reorganized Church with the polygamic factions that we deem it but just that we be placed aright upon the record, theologically, socially and morally, as well as politically" (*Saints' Herald*, XVII [June, 1870], 326).

The memorial then presented an "epitome of faith" based primarily upon Joseph Smith, Jr.'s statement of belief in the 1842 "Wentworth Letter,"¹⁴ but expanded it to include a strong affirmation of the monogamous view of marriage. In their closing appeal the memorialists petitioned that, "in the consideration of the questions of polygamy and disloyalty, as affecting a body calling themselves the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, in the Territory of Utah, the crimes of polygamy and disloyalty may not be made to stain the mantle of the pure faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, by such official sanction and legislation of your honorable bodies as shall, in order to legalize the crimes of a few hundreds of polygamists in Utah, (many of whom we trust will yet abandon their folly), enstamp with infamy and disloyalty the faith of many thousands throughout the United States..." (Saints' Herald, XVII [June, 1870], 326).

As the severe scrutiny and judgment of the nation and the world was turned increasingly upon the Mormons of Utah in those early years the RLDS Church was caught in the cross currents. During this period, the RLDS Church categorized a number of "Utah Mormon" beliefs and practices as heretical, even those which were originally common to both churches. For example, early RLDS literature spoke of the Book of Abraham being divinely inspired,¹⁵ a position long since abandoned. The doctrine of a plurality of Gods, given considerable support by early RLDS writers, is now considered scripturally unfounded.¹⁶

Even a cursory perusal of the RLDS literature before 1882 discloses a sizeable array of materials identifying the RLDS Church in terms of the Mormon Boundary. Only in recent years has the RLDS Church begun to exploit the possibilities of a more creative and positive image.

BOUNDARIES OF AUTHORITY, INTERNAL STRUCTURE, AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF

In 1831 sections forty-three and sixty-four of the Doctrine and Covenants had unmistakably established Joseph Smith as the ultimate authority in

¹⁸RLDS Church "Conference Minutes" for April 6, 1870, Saints' Herald, XVII (April 1870), 245.

¹⁴Times and Seasons, III (March, 1842), 706-710.

¹⁵Editorial, "The Early Revelations," Saints' Herald, I (March, 1860), 63.

¹⁶Editorial, "A Plurality of Gods," Saints' Herald, I (December, 1860), 280-283.

spiritual matters in the Church. With his assassination in 1844 there was a proliferation of claimants to that authority. Thus it was quite natural that in the early, uncertain years the Reorganization would move very carefully to cement its internal structure, its sources of authority and its religious beliefs.

The first leaders of the Reorganization were conservative in their approach to authority. They wished to avoid the appearance of grasping for the status which by common consent should go to the seed of Joseph Smith, Jr. Therefore at the conference of April, 1853, three men were chosen who proceeded to select seven men to be ordained into the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles. Zenas H. Gurley, Henry H. Deam, Jason W. Briggs, Daniel B. Rasey, John Cunningham, George White and Reuben Newkirk were selected.¹⁷ Of these seven men two were released from the Quorum within eighteen months and two others were quite inactive. Eight more apostles were selected by committees before 1866. With the death of one apostle in 1866, the excommunication of another for apostacy in 1868, the release of two others for inactivity¹⁸ and the resignation of another because he did not feel a sense of divine calling as an apostle (Saints' Herald, XVII [April, 1870], 248), it was apparent to Joseph Smith III that another method for choosing apostles should be considered in order to insure the stability and identity of the Church at large.

The change of policy in the selection of apostles is an apt illustration of the manner in which the leadership authority of Joseph Smith III grew between 1860 and 1873. In October, 1860, he suggested that the Quorum of Twelve should be filled (Saints' Herald, I [October, 1860], 236). This would have called for the ordination of four men. The conference immediately passed a resolution calling for the selection of three men, and at the following April conference, the minutes of the October, 1860, conference were changed so that President Smith's suggestion read, "The Quorum of the Twelve should be filled, as far as practicable" (Saints' Herald, II [May, 1861], 67). By contrast, in 1873, seven men were called to the Council of the Twelve by means of a document delivered by President Smith which was accepted as divine.

As to the matter of religious belief, the new organization faced the problem of doctrinal differences within the Church. At the April, 1854, conference, held at Zarahemla, Lafayette County, Wisconsin, the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles was authorized "to try to examine all revelations and manifestations, that have or may come through any member of this church, male or female and that such revelation or manifestations, after having been examined by this Council, and declared to be the word of God, may be taught as such until the next General Conference shall reject or receive it as the law and if any member of the church assumes to teach as law or doctrine any

¹⁷Conference Minutes, "Book A" (April 8, 1853), 9.

¹⁸On April 8, 1864, the General Conference acted to "withdraw the hand of fellowship from Apostle George White until he reports, with the proviso that if he is dead this resolution is inoperative." See "Conference Minutes," Saints' Herald, V (April, 1864), 125.

revelation or manifestation before being presented to this Council shall be considered a transgressor of the Law and proceeded against as such."¹⁹

One of the notable characteristics of the RLDS Church has been its democratic spirit, by which no man's ideas are exempt from critical scrutiny of the corporate body. While the conference of 1854 was willing to let the Apostles arbitrate in matters of doctrine, the conference of 1855 might reverse their decisions. The problem of final authority in matters of religious belief continued to vex the church through the period under review, and of course, beyond. There always has remained a certain tension between, on the one hand, those wanting definitive statements of religious dogma from church leadership to guide them in their stewardship of life and, on the other hand, those maintaining firmly their right of conscience to question every statement claiming any degree of religious authority, from whatever source. Such a tension is not thought to be detrimental at all, but rather a sign of growth potential and an opportunity for a more enlightened dialogue among the membership.

Such an opportunity emerged in the years 1877–1880 when the President of the Council of the Twelve, Jason Briggs, was not sustained in office by the narrow margin of one vote. With such flexibility, positive identity as a corporate body was difficult and the RLDS Church moved to clarify some of its fundamental positions regarding the nature of inspiration, revelation and scripture.

Jason Briggs was one of many who questioned the plenary base of scripture. The more traditional and conservative elements in the Church saw the dangers inherent in such a position and sought to avoid unnecessary speculation. One outcome of the struggle for internal boundaries in the area of doctrine was that Briggs left the Church. Another result was the temporary clarification of the issues and easing of the tensions by the adoption of General Conference Resolution 222, which was adopted on September 29, 1879. While this document acknowledged the futility of making belief in all of the scriptures the test of fellowship, it observed also that those functioning as ministers of the gospel bore a fundamental responsibility to avoid disturbing the faith of people by preaching and teaching in direct opposition to basic principles of salvation contained in the scriptures.

It is unrealistic to represent the RLDS Church as having achieved a high degree of identity by 1882 in terms of authority, internal structure and religious belief, since the Church is still dynamic in all these areas today. But by 1882 important strides had been made toward stabilizing and institutionalizing procedures and principles. For an organization which germinated in 1852 in a real leadership vacuum, it was imperative that such institutionalization take place in order for the organization to continue.

A NEW BOUNDARY FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD ON EARTH

If ever a people had a heritage which identified them with the tangible expression of Christian relationships in daily life, it is the people of the Res-

¹⁹Conference Minutes, "Book A" (April 8, 1854), 15.

toration. Under the leadership of Joseph Smith a small group had hoped to build a city on a hill, a light to the world, and an ensign to the nations of the earth. But they found that however divine their commandments, these commandments were implemented by human beings acting in keeping with the best light they possessed. The RLDS Church, therefore, worked toward a more realistic conception of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

The rather extensive degree to which the RLDS Church developed the idea that the Nauvoo experiment was rejected by God impresses one with the notion that RLDS leaders saw and remembered so much about Nauvoo that failed to stimulate their Christian impulses that they were somewhat fearful of the idea of the gathering of a large body of Saints together again. The Church had tried to build the Kingdom of God in social experiments at Kirtland, Independence, Far West, and Nauvoo. Each time of building was followed rather quickly by a time of fleeing, until after a generation those not involved in further migrations to distant points faced the practical alternatives available to them where they had remained.

Leaders of the new organization in 1852 saw the necessity of using great restraint and wisdom in pursuing the lofty goals of the gathering. Note the instructions given to the scattered Saints in 1852: "Resolved that in the opinion of this conference there is no stake to which the Saints on this continent are commanded to gather at the present time. That the Saints in all the lands are commanded to gather to this land preparatory to the re-establishment of the church in Zion... And, it is the duty of the Saints, to turn their hearts and their faces towards Zion, and supplicate the Lord God for such deliverance."²⁰

This instruction displayed at once the uncertainty and the longing of the leaders of the new organization for the full and immediate gathering to Zion in Missouri. Now the stage was set for the Reorganization's early attempts to work out the timing and degree and the direction for such a gathering.

Nearly every issue of the *Saints' Herald* (an RLDS periodical) between 1860 and 1882 contained an article or editorial or letter touching this central theme of the gathering to the Kingdom of God on Earth. Some wanted no part in further gathering efforts. Others were aware of the grave dangers of gathering without adjusting the concept of the Kingdom of God to the feelings and requirements of the citizens who lived in the regions where the Kingdom of God was to be built.

On the other hand staunch believers in the promises of God in modern revelation reasoned that if in 1833 God had told the Church to buy land in Jackson County, then that commandment was still valid in 1870 (all real or supposed historical conditioning factors completely aside) (RLDS D & C98:9f, g; LDS D & C 101:70-71). They also noted the divine promise that the truly faithful settlers evicted from Jackson County in 1833 would return with their children to their inheritances (RLDS D & C, 98:4g; LDS D & C, 101:18).

^{*}Conference Minutes, "Book A" (June 13, 1852). 3.

By 1870 time was running out and the Saints who took the promise literally were intent on doing everything possible to secure its early fulfillment.

These divergent views had their expression in the shifting locations of Church members from 1870 to 1890, as demonstrated by the following chart. The figures tend to reveal a trend toward colonization at points closer to Missouri — especially at Lamoni, Iowa, which was 125 miles north of Independence, Missouri.

MEMBERSHIP TRENDS IN THE RLDS CHURCH, 1870–1890, SHOW-ING INCREASE AND RATE OF INCREASE FOR ILLINOIS, IOWA AND MISSOURI, IN RELATION TO TOTAL MEMBERSHIP.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	Illinois	Iowa	Missouri	Three-State	Total Church
				Total	Membership
1870	1,036 (15.0)*	1,870 (27.1)	600 (8.7)	3,506 (50.8)	6,900
1875	1,437 (14.5)	2,190 (22.1)	900 (9.1)	4,527 (45.7)	9,900
	(38.7)**	(17.1)	(50.0)	(29.1)	(43.5)
1880	1,708 (14.0)	3,101 (25.5)	1,662 (13.7)	6,471 (53.2)	12,171
	(18.8)	(41.6)	(84.7)	(42.9)	(22.9)
1890	1,909 (8.0)	5,283 (22.0)	3,080 (12.9)	10,272 (42.9)	23,951
	(11.8)	(70.4)	(85.3)	(58.7)	(96.8)

•To the right of each membership total in columns 1-4 is a figure showing the percentage of the total membership represented by that total in each block.

**Underneath each membership total for the years 1875, 1880 and 1890 is a percentage figure showing the rate of increase of that total over the total in the block immediately above. (Source: Summary of branch reports to the General Conferences of 1870, 1875, 1880 and 1890 and recorded in the respective Conference Minutes. Figures do not represent a complete census but rather the totals of all branches reporting to the General Church Recorder. The number of branches not reporting is indeterminable on the basis of present sources. Many of the original Church membership records were destroyed by fire in 1907.)

As illustrated by the chart, the rate of membership growth and also the proportion of membership to the total Church population dropped sharply in Illinois between 1875 and 1890. In both Iowa and Missouri the rate of membership growth increased rather steadily, although it failed to keep pace at some points with the rate of membership growth of the Church generally. The Illinois membership of the RLDS Church increased 84.3 percent in the period from 1870 to 1890, or at an average annual rate of 4.2 percent. The combined Iowa-Missouri membership grew at an annual rate of 9.1 percent for the same period. The membership increase for the Church at large was 17,051, an average annual rate of 12.4 percent.

The creation of the "First United Order of Enoch" at the General Conference of September, 1870, was tangible evidence of great interest in the colonization principle. This agency purchased and began to improve over 3,000 acres of land at Lamoni, Iowa, and had accumulated \$44,000 of additional capital assets by November, 1872 (Saints' Herald, XIX [Nov., 1872], 659-660).

It thus becomes apparent that while influential elements in the RLDS Church sought to colonize closer to Missouri from 1870 to 1890, the Church

at large grew at a significantly higher rate during the two decades. This growth took place in the many scattered branches and missions, from Utah Territory to New England and from Canada to Florida. While many gathered to Lamoni, Iowa, and Independence, Missouri, many more accepted the gospel and chose to live by its demands where they were.

In this way the hope of the Kingdom of God on Earth was not forsaken, but seen in a new light. Gradually the idea of Zion as the "pure in heart" came to have increasing validity. By 1882 the RLDS Church was beginning to see that it could identify its divine mission of the Kingdom of God on earth with the life of its people in their Christian stewardship no matter where they lived. At the same time the dream of the gathering was kept alive by the persistent faith of devoted people possessed by the Christian communitarian ideal of the early Restoration. As Lamoni, Iowa, grew in numbers and in economic base, many of the key RLDS leaders migrated from Illinois to that new community.

When Joseph Smith III and his family left Plano, Illinois, on October 7, 1881, to join the growing body of Saints at Lamoni, the "Illinois era" of the RLDS Church came to an end.

One way to observe the degree of adjustment from the early colonization philosophy would be to look at the current thrust of Zionic thought in the RLDS Church. Note the following: "Zion is seen as the corporate life of the faithful in communities wherever they may be. As part of the illuminating ministry of Joseph Smith, a center place was established in which there should be the beginnings of a society. . . The place of beginning is not destined to be the exclusive witness of God's glory in the Kingdom of God. Zion is the underlying imperative wherever men are found and the call of Christ is experienced."²¹

RLDS leaders have perceived that the essential nature of the Kingdom of God on Earth (Zion) is one and the same with the life of God in Christ among men. The thrust of Zionic endeavor today benefits from mistakes of our ancestors who equipped their Kingdom with an army of brightly uniformed officers and enlisted men bearing arms. The RLDS Church sees the utter waste of human potential in a venture which fails to have at its very core and in all its primary relationships the incarnational ministry of the Holy Spirit, reaching in every direction to bless human life with the redemptive fruit of that spirit.

It would be interesting to trace the shift in community emphasis from one where each member cares for the other to one where all in the community care for the world so that the identity of that community is in terms of its relationship to the world. The import of such a change in identity lies in a document addressed to the RLDS Church by Joseph Smith III in 1909, when he was seventy-six years old. He claimed divine inspiration on the matters treated therein, and he asked the delegates at the conference to

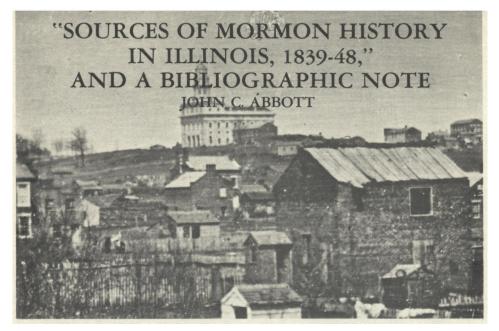
²¹The First Presidency, RLDS Church, "1967 Annual Report," Saints' Herald, CXV (March, 1968), 17.

judge it in that light. In part, this is what they read about the Kingdom of God:

It is well to understand that the term regions round about must mean more than a small area of country round about the central spot, and that the necessity of the great majority of the church in gathering together can only be provided by settling carefully together as many in one region as may be practicable and profitable and in accordance with the feelings of the people under the laws existing in the places where such settlements are to be made. The great variety of callings, avocations, and professions will present difficulties precluding the practicability of all settling and living in near proximity to each other. [Therefore those responsible] should provide for other organizations or associations than those simply pastoral or agricultural... [thus the Saints] cannot withdraw themselves so completely from a qualified dependence upon their Gentile neighbors surroundin them as to be entirely free from intercommunciation with them.... (RLDS D & C 128: 5-6, 8.)

By 1909, urbanization was becoming a part of our national life. The industrial revolution was having its full impact upon Western civilization. Mobility of population, together with the supremacy of civil law in society were widely acknowledged aspects of most communities in the United States. Perceiving these things clearly, Joseph Smith III delivered instructions to the Church which turned its Zionic concepts "inside-out." The idea of a single, pastoral-agricultural, isolated community of Saints living in close proximity to one another on a specified plat of land was altered to the idea of multiple gathering centers, diversified in organization and having a much closer relation to society at large. In the new concept, people would live the imperatives of the gospel but would be primarily sensitive to the feelings and needs and laws of the larger society.

After 1882 the RLDS Church continued its search for institutional identity. It still sought to clarify its distinctive position with regard to the Mormon Boundary, as in the well-known "Temple Lot Suit" of 1894. It still needed to establish workable and acceptable lines of authority, internal structure and religious belief. And finally, the RLDS Church came back to "Zion," to make its headquarters there, and to address itself to the complex issue of the implementation of Zionic ideals and relationships in the twentieth century.



"Sources of Mormon History in Illinois, 1839–48" at Southern Illinois University, is a collection of documents (most of which are on microfilm), which was assembled by Stanley B. Kimball, who also published an annotated catalog to the collection. The collection got its start in 1961 when the Office of Research and Projects at S.I.U., which grants money for faculty research, found itself near the end of a fiscal year with a considerable amount of unspent money. This was a crisis indeed, but Professor Kimball was equal to the challenge it presented. He applied for the available funds, and when he received them, he used them to finance a research project which took two summers to complete. The result is a collection of more than eighty-four thousand documents. Most of these documents relate to the period of Mormon residence in Nauvoo (1837–1846). A lesser number are related to the period immediately following the departure of the Mormons to the West.

The intrinsic value of the collection is, I trust, fairly evident. Where there are no documents, no history can be written. Where there are extant documents which are scattered in dozens of instituions – few of which have a complete knowledge of their holdings – the situation is scarcely improved. Only historians who have the taste, time and money for travel and endless correspondence can undertake research under such conditions. Professor Robert B. Flanders, who essentially finished his work before the S.I.U. collection was completed, was such a historian, but it goes without saying that the document collection at S.I.U. will greatly implement the study of Mormon history. Furthermore, a collection such as this can create a field of study which hardly existed before. Leonard Arrington has said that one of the great deficiencies of Mormon historiography is the lack of studies concerned with the period after 1877. Much the same might have been said of the Nauvoo period. Now the Nauvoo era, which was pivotal to the Mormon experience, cannot be ignored.

Of what does the "Sources of Mormon History" collection consist? The most important elements are manuscript sources: letters, diaries, autobiographies and other unpublished materials gleaned from several individuals and from about forty institutions. The most notable known omissions, which result from policies which forbid copying primary sources for such purposes, are holdings in the archives of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, and the Reorganized Church in Independence, Missouri. One result of these omissions is a somewhat larger proportion of apostate records than the collection would otherwise have had.

Copy restrictions, such as the two churches maintain, are neither unusual nor to be criticized. Copies of documents circulating without restrictions can present many problems. Moreover, most of the institutions from which we obtained our copies have stipulated that we must not reproduce these documents for others; those who wish copies are referred to the institution which holds the original. That is not to say that the archives of the Mormon Church in Utah are as accessible as they could and should be. However, since Mormon scholars themselves are the most critical of this inaccessibility, it is reasonable to hope that a substantial change will occur in due time.

Another major component of the collection is the group of newspapers and periodicals. The collection includes rather complete runs of twenty-six of these, including fairly complete runs of the seven newspapers and periodicals published by the Mormons during the Nauvoo period. The newspapers are largely non-Mormon; the periodicals are, without exception, Mormon or specifically anti-Mormon. There are no articles from other periodicals of the times. This represents a major remaining desideratum. However, there are copies of articles pertaining to Mormons from several hundred newspapers. Here the collection has borrowed wholesale from the prodigious labors of others, especially Cecil and Helen Snider, Dale Morgan, and the staff of the Brigham Young University Library. Among the excerpted articles which have been indexed by Morgan there are some printed as early as 1826 and as late as 1856. The S.I.U. collection also includes copies of extensive indexes from Brigham Young University and the Illinois State Historical Library. One large section gives the date, page, and subject of articles from six St. Louis newspapers. This is a considerable reference source in its own right.

Among the published materials in the S.I.U. collection there are a large number of documents printed by state and local governments. While these were acquired incidentally, in the search for manuscripts, they do represent an important bonus for scholars. Many of these government documents are exceedingly difficult to find, even when one is aware of their existence.

In one section of Professor Kimball's catalog, which accompanies the collection, he lists and comments on relevant dissertations and theses. Professor Kimball also includes a useful name index and a short, but intriguing section entitled, "Materials on Order, Unavailable, or Omitted."

For a variety of reasons, all good and sufficient in my opinion, it was decided to bring out the first edition of Professor Kimball's annotated catalog in 1964, even though all concerned realized that there were many more editorial imperfections than we would have wished. The impetus for the second edition came from our Central Publications Office, which had sold nearly all of the first printing and which, in any event, needed a large new printing. While some errors were removed, the second edition was chiefly an occasion to add more material.

In one respect the annotated catalog does its compiler less than justice. This is the area which I can only describe as negative documentation. Kimball searched in ten states, corresponded widely, and circularized more than eleven hundred potential respositories. He would have done well to have stated his negative findings more explicitly.

MORMON BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930, which is currently at press, will supersede many bibliographies which might otherwise be cited. Begun as a Federal Writers Project in the 1930's by Dale L. Morgan, this immense work will contain over ten thousand items. It will include books, pamphlets, periodicals, and government documents of interest to scholars. It will not, however, include periodical and newspaper articles, manuscripts, and maps. Many Utah imprints have also been omitted.

A companion volume to Mormon Bibliography, 1830-1930 will eventually bring the record to 1960. The 1960 cut-off is the beginning date for the semi-monthly, Mormon Americana, edited by Chad Flake of the Brigham Young University Library, a joint project of the six principal Utah libraries concerned with Mormon and Utah History. Mormon Americana includes books, periodical articles and, sometimes, book reviews. While not pretending to be scholarly or exhaustive, it actully provides a fuller record than most researchers will require. For most purposes the "Mormon Bibliography" section published yearly since 1960 by Brigham Young University Studies will be sufficient. Based on Mormon Americana, this bibliography is currently compiled by Chad Flake. Also based in part on Mormon Americana is the section, "Among the Mormons; a Survey of Current Literature," edited quarerly for Dialogue by Ralph Hansen. In addition to valuable discussions of new works and commentary upon the state of scholarly writing on Mormonism, each Summer issue of Dialogue attempts to list all theses and dissertations pertaining to Mormonism. These supplement Leonard J. Arrington's "Chronological List of Ph.D. Dissertations on Mormon History and Culture" appended to his "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," Dialogue, I (Spring 1966), 15-32.

Researchers will still want to consult the three fine bibliographies of the "lesser" Mormon churches compiled by Dale L. Morgan. Morgan lists items which are no longer extant, and includes extensive scholarly annotations. The first two of these, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ, Organized at Green Oak, Pennsylvania, July, 1862," and "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints [Strangite]," appeared in the Western Humanities Review, IV (Winter 1949-50), 44-70; and V (Winter 1950-51), 42-114. As for the third, "A Bibliography of the Churches of the Dispersion," only the "Introduction" appears in the Western Humanities Review, VIII (Summer 1953), 255-266. However, this bibliography and the other two have each been printed separately. In reference to these bibliographies Dale L. Morgan recently wrote to me:

As a matter of fact I still have not completed the series. Imperatively there must be one on the Church of Christ (Temple Lot) and its offshoots; and I have contemplated one dealing with various schisms of the Utah church, including the Morrisites, the Fundamentalists, etc. The Reorganized Church is such a tall order as really to require a bibliography all to itself, but I did wonder whether it might be feasible to deal at least with its earlier years. But I have been heavily engaged with other matters, the past 15 years, and nothing has yet been done. Now a new Mormon bibliographical series is being launched at the University of Utah, and it has been proposed that I complete this series as a volume in that larger series. Perhaps I will do so hereafter.

The Brigham Young University Library is attempting to publish indexes to all Mormon periodicals. Those available to date on the Nauvoo period are *Index to the Millenial Star*, Vol. 1-15 [1840-1853] (1960) and *Index to Times and Seasons*, Volumes 1-6 [1839-1849] (1965). A useful review of indexing and bibliographic activity is contained in S. Lyman Tyler's "The Availability of Information Concerning the Mormons," *Dialogue*, III (Autumn 1966), 172-175.

D. L. Ashliman's "Mormonism and the Germans: An Annotated Bibligraphy, 1848–1966," *Brigham Young University Studies*, VIII (Autumn 1967), 73–94, is valuable not only for its post-1930 titles but for its inclusion of periodical and newspaper articles. It does not, however, pretend to be exhaustive.

The student will want also to peruse Western Humanities Review (1947-), Brigham Young University Studies (1959-), and, particularly, Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought (1966-) and the Newsletter of the Mormon History Association (1965-).

In 1959 Marvin S. Hill declared, "The historiography of Mormonism has been plagued by too much emotion, too much description and too little interpretation" (Church History, XXVII [Dec. 1959], 418-426). In the decade since Hill's statement, Mormon historical writing has received a good deal of attention. Leonard J. Arrington has been the leading figure in the reassessment of the literature. Of especial value for the Nauvoo period are his "Scholarly Studies of Mormonism in the Twentieth Century," Dialogue, I (Spring 1966), 15-32, and "The Search for Truth and Meaning in Mormon History," Dialogue, III (Summer 1968), 56-66. Other important discussions include Davis Bitton, "B. H. Roberts as Historian," Dialogue, III (Winter 1968), 25-44; Robert B. Flanders, "Writing on the Mormon Past," Dialogue, I (Autumn 1966), 47-61; Klaus J. Hansen, "The Metamorphosis of the Kingdom of God: Toward a Reinterpretation of Mormon History," Dialogue, I (Autumn 1966), 63-83; and Philip A. M. Taylor, "Recent Writing on Utah and the Mormons," in Arizona and the West, IV (Autumn 1962), 249-260. The latter appeared originally in the British Association for American Studies Bulletin (Nov. 1959).

HAGIOGRAPHY

Leonard Tourney

Her songs — those that I remember — Were of the flight and winter crossing, The wagons and sick children,

Of death, burial, and leaving One husband, till the Universal Easter, Lodged in the prairie's numb crust;

And of herself sick and bearing The burden of premature age, Waiting expectantly in the womb

Of the great laboring wagon Through whose ripped canvas She occasionally saw the articulate stars.

OPENING DAY

Douglas Thayer

Doc and my father got up at 4 o'clock to light the fire, heat water on the Coleman stoves for washing and get the breakfast started, then woke the rest of us. Standing outside of our white tent in the cool darkness, I buckled on my heavy cartridge belt and breathed in deep the smell of wood smoke and sagebrush. I looked down Blind Canyon and then turned to look up at the black silhouette of the ridge under the stars. I knew the bucks would already be out feeding in the draws. The ridge ran east and west, and we hunted the draws on the south and north slopes. I still felt the old excitement of the opening day of the deer hunt, an empty tight feeling as if my whole body were being squeezed. I still wanted to see the big mule-deer bucks jump out of the oak brush ahead of the line, shoot them as they ran. But then I hadn't expected to have absolute control over my emotions just because while I was on my mission in Germany I had decided to stop hunting. When I got married and had sons, I didn't want them to hunt, but I knew that it wouldn't be easy for me to stop killing birds and animals.

Bliss, Dean and Ken stood by the fire, and Jerry washed in the pan of warm water on the end of the table. The light from the fire and the two Coleman lanterns glared off from their red hats, sweat shirts and jackets. When they moved, the handles of their hunting knives, aluminum lids of their old G.I. belt canteens and the shells in their full cartridge belts glinted.

When the rest of us had washed, Doc asked me to give the morning prayer and blessing on the food, said that we had to keep the returned missionaries busy. After we ate we got our rifles out of the cases in the tent, saddled Bliss's three horses and put the lunches and the two walkie-talkies in the saddlebags. We turned off the lanterns, shoveled dirt on the fire, and we were ready, each of us carrying his rifle slung. My father, Doc and Bliss, who were older and worked on the Union Pacific Railroad together, rode the horses, the rest of us following in single file across the sagebrush flat to the start of the trail at the base of the ridge. Every hundred yards we had to stop to rest, our breath white in the flashlight beams as we sat breathing hard.

I had been home from Germany four days, and while I was gone I had decided to quit hunting. Two years of knowing that I would probably be drafted and sent to Vietnam, hearing the older Germans talk about World War II, and every day preaching the gospel of Christ changed me. I felt guilty because of all the rabbits, pheasants, ducks, geese and deer I had killed, which were beautiful and had a right to live. All things had been created spiritually before they were physically. Our family ate the meat, but we didn't need it. We weren't pioneers or Indians, and we were commanded to eat meat only in time of famine anyway, and then with thanksgiving. The deer herds had to be controlled, but I knew that I hunted because I liked to kill, not because I was a conservationist. A mule-deer buck was a beautiful animal, sleek and grey, powerful, had a being all its own. To kill was to deny the influence of the Holy Ghost, which I wanted to continue to develop.

I had started three letters to my father to tell him how I had changed, but I couldn't make them sound right, and I knew that I would have to wait until I got home to tell him. I had three older married sisters but no brothers, and my father and I had been very close. Even before I was old enough to buy a license for anything or even shoot, he took me hunting. He helped me make my bows and arrows, bought me a BB-gun, my Browning .22 and my Winchester .270. For my birthdays and Christmases he always gave me something for hunting, although I had bought my own knife when I was eight. We built a walnut gun cabinet, a duck boat, and we cleaned and repaired the camping equipment together every year. Every month we read and talked about the stories in *Outdoor Life* and *Field and Stream*, which I saved.

We had even planned my mission so that I would have the deer hunt to look forward to when I got home. When I met my family at the Salt Lake airport, all my father could talk about driving home to Provo was the opening day Saturday and how wonderful it was having me home again to be with him in the deer camp. Upstairs in my room I found my .270, knife, full cartridge belt and red hunting clothes laid out on my bed. My father had bought me a new red hat, cleaned and oiled my .270, and loaded three boxes of shells for me to target practice with. When I went back downstairs he took me out to see the new sets of antlers he had nailed to the back of the garage the two seasons I was away.

I knew then that I would have to hunt the opening day. I couldn't disappoint my father. We could have Friday night in camp together, and all day Saturday I would drive the draws, help clean the bucks if I had to, pack them on the horses, but I wouldn't kill a buck myself. I would shoot just to stop questions if a buck jumped up and a member of the camp was standing where he could see me, but I would miss. We always came home Saturday night to go to church on Sunday, and I would tell my father Sunday about my decision. I wouldn't hunt during the week or next Saturday, which was the last Saturday. My mother always said that my father should have been born an Indian two hundred years ago so that he could have hunted elk, wolves, buffalo and grizzly bear, hunted every day.

Climbing up the trail I was the last in line. Ahead of me the flashlights lit up the high oak brush on both sides and the horses' hooves clicked against the rocks. Doc, Bliss and my father stayed on the horses when we stopped to rest. Because we knew the ridge, organized our drives, and hunted hard, we always got bucks. A camp needed horses to haul the bucks off the high ridge, so we had little competition. Sitting on the edge of the trail, the sweat cooling on my back, I picked up little white pebbles, flipped them away, thought about Germany.

Although I had sold more Books of Mormon than any other elder in the mission and been assistant to President Wunderlich my last five months, I had baptized only seven converts in two years. The younger Germans weren't interested in the gospel, and when the older Germans invited me and my companion in, they often talked about the war. They showed us pictures of their sons that we had killed, and they wanted to know why the American army hadn't joined the German army to fight the Russians. They showed us pictures of whole families of relatives burned alive or buried in the rubble during the great Allied bombing raids on Nuremberg, Hamburg and Dresden. They called Hitler a madman and asked why the English and French governments didn't stop him before 1939. They wanted to know how there could be a God if He let such terrible things happen, and I told them that it wasn't God that caused wars but men. If all mankind would just live the gospel of Christ there wouldn't be anymore wars. I wanted to get a doctorate in sociology so that I could teach at B.Y.U. and help people to live together in peace and harmony.

On the streets in the German towns, older men who had been invalided in the war wore yellow armbands with black circles, a lot of them amputees, but there were no beggars. My first fall in Germany a German brother took me and my companion on a Saturday out to visit a small German military cemetery near Offenbach. One of the caretakers raking leaves under the oak trees said that most of the soldiers had been killed fighting Americans. I picked up a handful of the leaves. In Utah in the fall I had followed wounded bucks by their blood trails on the leaves under the oak brush. In the places where they lay down, the blood soaked slowly into the pressed leaves.

The trail led onto a little flat, and above us the ridge was still black under the stars. In every direction were ridges, canyons, mountains, but they were still black and indistinct. Points of light flashed where hunters climbed other ridges, and in the bottom of Blind Canyon fires still burned. As a boy at night I dreamed about the ridge. Although a lot of big bucks hid in the short steep pine-filled draws on the north slope, I liked the south draws best because I could see the bucks running up through the oak brush, shoot for three and four hundred yards if I were on a good ledge. In my dreams I shot and shot, killed the running bucks, their antlers flashing in the sun like

swords, rolled them back down the steep side of the draw. And I dreamed too that we jumped five and six bucks in one bunch, and it was like a battle with all of us shooting, but because we gang-hunted I wanted to fill all of the permits myself. I wanted to feel all of the thrill, cut the throats, the blood spreading out through the leaves, holler up to the others how big the bucks were, how many points on the antlers. If we shot too many bucks, on the way down Blind Canyon going home we always gave the smaller ones to other camps, didn't waste any. One opening day I shot three bucks, but they were all singles.

When we stopped on the trail again to rest, Jerry leaned forward to pour some dextrose tablets into my palm. "Quick energy, Troy," he said. "It takes a while for you returned missionaries to get back into shape." Chewing two, I sat and held my .270 between my legs, the barrel cold against the side of my neck, rubbed the stock with the flat of my hand. Up the trail one of the horses stomped.

A Winchester Model 70 mounted with a 3-9x variable scope, the .270 was a present from my father on my sixteenth birthday. The evening I got it, in the sitting position on my bed, left arm tight in the sling, I aimed at the pictures of bears, lions and deer on my walls, and later out the windows at cars and people passing below on our street, centered the cross hairs. Then I broke the .270 down, oiled each metal part, reassembled it, broke it down again. And I kept filling the magazine with shells, worked the bolt over and over to flip them out on my bed. That night after I showered I got the .270 out of the case again to hold it against my body. I had a .22 pistol, .22 rifle, .22-250 varminter, two shotguns, but my .270 had always been my favorite gun. I had waited for it, knew that my father would give me a deer rifle too when I was sixteen, which was the first year I could buy a buck permit. I liked to take my .270 out of our gun cabinet just to hold it and work the action, wipe it clean with an oiled cloth.

I thought of my guns when I saw the filled-in shrapnel and bullet holes in the old stone German buildings that hadn't been destroyed. If the older German sisters talked long enough about the war, they always cried, and I never asked them about the concentration camps, the SS, or the Gestapo. On a street in Darmstadt after I was transferred from Offenbach, I saw a legless, armless blind man sitting on a padded box singing while another man played a guitar, but there was no cup or dish in front of them and they weren't begging. Some of the older Germans said that they were sorry for the young Americans in Vietnam and asked if my companion and I would have to go too. I knew that if I couldn't get a student deferment and go back to B.Y.U. to start my sophomore year, I would be drafted. It was impossible to get into the Utah National Guard. I would kill other men, shoot them in the jungle or running across the rice paddies, their blood turning the brown water near their bodies red. And I knew also by then that the excitement of killing a buck must be a little like that of killing a man.

When we got to the top of the ridge we sat and watched the band of white light grow over the east mountains, our red hats, sweat shirts and jackets almost black in the half-light. Excited, my heart pounding hard even though I was rested, I pulled the cold shells from my belt to load the .270, heard around me shells clicking into magazines. "Good luck, son," my father said when we stood up, shook my hand. "I hope you nail a big one first thing." The others came over to shake my hand and tell me how good it was to have me back on the ridge again. Separating, we spread out along the top of the ridge to take the points we had drawn Friday night.

Ten minutes later, cradling the .270, I stood on my ledge in the halflight looking down into the pine-filled basin at the head of Sheep Draw on the north side of the ridge. Trembling a little, my mouth dry, I watched the clearings for movement. The light grew and the first shots came booming along the ridge. Then below me two does and a little two-point buck stepped out of the pines into a patch of brush. My body tight, blood pounding in my throat, I slowly raised the .270 and centered the cross hairs over the little buck's heart. I fought the desire to ease down into the sitting position, tighten into the sling, squeeze the trigger slowly. I wanted to hear the explosion, feel the .270 kick, see the little two-point hump and drop, feel that satisfaction again. The first season I carried the .270, I had killed a two-point at first light, had been unable to wait for the bigger buck I wanted. Fighting that feeling, I closed my eyes, opened them. Suddenly the three deer tensed, then crossed the clearing and slipped back into the pines as quiet and smooth as gliding birds. Glad I hadn't shot, I lowered the .270.

At 9 o'clock the camp met to drive Porcupine, the first draw on the west end of the south slope, where we always started. Jerry had passed up a small two-point and Dean missed three shots at a big buck some hunters had pushed up from below. While Doc and Jerry tested the walkie talkies again, I scoped the draw and the basin. Broken only by ledges and scattered pines, the leafless oak brush and scrub maple were like a smooth low-lying haze. But a dozen bucks could be hiding, waiting. You never knew. Each draw was a surprise. Everything would be quiet, not even a bird moving, then two or three bucks would be running in front of the line, running grey and beautiful, heads up, antlers gleaming in the sun, going for the top and the thick pines on the north slope, and then the shooting would start. It was as if you had waited all year for just that one moment because it was the best time out of the whole year.

I stopped the scope on a patch of scrub maple where I had killed a three-point the season before I left to go on my mission. To the left was the clearing where Jerry had killed the biggest buck ever killed on the ridge, a big eight-point with a forty-inch spread. He had the mounted head in his real-estate office. I knew where all of the big bucks had been killed. We cut the legs off the bucks at the knee to load them on the horses, and sometimes I found legs from two and three seasons back. There was always a black stain on the ground where the entrails had lain the year before. In twenty-five years the camp had killed over a hundred and fifty bucks on the ridge.

"Okay," Doc said, "let's get the big ones. There's one down in there for you, Troy, a nice big four-point." The clear sky was dark blue, and now the warming sun brought out the dusty smell of brush and dead leaves. Lines of blue ridges and mountains extended to the horizon on every side.

Doc and my father stayed on the rim, and Jerry led the rest of us down into the draw to organize the drive, Bliss riding his horse. We formed the line, each of us a hundred yards apart across the bottom and up both sides, and started slowly back toward the top. Expecting to see a big buck jump up any minute, excited but controlling myself, I walked tense, stopped, checked the openings ahead on both sides, listened for deer running through the brush. Across the draw, Dean and Ken vanished, reappeared, stopped to throw rocks ahead of them, their red hunting clothes bright against the grey leafless brush. Jerry and Bliss were above me where I couldn't see them. I stopped to toe the fresh droppings with my boot, knelt on one knee to look at the fresh tracks in the deer trail I was on. Mouth dry, hands sweaty on the .270, I froze when Ken first jumped seven does and fawns, which I scoped until they vanished over the top, their white rear-ends flashing. Shooting echoed from ridge to ridge, some of it coming in sharp bursts like machinegun fire, and far down the draw four hunters stood together on a knoll. As a boy the shooting from the other ridges had always made me jealous.

I had just walked out onto a ledge at the bottom end of the basin topping the draw when Dean yelled, "Buck! Buck! Buck! He's in the bottom!" Dean shot twice, shot again. Warned, my heart pounding in my throat, I half-raised the .270. Another rifle started. Then I saw the big buck moving through the high scrub maples, head down, going smooth like a cat, not making the big ten-foot bounding jumps. But when I jammed the .270 into my shoulder, got the cross hairs on him, he was already blundering, crashing into the brush. A round patch of blood widened behind the shoulder on the grey side, and his mouth dripped blood. Lung-shot. Hit again, he came crashing, rolling back down toward the bottom. He got up, shook his head. Hit again, he humped and dropped, lay in a clearing. The whooping started then, and Dean, Ken following him, jogged down through the brush, hollered for directions twice. They hollered up that he was a fat four-point, cut his throat, then got out their cameras to take colored slides before they cleaned him. Breathing deep, I tried to stop trembling.

"Aren't you coming down, Troy?" Bliss asked me when he came past leading his horse through the brush.

"No, I'll stay here. They don't need me."

"I shot but I think Dean got him, unless you did."

"No, I didn't."

"Too bad, looks like a nice buck. Jerry's going to stay put and watch for anything pushed up from the bottom by the other camps."

I sat down on the ledge, laid the .270 on my hat and ate a Hershey bar, rinsed my teeth and drank from my canteen. Dean, Ken and Bliss bent over the buck. Watching two hawks circle out over the draw, I picked up a dead branch, broke off pieces and flipped them away.

Before I was sixteen and could shoot a buck, using my own knife I cut the throats of my father's bucks and other bucks I got to first. My father taught me how to clean a buck, cut around the genitals, up through the stomach and ribs, reach up into the chest and grab the severed wind pipe to pull everything out together without getting my hands bloody above the wrists. I always cut the heart away from the blue pile of entrails to hold up and see if it had been hit. Afterward my father poured water on my hands from his canteen and I wiped them clean with handfuls of dry leaves. Yet even with two or three of us shooting, hit several times, a buck still might not go down. A buck with both front legs shot off would still lunge forward, work his antlers through the low limbs, crawl to get away. Following blood trails, I had found pieces of entrails snagged on the oak brush and splinters of bone lying on the leaves.

The limbless blind man made me think about the fantastic pain I caused by just squeezing the trigger of my .270 to send the hundred-and-fifty-grain slug at three thousand feet per second slamming into a buck. I saw him once more before President Wunderlich made me a zone leader and transferred me from Darmstadt to Heidelberg. He rode in a big rucksack on his friend's back, just his head showing, bobbing, as if he saw the passing people and into the store windows. His friend carried the guitar and the padded box. When I ate, dressed, showered, I wondered how he did those things. Lying in bed at night I tried to imagine what it would be like for him to be in bed, and I wanted to know if he were married. I knew then that I couldn't go on hunting and killing when I got home and still expect to feel the full influence of the Holy Ghost in my life, be spiritual, which had to be earned. Breaking off the last few pieces of the dead branch, I flipped them over the ledge. Then I got out my clean handkerchief and wiped off the scope and the .270.

Ken, Dean and Bliss loaded the buck on the horse and we hunted the basin to the top of the ridge, where they hung the buck from the low limb of a big pine. In Middle Draw, the last drive we always made before lunch and the draw where I had killed the two-point when I was sixteen, Doc and my father both shot three-points as they came up out of the basin over the top. I didn't see either buck, but stood cradling the .270, counted the shots, felt empty, then heard Jerry hollering after he talked to Doc on the walkietalkie. When we got to the top we helped drag the bucks over to the trail to hang them up. I broke sticks to prop open the stomachs so the bucks would cool faster. We always hung our bucks in the garage to cure for a week before we had them cut up for the freezer. Skinned, the heads cut off, they hung stiff and white upside down, the blunt front legs sticking out, spots of blood on the cement floor.

"Well, Troy," my father said when we all gathered to eat lunch on the ledge above Doc's draw, "I wish that you had been on the rim instead of me. Those two three-points came sneaking up through the brush ahead of you boys in the line just perfect. It couldn't have been prettier."

"No, I guess not," I said. Ken, Jerry and Dean had black dry deer blood on their red sweat shirts and blue Levis. You couldn't wash the smell of the blood from your hands unless you had hot soap and water, but you could get the blood out from under your fingernails with the point of a sharp hunting knife.

"Oh, we'll get Troy a nice buck today or next Saturday, don't worry about that," Doc said. Doc and Bliss had taken the bridles off the horses and poured some oats for them.

"Sure," Jerry said, unwrapping a piece of cake.

Eating my sandwich, I looked out over the draw toward the lines of blue ridges out past Blind Canyon. Doc had killed three bucks one opening day in the basin as they ran past him at seventy-five yards; after that everybody in camp called it Doc's Draw. Each line of ridges was a different shade of blue. All the shooting had stopped. I was glad that my father had Doc and Bliss to hunt with. They had worked on the Union Pacific together for thirty years. My father had never been on a mission. He had written me long letters about the duck, pheasant, and deer hunts and sent me the best colored slides he had taken. Every month he mailed me his copies of *Outdoor Life* and *Field and Stream*. When I was a boy and my mother made me turn off my bedroom light, I used a flashlight to reread my favorite hunting stories by.

After we ate lunch, the others got their red jackets from the saddlebags to use for pillows, pulled their red hats down over their eyes and lay back on the ledge to doze in the warm sun. Below me nothing moved in the draw. I picked up white chips of rock and flipped them over the ledge. Although I wouldn't hunt I planned to do a lot of back-packing, learn the names of all the Rocky Mountain flora and fauna and at night study the stars. When I got married and had sons, I wanted them to see the real beauty, design and completeness of Nature, which God had created. I wanted to be as close to my sons as my father had been to me, but without guns and killing. I wouldn't let them carry .22's or varmint rifles to kill the hawks, rabbits, rock chucks and squirrels they saw, as my father had let me. I wanted them to understand the pioneers and Indians, but they didn't have to hunt to do that. We could start an arrowhead collection and visit all of the historical spots in the state.

A chipmunk came up over the face of the ledge, found a piece of bread. With the shooting stopped, it was very quiet. I flipped a chip of rock. I had read an article by one of the apostles who had visited the Mormon servicemen in Vietnam. He said that in one meeting the men came to the tent carrying their rifles. In the prayers they prayed for the Mormon boys killed the week before, prayed for the spirit of Christ for themselves. After the testimony meeting some of the soldiers told the apostle that they had met him as missionaries in Europe nine months before when he was touring the missions. In the German magazines I saw pictures of American wounded being carried to helicopters on stretchers, medics running alongside with lifted plasma bottles. Wrapped in their ponchos the American dead lay in rows like packages, but the Viet Cong dead were never covered. I flipped another piece of rock and the chipmunk vanished back over the face of the ledge.

Before we dropped down into Doc's Draw, three hunters on horses from another camp came along the ridge trail. They wanted to know where we got the three nice bucks we had hanging up. "They don't organize and they don't know the country, so all they get are spikes and two-points," Doc said after they left. "They might as well stay in camp as come up on this ridge and ride around."

We jumped one bunch of six does and fawns at the lower end of Doc's Draw, and in the basin Ken, who was across from me, shot a big four-point. Hollering, he directed me to him in the thick brush. One antler dug through the dead leaves into the black dirt, the big buck lay on his side, the four points on each side of the antlers white-tipped, the blood bright red on the leaves. Standing there, I wondered if I had scared the buck out to Ken. I didn't pull his head downhill to cut his throat. He was still perfect, the eyes not yet glazed. He still seemed alive, still had that beautiful grey live symmetry as if he might suddenly jump and run. Bending, I ran my hand over the hard antlers, along the neck and onto the heavy shoulders. When Ken and Dean broke through the brush, I told them that I would go and show Bliss the best way to bring the horse down.

"Okay," Ken said. He leaned his rifle against a rock and got out his camera.

"Looks like you really busted a nice one, Ken," Dean said. "Good work." "Finally."

Climbing up through the brush, I heard them talking. I had actually prayed for a big four-point like Ken's the first morning I had carried the new .270. My father beside me on the ledge overlooking the basin at the top of middle draw, I gripped the Winchester, whispered the prayer to myself, and I would have knelt down too if I had thought that it would do any good. But when in the first light I saw the little two-point standing in the patch of sagebrush with a doe, I moved into the sitting position, tightened into the sling, and killed him with a perfect heart shot, started then to run. When my father got down to me and the little buck, he put his rifle down and hugged me. I cleaned the buck, holding up his shattered heart in my hand to look for pieces of the slug. I had killed a lot of pheasants, ducks, geese and rabbits before I was sixteen, but I had never felt like that. My father nailed the two-point's antlers over the garage door next to the biggest spread of antlers he had ever taken.

At 2 o'clock we crossed from the south slope of the ridge to the north to hunt the smaller steeper draws full of thick pines. It was cooler there than on the south slope. We jumped bucks, but they were hard to hit running through the pines, and they all got away over the top past Doc and my father. Because the bucks liked to hide in the pines, there was a lot of sign on the deer trails. I saw a beautiful little spike, but didn't even raise the .270 to put the scope on him, just watched him until he moved. It made me happy just to watch him. Other years I had found blood trails in the pines from the deer wounded lower on the ridge that sneaked up in the thick cover to die. The second year the scattered bones were white, with hair left only on the legs and skull.

In the next basin, ahead of the others, I sat down against a pine. I cut a Baby Ruth bar in sections with my knife, drank from my canteen, rinsed

my teeth, the air cool against my face and throat. Taking off my heavy cartridge belt, I laid it across my knees, began to line the shells up in the loops so that they were all exactly even. I pulled one out and fingered it. The hundred-and-fifty-grain slug with the lead tip and core was built to explode on contact with bone or heavy muscle. In junior high school every fall I took some of my father's shells with me to class so that I could put my hand in my pocket and feel them. I took my hunting knife one day, but my home-room teacher picked it up and kept it in her desk until school was out in the afternoon. After my father gave me the .270 for my birthday, I loaded my empty brass on his reloading outfit. At night I poured three or four boxes of shells onto my bed just to run my fingers through them. Alone, I dressed in my red hat and shirt, wore my knife and full cartridge belt, cradled the .270 in my lift arm to look at myself in the mirror.

Below me in the pines a small bird lit on a dead branch. Everything was in shadow. The German forests seemed always to be in shadow, as if the season were always winter but without snow. The .270 shell I had taken out of the belt was heavy in my palm. One Saturday afternoon a week before President Wunderlich called me to Frankfurt as his assistant, my companion and I rode our bicycles out into the woods near Heidelberg to an area where a German brother said there had been fighting. We walked through the trees until we came to the top of a hill dotted with shallow pits, which I knew must be old shell holes. Some of the pines looked as if they had been hit by lightning a long time ago. Scratching with a stick, my companion found an American hand-grenade pin and three empty rifle shells so corroded that he had to scrape them on a rock to tell if they were American or German. He offered me one of the shells, but I told him no. When we got back to our room he put his find in a little box to save and take home. Placing the .270 shell back in the belt loop, I took out my handkerchief and wiped off the scope and the rifle.

At 4 o'clock Jerry organized the drive for West Draw. It was the last drive before we went down the ridge to break camp and start the long trip out of Blind Canyon and back to Provo. The shooting from the other ridges had stopped again. The lines of ridges were darker blue now, some of the ledges white like patches of early snow. The Ute Indians buried their dead high in the canyons in the ledges, but I had never found one of the rock-piled graves. I had always wondered if the Indians had hunted the high ridges too or whether they found enough game lower down. As we stood together at the top of the draw, in the afternoon light the hats and sweat shirts seemed darker red. I was glad it was the last drive and we were going home.

Because Jerry wanted to take me out of the line and put me on a point above an opening in the pines called the bowl, Doc held out his walkie-talkie to me. The bowl was the best spot in the basin at the head of West Draw. "No," I said, "I'll go down in the pines and help make the drive. You take the bowl, Bliss, you haven't filled your permit yet."

"Now, Troy," Doc said, "you've hunted hard in that line all day without any luck, and this is your last chance until next Saturday unless you and your dad get out during the week for a little afternoon hunting. We'd all like to see you get a nice buck."

"No. I don't want to do that."

"Go ahead, Troy," Jerry said, "we all got nice bucks the last two seasons. We're not sweating it."

"Oh no."

"Go on, son," my father said, and Doc put the walkie-talkie into my hand. "Sure," Jerry said, gripping my shoulder.

Ten minutes later I climbed up to the ledge to the left and nearly to the top of the bowl and sat down. The oak brush was all knee-high, stunted, and fallen leaves covered the rocks and bare spots. Because of the timber, none of the others could see me, so I wouldn't even have to shoot if a buck came up through the bowl. I had never killed a buck in West Draw. Sitting there, cradling the .270, I thought about Sunday morning and meeting everybody in church after two years away. A week from tomorrow I would give my welcome-home talk in sacrament meeting. I was anxious to tell about all the things that I had learned while I was in Germany on my mission, tell of my experiences, and I wanted to bear my testimony to the truthfulness of the gospel of Christ. I breathed in the cool air full of the smell of pines.

"You ready, Troy?"

I raised the walkie-talkie. "Yes."

"Keep your eyes open. There's an awful lot of tracks and droppings down here on these trails."

Picking up a handful of the wind-blown oak leaves caught in a crack in the ledge, I let them sift through my fingers. Perhaps my father and I could find something else we liked to do together. One of the reasons I wanted to get my doctorate in sociology and teach at B.Y.U. was so that I could live in Provo and raise my family there after I got married. Because my father had given me my .270 for my sixteenth birthday, I would always keep it, but I would get rid of my other guns and my eight-year collection of Field and Stream and Outdoor Life. I didn't want my sons to get started on them. "Keep your eyes open, Troy. Something moving out ahead." I reached down and clicked off the walkie-talkie. Nobody shot. Nothing moved. I waited. Then right at the bottom edge of the bowl a buck stepped out of the pines. Chest tightening, I slowly lifted the .270 to bring the scope to my eye. A nice three-point. Another buck stepped out, another three-point, moved up to the first. Heart slamming, I scoped them both, when two more moved out of the pines at the same place. They were both four-points, the last one a beautiful big buck with a wide heavy set of antlers.

Bent forward, breathing deep, the blood beginning to pound in my ears, I held the scope to my eye. They were beautiful. I just wanted to watch them, prayed nobody would make it to the edge of the pines in time for a shot. The bucks stopped to look back, started moving again, the big buck leading now. Slipping my arm into the sling, I got into the sitting position to steady my scope. The bucks were nervous but still walking. Beautiful. Biting my lower lip, I shifted the cross hairs back up to the big buck. The

antlers were perfectly matched on each side. My pounding blood sounded like rushing water in my ears, louder and louder. Beautiful. I closed my eyes against the feeling, gripped harder, breathless.

The .270 slammed my shoulder, the explosion part of my feeling. Heartshot, the big buck humped and went down. The other bucks ran now in high leaping bounds, instinct driving them toward the top and me. I shot over the leader, adjusted, got him through the back at seventy-five yards, and he went smashing down. I shot at the first three-point as he came level with me, missed twice. Kneeling, I crammed in more shells, cursed, slammed the bolt home, held the cross hairs on him, saw him come rolling back down the slope. Alone, the last buck was nearly to the top. I shot, missed, stood up, spun him around with a hit in the front leg, got him just as he topped the skyline. He came crashing end-over-end back down the steep slope into the bowl. I found the raised head of the back-shot buck in the scope, shot, and everything was quiet.

"Oh no, no, no," I said, "oh no," and I kept saying that as a ran. Grabbing the short oak brush with my free hand when I slipped, I angled across to the last buck. One I had to shoot in the neck to kill. I laid the .270 down to pull each buck around so that his head was down-hill, then cut his throat. I cut the big four-point's throat last, my whole knife red with blood, his antlers nearly as thick as my wrists at the base where I grabbed them with my sticky hands. Whooping and yelling, somebody was climbing toward me up through the brush. Still trembling, legs weak, I knelt down by the big buck. My heart was beating so hard that it felt as if it were in my head. The blood from the buck's cut throat pooled then started to trickle down through the oak leaves. "Oh, Jesus," I whispered.



Reviews

Edited by Edward Geary

THE RESTORATION CHURCHES: TWO REVIEWS

The Mormon Churches, A Comparison from Within. By Francis W. Holm, Sr. Kansas City, Missouri: Midwest Press, 1970. 238 pp. \$4.95.

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THE POSSIBILITY OF RECONCILIATION

Paul A. Wellington

This book has developed out of the author's lifetime experiences in association with the two major Restoration Churches. Although he has spent most of his adult life as a member of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, he spent the first twenty years in the environs of Mormonism and continued early friendships and made new ones over the years. Therefore, he expresses himself as conversant with the current thought and practice of both groups.

The author organizes his manuscript into twenty-nine chapters, with each generally concentrating on a single subject. In each chapter he attempts to present the two churches' viewpoints, then he usually gives his personal evaluation of the two stands. The first one-third of the book and occasional chapters at the end deal with the "mechanical functions" of the two churches — organizational setup and policy. The rest of the book evaluates doctrinal stands of the two churches.

It soon becomes obvious (and the author finally says it in his "conclusions" chapter) that the author admires the organizational abilities of the Mormons. He gives them credit for following the lead of Joseph Smith, Jr., in this area. In contrast he expresses the opinion that the Reorganized Church has adhered more closely to the doctrines of the early church, that it has strayed less from basic principles of belief.

In procedures, however, he makes it clear that he feels each has too often allowed traditions to develop which have led to a degree of apostasy. For instance, in his chapter discussing prophetic succession, he charges the Mormons with abandoning revelatory experience and turning to "rights of seniority." The Reorganized Church, on the other hand, has "circumscribed God to the choice of a descendant of Joseph Smith."

It appears that the author, because of his personal experiences, feels the Reorganization has gone too far in the use of "democratic processes." It is his opinion that the theocratic rights of leadership have been abandoned in too many instances, allowing too much diversity in belief and practice to grow within the organization. He also suggests that the Reorganization has accepted too many of the practices of Protestantism. He decries the use of full-time "paid" ministers, feeling that this practice leads to dependence on them in local situations. He prefers the "divine call" found in the Reorganization to the almost automatic ordination at a certain age found in the Mormon Church, but he favors the Mormon selection process for the major quorums — one based on choosing according to experience and success in past performance, especially in the secular administrative field.

It is in the fundamentals of belief that the author disagrees with the Mormon Church. He speaks against the plural marriage doctrine, baptism for the dead, secret temple rites (which he feels were greatly influenced by Masonic involvement in Nauvoo), the eternal progression theory, Negro discrimination in priesthood and salvation, and dependence on the "living oracles." He approves of the Mormon interpretation on tithing and likes their welfare programs and their general administrative approach to priesthood, as well as their women's and youth organizations for service and fellowship.

In concluding his book, he calls for positive steps to foster better understanding between the organizations. He notes that past animosities between leaders have greatly subsided, and suggests that members of both groups get to know each other in order that the "work of the Lord" can be more fully accomplished.

It appears that this is the first attempt in recent years to suggest a reconciliation between the two churches. It comes, however, from one who is not in an official position to do much about it. Perhaps this is the only way such a movement can get its start. Reactions to the book among members of both churches may further encourage the reconciliation process.

A SURVIVING DYNAMIC

T. Edgar Lyon

This is a unique composition in the true sense of the word - there is not another with which it can be compared. Francis W. Holm, Sr., was reared in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City (hereafter referred to as Mormon or LDS Church) until he was twenty years of age. Still residing in his native city he joined the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (hereafter cited as Reorganized or RLDS Church). He was baptized and received the priesthood in each church. He served as a professional RLDS missionary in the Utah-Idaho district, then moved to Missouri, where he was an active layman and worked in the auditing department of his church until his recent retirement. Strangely, he retained his membership in both churches for more than half a century.

Moving from the Mormon-dominated Rocky Mountains where he was born to the center of the Reorganized population, he nevertheless has retained close contact with the Mormon group through his many relatives in the West and through Mormon publications. It is from this position that he has made an honest effort to compare the two churches, bringing to bear the understanding of one who has been a participant in each at different periods of his life. The scope of his writing is summarized in his statement: "The major purpose of this book will be to compare the two organizations with that of the original church in the days of Joseph Smith, the martyr; especially in reference to organization and teachings."

In addition, he states his thesis in this summary: "It is the contention of the author that all the differences between the two churches are based on doctrines and ideas that were introduced into the church after the Prophet's death...."

In short chapters, Francis Holm presents his views of twenty-eight practices and doctrines in which the two churches have grown apart. In the twenty-ninth chapter he summarizes his investigation, indicating where he thinks each of the two churches has departed farthest from the norm of the restoration movement of Joseph Smith, and where each has most successfully adhered to the Prophet-Restorer's teachings. It is a provocative and challenging analysis of the differences which have divided the two largest organizations which claim to be the true successors of the restoration inaugurated by Joseph Smith.

Holm attempts to depict the fundamental teachings of Joseph Smith and describe the "early church" of the restoration which he uses as the norm for his comparative study. He depicts the overall result of more than a century of Mormonism as having introduced many teachings and practices that were unknown in the early period of the church. These were innovations unheard of or unimagined in the lifetime of Joseph Smith. Among these is the creation of a false image of Joseph Smith. He says that the Utah Church has created an artificial "reverence for the prophet, almost to the point of idolizing him." This created an aura about Joseph Smith so that his funeral sermons, letters, conversations, and even hearsay regarding him have been elevated to the status of scripture.

He sees the idea of an almost infallible church president transferred to Joseph Smith's successors in the LDS Church, so that in time their words assume the authority of scripture. This idea later produced two other departures from attitudes in the early church; namely, an automatic succession

in the LDS presidency (without God being involved in the selection through revelation) and in a demand for almost unquestioned obedience to LDS General Authorities.

By way of contrast, Holm depicts the Reorganized Church as going in an opposite direction during the last century. Joseph Smith, although viewed as a prophet and restorer, has often been minimized as an on-going force within their church. At times some of their prominent leaders, rejecting teachings of Joseph Smith, went so far as to declare he was a fallen prophet. Leadership in the Reorganized Church has never been strongly centralized, as depicted by the power struggle which took place between the Presidency, the Apostles, and the Presiding Bishop in the 1920's and 1930's (see Chap. IV).

Although Holm does not use the terms, actually he describes the Mormon Church as the left wing of the original restoration movement (progressive, innovative, and fearlessly adjusting to changing conditions of society). In this respect it has retained the spirit of the early church. The RLDS Church is viewed as the right wing of the restoration (conservative, looking backward even beyond Joseph Smith, cautious of anything that was not scriptural, and not readily adjusting to an on-going world). This attitude has directed the Reorganized Church toward Protestantism, as manifested in its professional priesthood, the low percentage of its members involved in the activities of the church, and in its theology which has been gradually rejecting the dynamic challenge of the materialistic Godhead of Joseph Smith and reverting toward a medieval Catholic concept of a trinity. Holm points out that due to the LDS Church's voluntary missionary system, its educational programs for its youth, its welfare plan, and other vigorous achievements, the comparison of the statistical growth of the two churches is challenging. The Mormon "annual growth rate" in recent years was 7.6 percent as contrasted to the 1.3 percent for the Reorganized Church.

Because of his experience in both of them, Holm has probably written as unbiased a comparison of the two churches as anyone within either church could do. The weakness of many of his interpretations, however, reveals the limitations of such an undertaking without a thorough examination of the historical sources of the period. At no place does he accurately describe the "early church" of Joseph Smith, with its growing body of doctrinal beliefs and its expanding organization, which serves as his norm for the comparison. He manifests little acquaintance with what happened to the church and its doctrines during the Far West and Nauvoo periods. For instance, he states that re-baptism was "required of everyone that entered Salt Lake Valley," which is not true. He also assumed that a "re-sealing" implied a "re-ordination." This was cited to indicate that Brigham Young had organized a different church from the one to which his followers had previously belonged. Historical evidence indicates it was Joseph Smith who instituted re-baptism, possibly in Missouri, but certainly at Nauvoo, where he personally re-baptized many of those who settled there. This was viewed as a renewing of the original covenant and a symbolic re-sealing of former vows and obligations, nothing more.

When discussing the public worship services of the "early church," Holm states we have little to guide us concerning what transpired at the meetings. On the contrary there are many accounts available, such as accounts of meetings in the Kirtland Temple, and accounts of conference meetings both in America and England, minutes of meetings at Far West, and rather detailed minutes of meetings year after year at Nauvoo. Expert clerks made their records during the meetings. Some of these are published in the *Times and Seasons* and *The Millennial Star*. Private journals of church members often provide supporting material to supplement the official accounts.

While conceding that baptisms for the dead were practiced at Nauvoo, Holm gives a cut-off date for them in the early 1840's. Records indicate these were continued almost to the exodus of 1846. Holm also ignores Joseph Smith's institution of the endowment ceremony in 1842 and its continued practice, on a limited scale, until the Temple had been made operative for those ordinances in November, 1845. He accounts for the temple ceremonies as an outgrowth of the Masonic ritual and implies that they had their origin in the post-Joseph Smith period. Evidence exists which indicates that members of the church who came west, as well as some who did not come west, had received their endowments at Nauvoo prior to the death of Joseph Smith.

Another area in which historical study is needed, to properly evaluate the differences between the churches, is that of the historical and geographical backgrounds of those who established the Reorganized Church. Many of its leaders were not thoroughly conversant with what Joseph Smith had been teaching during the last four years of his life at Nauvoo. Some lived at a great distance from Nauvoo and had never visited the place nor known Joseph Smith intimately. Some had attended conference meetings, but were not permanent residents of the community. Many of these knew little of church development between 1839 and 1844. When they rejected the leadership of the Twelve, they resorted to what they knew, which was basically Mormonism as it had existed at the close of the Kirtland and Far West periods of the church. Those who had not heard the Prophet at Nauvoo, assumed that new doctrines were teachings of Brigham Young. It is at this focal point that an in-depth study of church history is needed to make a valid comparison between the churches.

It has been this reviewer's contention that any attempt to bridge the differences between the LDS Church and the RLDS Church will not be successful as long as it is approached from the areas in which convictions and devotion are closely associated with religious emotions. The differences must be bridged by way of a careful examination of what was taught and believed and practiced in the closing years of Joseph Smith's life.

Holm's work represents years of careful observation, patient tolerance of people in both churches who have disagreed with him, and study of the restoration scriptures. A tabulation of the points he has discussed would indicate that the LDS Church is closer to the "early church" in its spirit and accomplishments than his own Reorganized group. In Mormonism's

wide distribution of the priesthood among its members; the wide participation of its membership in church activities; the place of women in the church; its missionary, tithing, marriage, and welfare systems; its interpretation of the Word of Wisdom; its auxiliaries; the stress on family religious teachings; and the devotion of its members to support the church, Holm sees more of a survival of the organizational dynamic of Joseph Smith's restoration than he finds in his own church.

THE LION OF THE LORD

Donald R. Moorman

The Lion of the Lord, a Biography of Brigham Young. By Stanley P. Hirshson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1969. xx, 396 pp. \$8.95.

Donald R. Moorman is a member of the history department at Weber State College.

In the history of the West, Brigham Young is a star of the first magnitude, for no man shaped the history of the Great Basin more dramatically nor influenced the ultimate destiny of the Mormons more profoundly than did this extraordinary figure of nineteenth century America. Yet the personality of this remarkable colonizer has excited feelings of ambivalence unresolved to this day. Professor Hirshson's latest work continues the tradition: though widely revered and commemorated, Young's life remains an enigma to serious scholars striving to capture both the deeds and the spirit of the man in biography. The sources exploited by Professor Hirshson and his interpretation of them testify that *The Lion of the Lord** has failed to reach the flesh-and-blood Brigham Young, leaving us rather with a caricature of the man drawn from news accounts of the period; the founder of a new western empire is transformed into a paper lion.

Professor Hirshson dismisses his failure to utilize available materials with the simple explanation that he received no help or encouragement from the Church Historian's Office and that discussions with Mormon scholars convinced him that few records of historic importance were to be found in these archives. The key to understanding Brigham Young, he explains, was "not in the Rocky Mountains but in the Midwest and along the Atlantic Coast. . . ." This is pure folly. A brief perusal of the index of original holdings in the Latter-day Saints' Archives should serve to convince any historian that more than one lifetime would be necessary for a serious student to work through the personal papers of significant Mormon leaders. Letters, reports, and memoranda of George A. Smith, Wilford Woodruff, Heber C. Kimball, and John Taylor alone are voluminous. The private and public correspondence of Brigham Young is no less impressive: "History of Brigham Young" (manuscript history), forty-seven volumes; letter-books, fifteen volumes or fifteen thousand entries; public, private, and family papers, nineteen thousand items;

[•]This book is reviewed concerning its use of sources by Chad Flake elsewhere in this issue (pp. 105-107).

telegram books, four volumes, and five hundred unbound dispatches; three diaries relating to his pre-Utah period; presidential office journal 1850–1857, five volumes; first presidency papers related to Brigham Young, one thousand documents. Numerous non-Mormon students of Utah history, including myself, having become familiar figures in the Church Archives, have been accorded full cooperation in the use of these materials.

On the credit side of the research ledger, Professor Hirshson has exploited for the first time a rich finding of New York newspapers, apparently collected by the New Jersey Historical Society, and an extensive listing of monographs on the history of the eastern states.

Unfortunately, he fails to balance these non-Mormon accounts, and the reader has the right to ask for more extensive rebuttal, at several points in the study, from Mormon apologists. The western historian, attempting to grope his way through a labyrinth of unevaluated literature on the Latterday Saints, must pass a personal judgment on its authenticity and importance; he also is obligated to analyze the motives that activated such publications. Facing this hazard, Professor Hirshson all but ignores the best of Mormon erudition — or fails to understand the thrust of its scholarship — rather, he clearly and consistently prefers non-Mormon sources, usually of a highly critical nature.

A definitive biography of Brigham Young must demonstrate the impact of Joseph Smith upon his successor's career because it was delicately interlaced with the religious mysticism and secular Utopianism of the first Church President. The author's apparent failure to understand Brigham Young's dynamic, almost uncontrollable drive to preserve Joseph Smith's theology and the dynasty of Zion injects a pedestrian quality into the early chapters of *The Lion of the Lord*.

Plodding through two chapters of repetitious discussion on polygamy, the reader finds Brigham Young's matrimonial alliances have been scrupulously gleaned from the Stanley S. Ivins' collection, and no doubt present a most comprehensive, but unsubstantiated, record of this elusive subject. Conflicting testimony on polygamy suggests that any judgment springs not from expertise, but point of view — the writer must attribute motives to the practitioner. The Lion of the Lord provides precious little insight on the subject and leaves the reader to conclude that Professor Hirshson is inclined rather to perpetuate nineteenth-century myths than to search for an understanding of the personal struggles created by "the peculiar institution."

While space limitations preclude a full account of errors in historic fact, several should not go unmentioned: forts were not erected in Wyoming to guard the eastern entrance of the Great Basin in 1849–1850 as Professor Hirshson suggests, but in 1853, when the Mormons were strong enough to challenge the alliance of mountaineers and Shoshonis. Two years later the Saints controlled ferries across the Green River, much to the chagrin of Jack Robinson and Elisha Ryan, former mountain men.

Hirshson's indifference to accuracy is conspicuous in his claim that Brigham Young failed to send any communication from the Salt Lake Valley from

July 24 to August 2, 1857. On the contrary, letters were dispatched daily to tarrying parties. Similarly, during this great trek into the wilderness Young was less sure of his ultimate destination than was the professor. In a dozen letters from 1846 to 1847 he reminded his captains that their destination was yet uncertain: "Where is Zion? Don't know?" he wrote to the General Council. "If there is any one here who can go & point out a stake I will give them all [of the teams] I have...."

President Millard Fillmore divided territorial offices between gentiles and Mormons, and did not, as Professor Hirshson claims, appoint non-Mormons to "most of the posts."

Blinded by the "impeccable" reporting of the New York *Times* the author wrote: "At this time [1830's] Brigham could barely sign his name, let alone read a complex and detailed work. And Kimball, whose education was as meager as Brigham's, left no evidence he ever learned to read or write." Numerous letters and one diary of Young's dispute this. Likewise, the Church library which Professor Hirshson turned his back on contains several file boxes of Heber C. Kimball's letters and diaries.

Finally, the New York scholar credits himself with the first biography of Brigham Young in fifty years — then lists the works of Werner (1925) and Nibley (1936). The complimentary biographies of Susan Young Gates (1930) and Ray West (1957) are not cited.

The author's barely concealed antagonism to the Saints bleeds the cause of scholarship. As to the rise of Mormonism, he writes: "In the 1830's, Mormonism, a mixture of superstition and tradition, appealed, as the Saints themselves admitted, to the fearful, the credulous, and the downtrodden" (p. 16). Addressing himself to the Mormon financial difficulties in Kirtland, he states, "Soon after returning to Kirtland, Young, Smith, and other prominent Saints assembled at the Prophet's house and for a week lived on rum, brandy, gin, and port wine. During that time, according to the affidavit of one witness, Smith asserted he had founded the bank because God told him to 'milk the Gentiles'" (pp. 25-26). Politics in Utah "became a device for gain, and candidates for office were pawns in a game. To the Mormons democracy and freedom of thought were meaningless words" (p. 94).

Reading *The Lion of the Lord* is a frustrating experience. Hirshson deals with few questions about Brigham Young which have not been dealt with before, underlining the old adage that if you wish to find new answers to old problems, you must ask new questions.

GOD, MAN AND THE UNIVERSE

George S. Tanner

God, Man and the Universe. By Hyrum L. Andrus. Bookcraft, 1967. xxiii, 507 pp. \$5.95. George Tanner is a retired Institute teacher for the L.D.S. Church, now living in Salt Lake City.

God, Man and the Universe is the first volume of a four-volume work entitled Foundations of the Millenial Kingdom of Christ. The author in his preface states, "This study is an effort to analyze the total spectrum of thought expressed by Joseph Smith. . . . In this work it is my endeavor to present Joseph Smith's thought in the depth and breadth that evidence makes possible." This preface could be misleading, since the book makes no attempt to analyze or evaluate Joseph Smith's thinking. Instead it deals with a number of theological subjects, each documented in the usual way with scriptural and other references. There are seventeen chapters with theological titles, each exhaustively treated. When the four volumes are completed it would appear that the author hopes to have an encyclopedic treatment of most of the beliefs of the Church.

Though the author handles many controversial subjects, he spends little time refuting opposing points of view. Indeed, he acts as though none exists. A sampling of ideas in the book will make the author's position clear. From Chapter Twelve, "Basic Concepts of the Creation Story," we learn that God doesn't make something out of nothing. The elements from which the earth was made are eternal. The earth was created near Kolob, which is the governing planet and which has a day equal in length to one thousand of our years. The length of each of the seven creation periods was therefore one thousand years, as the earth was then governed by the time reckoning of Kolob. So it actually took seven thousand years to do the creative work. Since it has now been about six thousand years since life was placed upon the earth, it was thirteen thousand years ago that the creation was begun.

While the earth was associated with Kolob it did not get its light from the sun but from God. Later it was "hurled into space" and took its place in the plantetary system and the sun became its light. It also changed its reckoning of time to that of the present. This was a part of the "Fall." With the Fall the order of existence was changed, and blood became the sustaining factor within man and the animals.

The Fall changed the disposition of the animals as well. "During their physical-spiritual organization the animals were not carnivorous. But as a result of the fall the beasts became ferocious, and went prowling about the wilderness seeking the inferior animals for prey. When the earth is renewed during the millennium to a paradisiacal state, it will be transfigured by the glory and power of Christ; and although it will still be a temporal sphere and life will still be in a temporal state, the lion will again cease to be a carnivorous animal and will eat straw like the ox." Incidentally, before the Fall, while they were in their physical-spiritual state, animals were able to communicate with humans.

On the question of the order of events in the creation, the author chooses to follow the scriptures which state that "man was the first flesh." He is not quite sure whether the creation of woman took place before or after that of the animals. He found scriptures on both sides of this question. He is very positive, however, that all life as we know it was created on the seventh day. While evolution is definitely out, the author does not accept the idea of a special creation, at least as far as life is concerned. The seeds for plant life and the parent stock for animals and man were transported from inhabited planets.

The temptation which brought about the Fall is taken quite literally. The serpent had legs, until the curse made him crawl, and was able to communicate with Eve.

On the outside jacket of the book we read, "When men like James E. Talmage and B. H. Roberts lived, their pens brought forth substantial and authoritative works in the field of Latter-day Saint doctrine. Such works are less common in our day. In this context it is refreshing and satisfying to read *God, Man and the Universe*, a work of exceptional scholarship and merit, and an in-depth treatment of the teachings and thought of Joseph Smith." The author of these lines is not given, but whoever it was he has evidently not read James E. Talmage and B. H. Roberts. These men were among the liberal and progressive men of their day, and their work betrays the progressive thinking of well-trained scientific minds. The present volume is at the opposite end on theological issues. All its conclusions are based on fundamentalist assumptions and "proved" from carefully selected passages.

The book is well written and quite convincing if one begins with the thesis that everything which the Brethren have said or are reported to have said is true. The author has done considerable reading, and the documentation of the book is impressive: footnotes for the seventeen chapters total 1,768 and if one includes multiple references in footnotes this would probably exceed two thousand. The most questionable part of the documentation is the uncritical use of sources. If the author has done any sifting of "evidence" it is not apparent. There are many references to second-hand sources and at least one third-hand source: after quoting an idea from the Prophet, Andrus states in the footnote, "As related by Dr. John M. Bernhisel and reported in R. C. Gemmel, 'Early History of the Medical Profession in Utah: Biography of Dr. W. F. Anderson,' typewritten MSS, Church Historian's Library." This is reaching quite a distance to prove a point.

One wonders who the author and publisher expect to have as a reading audience. The way the material is collected into chapters suggests something like Melchizedek priesthood classes might be the goal. This reviewer envisions many delightful hours will be spent by such classes in discussing some of the conjectural points raised by our author. Most well-read Mormons will find relatively few new things presented in the book, but whether the snake walked upright or crawled can always get up a warm discussion.

A MISSION AS A BAD TRIP

Edward Geary

A Missionary Experience. By Lynn Kenneth Packer. New York: Carlton Press, 1969. 160 pp. \$3.50.

Edward Geary is Book Review Editor for *Dialogue* and a member of the English Department at Brigham Young University.

"Probably the key issue in my entire mission was whether I should do everything my leaders told me to do. This issue, I believe, will be one of major importance in the years to come." With these words Lynn Kenneth Packer sums up his experiences as an L.D.S. missionary, experiences which began with his arrival in Germany in 1963 eager "to be a leading baptizer" and led through growing dissatisfaction with the standardized lesson plan and disenchantment with mission politics and an authoritarian system unresponsive to criticism and innovation, finally resulting in a reputation as a "problem missionary," in threats of a dishonorable release, in reassignment to another mission, and eventually in virtual banishment to a remote Indian reservation.

Mr. Packer contends that the inflexible mission programs are often ineffective and sometimes dishonorable, and he offers some disturbing evidence to support this contention. For example, there is the "LDS Youth Club" which poses as an activity group ("LDS" stands for "Let's Do Something") and gradually, almost insidiously, draws its members towards baptism as they advance through the four "degrees" of membership. In a series of appendices at the end of the book, Mr. Packer outlines his proposals to correct these problems. His ideas are not revolutionary; indeed, the tendency is toward fundamentalism: he insists that individual missionaries ought to place more reliance on inspiration and less on prescribed teaching plans; he objects on doctrinal grounds to the heavy emphasis on baptism in the "six discussion" plan and the comparative neglect of the other first principles, faith and repentance; he complains that far too many people are baptized before they are converted or understand the gospel with any real thoroughness.

A Missionary Experience is intended, then, as an indictment of the hardsell missionary approach. This approach has been somewhat modified since the 1963-1965 period when Mr. Packer was in the mission field. However, it persists in such passages as the following, which was taken from a current mission handbook:

Sometimes missionaries feel they are restricted by being required to learn the discussions word for word. There was never a more fallacious train of reasoning. Salesmen, who are sent out to sell their products, must commit to memory certain lines by which they can be effective in conveying their product in just the right manner. Once they have learned their lines, then they can bring forth their personality in affecting the thoughts of others. Actors on a stage must learn their lines; and having once learned them they are in a

position to use themselves through those lines to touch hearts and to convey feelings in a very moving manner.

The analogies reveal the assumptions: the gospel is a commodity that can be sold by the same techniques that sell used cars or vacuum cleaners; the missionary is a pitch-man, an actor going through his performance to clinch the sale.

These are assumptions Mr. Packer found unacceptable, and rightly so. Unfortunately his book fails to be fully persuasive because of some serious weaknesses. He has failed to compose his materials into a coherent whole; the book exists as an assortment of bits and pieces. The style is careless and the proofreading atrocious: nearly every page contains misspelled words and elementary grammatical errors. The most serious weakness, however, is that the picture we get of the author is far less sympathetic than he intends it to be. We see a person whose missionary zeal is far more apparent in his efforts to reform the system than in his efforts to teach the gospel. We search in vain for the affectionate reminiscences of people and places that characterize most missionary accounts. Instead we find complaints about the unreceptiveness of the German people, the infrenquency with which they bathe, and the bad character of local members of the Church. I found my admiration and sympathy for the mission president growing almost page by page. He seems to have displayed remarkable patience with a very difficult young man. When all else had failed, the mission president made Elder Packer a senior companion and told him, in effect, to do his own thing, to preach the gospel in any way he chose. At this point, however, Elder Packer would be satisfied with nothing less than an opportunity to present his ideas to the Church Missionary Committee. When he was flown to Salt Lake City to meet with the committee, he was shocked and disappointed to discover that they were not interested in listening to him but instead scolded him severely for insubordination.

This experience seems to have confirmed Mr. Packer in the conviction that the Church provides "no effective avenue for criticism or productive change by followers." Perhaps he is right, but we cannot be certain without seeing what might happen to a more flexible and less contentious person in similar circumstances. The suspicion is strong that Mr. Packer unknowingly barricaded some avenues that could have taken him where he wanted to go.

Among the Mormons A Survey of Current Literature

Edited by Ralph W. Hansen

Far must thy researches go Wouldst thou learn thy world to know; Thou must tempt the dark abyss Wouldst thou prove what Being is; Naught but firmness gains the prize, Naught but fullness makes us wise, Buried deep truth ever lies. Schiller, PROVERBS OF CONFUCIUS. (Bowring, tr.)

It is no secret that this editor has had ambivalent feelings toward the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City because of the past inaccessibility of the Church Archives to scholars. Now that there is a change in practice, it is distressing to report that the author of a potentially important Mormon work has failed to adequately use the archives. Chad Flake, Special Collections Librarian at Brigham Young University's Clark Library, criticizes Stanley P. Hershson's book on Brigham Young on the basis of the sources Hirshson used or failed to use.

SOURCE REVIEW OF STANLEY P. HIRSHSON'S LION OF THE LORD Chad J. Flake

Several years ago when I first heard that someone was doing research on the life of Brigham Young I was most elated, and somewhat envious. Of all the nineteenth-century Mormon leaders, he seemed to me the one of whom the best biography could be written. Possibilities for biographies of earlier leaders of the Mormon movement were limited by a lack of source material, and of the leaders of the Utah period, Brigham was certainly the most colorful. Moreover there was a wealth of source material on him. Regretfully, it is clear in *Lion of the Lord* that Stanley P. Hirshson does not understand the nineteenth-century Mormon movement or Brigham Young.

Lion of the Lord has a massive bibliography, but primary source material is notably absent from it. In his preface Mr. Hirshson states that he received no encouragement from the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, and after consulting several Mormon scholars — who he does not name — he determined that there was nothing in the Historian's Office which couldn't be found elsewhere. I am aware of a few facts that have a bearing on this statement. Although Mr. Hirshson came to the Church Historian's Office without attempting to correspond with officials there, he was admitted as a reader, as the mention of the *Journal History of the Church* in his bibliography attests. Mr. Hirshson may have felt no encouragement from the Historians's Office but at least four other non-Mormon scholars were doing research there at the time, two of whom were working on Brigham Young manuscripts. Mr. Hirshson spent half of one day in the Church Historian's Archives.

The massive collection of documents in the Library-Archives of the Church Historian's Office includes Brigham Young's manuscript history, his letter-press book, and his personal diaries, as well as manuscripts of other Mormon leaders, which would enrich any book on the Brigham Young period. Mr. Hirshson's short stay precluded even a thorough investigation of the *Journal History*, which, as I have mentioned, he includes in his bibliography. One non-Mormon scholar who has been using the Brigham Young material, informs me that he has been working in these materials for two years and feels that it would take another eight years to do them justice. From my own observations, this is not an exaggeration. I strongly suspect that Mr. Hirshson came west only to enhance his bibliography, never intending to go through this voluminous amount of source material.

Mr. Hirshson also ignored some other vital collections. The Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California, which is probably the best library on Utah history outside the state, was never visited by Mr. Hirshson. Nor was the library at the University of Utah, which has many vital manuscripts, including those of George A. Smith, Brigham Young's confidant in later years. The library at Brigham Young University, which has a large diary collection and which now has the Brigham Young account books was also overlooked. The account books were not in the library when Mr. Hirshson made his visit to Utah, but certainly he would have been apprised of them had he done any work at that institution.

The author made another serious mistake in his seemingly unqualified acceptance of the newspaper articles from the New York Public Library. These articles are important, but they are important more for their distortion than for their accuracy. They show what was written in the East concerning Mormonism. Mr. Hirshson's statement that the authors of these articles were qualified journalists, is intriguing. The journalists were generally anonymous, and Mr. Hirshson makes little attempt to identify them. Had he done so he would have found that they were such men as Jesse Gove, using the pseudonym "Argus," and Randolph Marchy, a trooper in the Dragoons, men who both wrote for the anti-Mormon New York Herald. The articles are a curious mixture of truths, half-truths, and fantasy. To cite only one example: had Hirshson bothered to check at the Church Historian's Office, instead of relying on the anonymous correspondent for the New York Times, he would have found that Heber C. Kimball was quite literate, as an examination of his journal would attest.

I cannot close without commenting on Chapter Ten, entitled, "The Wives of Brigham Young." On examination, one finds that most names on the list come from the late Stanley Ivins and the rest from "reliable" Eastern newspaper correspondents. Mr. Ivins didn't write for publication, he was not interested in verification, and he collected his information – a word here, a sentence there – from many sources. Mr. Hirshson accepts Ivins' list of the wives of Brigham Young without substantiating it.

The misfortune of *Lion of the Lord* is not only its mediocrity but its appearance of legitimacy. The uninformed reader may consider it to be definitive, but such a consideration would be outlandish. It reminds one rather of M.H.A. Van Der Valk's *De Profeet der Mormonism, Joseph Smith, Jr.* which, though it has almost 1,000 bibliographic notations, adds nothing to the literature of the field.

POTPOURRI

It has come to our attention that Dr. Davis Bitton of the History Department at the University of Utah is compiling a checklist of Utah diaries – a most worthwhile project. The public can assist Dr. Bitton by reporting the whereabouts of such material. The Church Historian's Office or the libraries of Utah universities are prepared to microfilm diaries of historical interest. Such diaries are, of course, welcomed as gifts.

The Honor's Program at B.Y.U. has recently published *Tangents I*. According to the preface, *Tangents I* was conceived to give honor students and University scholars a place to publish undergraduate work or independent study projects. Of the eight articles in this issue, two are of interest to students of Mormon Americana. They are Howard D. Palmer's "Mormon Political Behavior in Alberta" and Terrell Hunt's "The Economics of Theocracy: The Mormon Liquidity Crisis, 1847-1860."

The bibliographical listing which follows includes books and pamphlets, most of which were published in 1969. Current theses and dissertations will be listed in the next issue, and a list of articles from periodicals will follow in the last issue of the volume. The reader will note a substantial number of works printed by J. Grant Stevenson of Provo, Utah. Brother Stevenson has published many family histories, genealogies, and ward histories, and a few community histories as well. Previously we have not included these works here because they are printed in such small lots that they are not generally available. However, this type of publication is relevant "Among the Mormons" and does not need justification for inclusion.

SELECTED WORKS OF MORMON INTEREST

Allred, B. Harvey. A Leaf in Review of the Words and Arts of God and Man Relative to the Fullness of the Gospel. Second ed. Draper, Utah: N.p., n.d. \$7.00. A reprint of the original, with additional notes, of a book which led to the author's excommunication. Available from P.O. Box 368, Draper, Utah.

Andersen, Ariel A. The Fall and the Origin of Man. Provo, Utah: Press Publishing Company, 1967.

Andrus, Hyrum L. Foundations of the Millennial Kingdom of Christ. Vol. I. Salt Lake City, Utah: Bookcraft Co., 1968. \$5.95.

Ashton, William F. Survival in the American Desert: The Mormon's Contribution to Western History. Buena Park, California: the author, 1969? \$5.95.

Baker, Pearl. Trail on the Water. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Co., 1969? \$6.95. Biography of Bert Loper.

Barlow, Israel Family Association. Family Recordings of Nauvoo – 1845 and Before. Salt Lake City, Utah: Israel Barlow Family Association, 1965. \$1.00. Shows descendants of Phineas Howe and Susanna Goddard.

-. The Israel Barlow Story and Mormon Mores. Salt Lake City, Utah: Israel Barlow Family Association, 1968. \$10.00. Both Barlow books obtainable at 631 South 11th East, Salt Lake City, Utah 84102.

Bellamy, Jean. Mistress of Ghosthaven. New York: Lancer Books, 1969. \$.75. A mystery story in a Mormon setting.

Benedict, R. Dean. Line upon Line: 1968. N.p.[1969] \$1.50. A doctrinal tract probably available from Zion's Bookstore, Salt Lake City, Utah.

- Benson, Ezra Taft. An Enemy Hath Done This. Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1969. \$4.95.
- Blum, Ida. Nauvoo, An American Heritage. Carthage, Illinois: the author, 1969.
- Butterworth, Edward. The Sword of Laban. Independence, Mo.: Herald House, 1969? \$2.75.
- Calverton, Victor Francis. Where Angels Dared to Tread. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1941, 1969. \$12.50. Concerning Salt Lake City, Brigham Young and the Mormons.
- Cannon, George Q. Writings from "The Western Standard." New York: Paladin Press, 1969. \$25.00.
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Lethbridge Stake Historical Committee. A History of the Mormon Church in Canada. Lethbridge, Alberta, Canada: Lethbridge Herald Company, 1968. \$5.00. Order from Deseret-Book Craft, 907 3rd Ave. South, Lethbridge, Alberta.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Young Women's Mutual Improvement Association. A Century of Sisterhood: Chronological Collage, 1869-1969. Salt Lake City: 1969?

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DIALOGUE TAKES PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THE WINNERS OF THE SECOND ANNUAL DIALOGUE PRIZES GIVEN IN HONOR OF THE BEST WRITING SUBMITTED IN 1969 AND MADE POSSIBLE THROUGH A GRANT FROM

THE SILVER FOUNDATION

Social Literature (History, Sociology, Psychology) FIRST PRIZE: RICHARD BUSHMAN, Boston University for his essay, "Faithful History" (Winter, 1969)

> Honorable RICHARD ANDERSON, Brigham Young University Mention: for his essay, "The Reliability of the Early History of Lucy and Joseph Smith" (Summer, 1969)

> > DEE F. GREEN, Weber State College for his essay, "Book of Mormon Archaeology: Myths and Alternatives" (Summer, 1969)

Judges: Davis Bitton, Associate Professor of History, University of Utah Dallin H. Oaks, Professor of Law, University of Chicago O. Meredith Wilson, Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California

Religious Literature (Theology, Philosophy, Sermons)

FIRST PRIZE: O. KENDALL WHITE, JR., Washington and Lee University for his essay, "The Transformation of Mormon Theology."

Honorable WILLIAM L. KNECHT, Berkeley, California, Mention: for his essay "The Lesson of History."

Judges: Lowell Bennion, Associate Dean of Students, University of Utah. Jay Butler, Assistant Professor of Religion, Brigham Young University Joe J. Christensen, Director, Institute of Religion, University of Utah

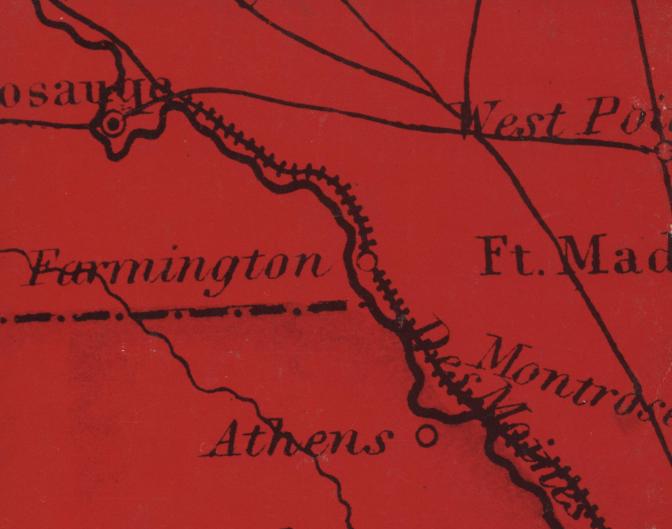
Imaginative Literature (Fiction, Poetry, Personnal Essays).

FIRST PRIZE: DOUGLAS H. THAYER, Brigham Young University, for his story, "The Opening Day"

Honorable ROBERT A. CHRISTMAS, Cedar City for his Mention: poem, "Adam and Eve". (Autumn, 1969)

> ARTHUR HENRY KING, London, for his poems "Visit to a Cathedral After a Trip Around the World" and "The Right Size". (Autumn, 1969)

Judges: Wayne Booth, Dean of the College and Professor of English, University of Chicago. Cherry B. Silver, Denver, Colorado Samuel W. Taylor, Redwood City, California WE ARE NOW ACCEPTING MANUSCRIPTS FOR THE THIRD ANNUAL DIALOGUE PRIZES



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